THE POST-WAR RECONCILIATION PROCESS OF NEW ZEALAND VIETNAM WAR VETERANS

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This thesis is dedicated to the New Zealand Vietnam War Veterans
ABSTRACT

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Contact is an essential component in addressing prejudice, resolving conflict and improving intergroup attitudes and relations. War encourages prejudice, stereotyping and dehumanization between military combatants. In order to reduce these negative affects within a post-war context, intergroup contact serves as a mechanism which re-humanizes the enemy, facilitates reconciliation and generates peace. Intergroup contact plays a prominent role in psycho-social healing and the reconciliation process with self and others in post-war environments. This thesis assesses the impact of contact on reconciliatory processes at home and abroad. In particular it looks at the ways in which New Zealand Vietnam veteran visits to Vietnam after the war assisted a range of self-other reconciliation processes with the Vietnamese and with self.

A triangulated approach was applied to the data collection by drawing on primary and secondary sources in order to study reconciliatory processes amongst New Zealand Vietnam war veterans. Through utilizing qualitative research methods of document analysis and 23 in-depth interviews the thesis concludes intergroup contact plays a vital role in self-other reconciliation processes. Furthermore, an analysis of New Zealand Vietnam War veterans who have and have not returned to post-war Vietnam was conducted to determine the effect of these visits on the reconciliation process.

The three themes that emerged from the collected data were focused on the importance of contact for reconciliation with the Vietnamese, fellow countrymen, and with self. Reconciliation with countrymen was an important component of Veterans dealing with the negative reputation they suffered for serving in Vietnam. While post war contact was an important part of this process it was also affected by public reception, government actions and eventual acceptance by veterans from preceding wars. Reconciliation with Vietnamese was affected by the veterans’ military role in the war and contact experiences with the Vietnamese people during and after the war. The process of reconciling with self was influenced by acceptance of one’s role in the war and positive contact with others. This thesis demonstrates that intergroup contact plays
an integral role in the facilitation of psycho-social healing and the processes of reconciliation. These findings hold theoretical importance in terms of providing greater understanding of the relationship between intergroup contact, tourism and post-war reconciliation.

Key Words: Reconciliation, Contact theory, New Zealand, Vietnam War
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Chapter 1  INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This thesis investigates New Zealand Vietnam War veterans and the role that intergroup contact has on the reconciliation process. The emotional and physical trauma caused by acts of perceived wrong-doing and traumatic events such as war serves as an impetus for people to seek reconciliation with self and others. Since the end of the Vietnam War, various actors from this war have attempted to move the process of reconciliation forward with differing degrees of success. The complexity of reconciling relationships within a post-war context centres on the psychological as well as sociological elements that can either support or block the reconciliation process. Building upon the conceptualization of reconciliation and previous research on contact theory as well as the collected data on the New Zealand Vietnam War veterans, this thesis provides a clearer understanding of the post-war reconciliation process with fellow countrymen, the Vietnamese and with self. The purpose of this introduction chapter is to provide the background to the research, offer evidence to support the need for this research, define the research objectives and describe the outline of this thesis.

1.2 Background of research

It was during my master’s degree that the seeds for my future PhD research were first planted. I became interested in conducting research on post-war travel from a class seminar I presented on the promotion of war sites as tourist attractions. During my preparation for this presentation I came across the following anonymous note left by a Vietnam Veteran at the Vietnam War memorial in Washington, DC.

Dear Smitty, Perhaps, now I can bury you; at least in my soul. Perhaps, now I won’t see you night after night when the war re-appears and we are once more amidst the myriad hells that Vietnam engulfed us in…I never cried. My chest becomes unbearably painful and my throat tightens so I can’t even croak, but I haven’t cried. I wanted to, just couldn’t. I think I can today. Damn, I’m crying now. Bye Smitty. Get some rest (Hass, 1998).
This note led me to question whether people who grieve the death of a war veteran received healing benefits by visiting war memorials. Drawing from my seminar, my master’s research investigated the effect of travel to the Vietnam War Memorial in Washington, DC on the adjustment to bereavement.

Seeds were further sown to what my future PhD research topic would grow into during a meeting with my master’s supervisor, an American Vietnam War veteran. Since the Vietnam War ended, he has returned to Vietnam several times and was preparing to go again. The purpose of this trip was to fulfil a promise he made with a fellow veteran who wanted his ashes scattered in Vietnam. At the time I was moved by the kindness of this act, but it was not until later that I began to question the impact of these post-war trips on the reconciliation process.

In determining my PhD topic, I uncovered a research gap in regards to the impact of post-war trips by war veterans on psycho-social healing and the reconciliation process. When I decided to study in New Zealand, I had not envisioned my research would continue to centre on the Vietnam War. I had not known that New Zealand’s own involvement in the Vietnam War was very similar to America’s experiences. Both of these countries experienced internal political unrest fuelled by public protests to end the war, the negative depiction of the war by the media and the perceived failure of the war. Subsequently, the Vietnam War veterans from these countries were traumatized not only as a result of their fighting in a war but also from the negative reception by their fellow countrymen. Moreover, it is evident from archival evidence such as newspapers, dissertations and oral history projects that Vietnam veterans have been drawn to visit Vietnam since the war’s conclusion. My research focuses on the New Zealand Vietnam veterans and serves as a case study that explores the reconciliation process of former war combatants. The need to conduct this research is based on the failure of the current conceptualization of reconciliation to address situations in which responsibility for wrong-doing is ambiguous and contested.

The need for war veterans to come to terms psycho-socially with their war-related experiences is reliant on their ability to cope with traumatic events. “The term ‘coping’ is usually reserved for those thoughts and behaviours that are under conscious voluntary control, while the term ‘defence’ is used to indicate responses out of the
individual’s awareness” (Green, Lindy, & Grace, 1988, p. 400). Vietnam War veterans adopted coping mechanisms such as numbing and denial that also included in many cases alcohol and/or drug usage (Isserman, 2009). The trauma caused by war has been recorded throughout history, yet it was not until the 20th century that scientific study focused on the detailed aspects of the psychological response to war experiences (Hunt, 2010; Kelly, 1985). It was not until the Korean War that clinicians began to provide frontline treatment for soldiers who experienced psychiatric breakdowns (Mary, 2004). Subsequently, mental health specialists have implemented therapeutic methods to help war veterans heal from the psycho-social trauma caused by the war.

The majority of these therapies have focused primarily on veterans experiencing Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. The push to create a mental disorder that encompassed the cluster of symptoms exhibited by the Vietnam War veterans led to the inclusion of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) in 1980 as a mental disorder in the third edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) (Mary, 2004). The DSM is the standard classification that mental health providers use to diagnose psychiatric disorders (Scott, 1990). Unlike servicemen from previous wars such as World War I and II whose symptoms were more physically visible in presentation such as twitches, trembling and motor paralysis, the Vietnam War soldiers’ symptoms were more aggressive and less socially acceptable (Mary, 2004). Furthermore, the servicemen who fought in the Vietnam War experienced adverse conditions that heightened the possibility of experiencing serious psychological maladjustment and psychiatric disturbances when they returned home from the war (Iso-Ahola, 1983). PTSD initially focused on the negative psychological effects that soldiers experienced from being in combat during the Vietnam War. For the Vietnam War veterans who suffer from PTSD they have been confronted with the obstacles of misdiagnosis and a lack of public awareness of the extent that combat in war causes psychological damage (Blair & Hildreth, 1991). Additionally, for those Vietnam War veterans who experienced a combat loss of a fellow soldier they also had to undergo the process of bereavement (Currier & Holland, 2012).

The relationship between psycho-social healing and reconciliation has been debated within the scholarly community (Parent, 2010). A contested issue is whether healing the psycho-social wounds generated by the conflict is a necessary component for
reconciliation to move forward (Parent, 2010). Additionally, preceding research has indicated the existence of a connection between the psychological impact of being exposed to violence and the individual’s openness and capacity for post-conflict reconciliation (Bayer, Klasen, & Adam, 2007; Pham, Weinstein, & Longman, 2004). For instance, Pham, Weinstein, & Longman’s (2004) quantitative study of Rwandans exposed to the 1994 genocide indicated individuals exposed to higher rates of violence were less likely to desire reconciliation. In addition, individuals with PTSD symptoms were less likely to support two crucial components of reconciliation, belief in community and interdependence with other ethnic groups (Pham, Weinstein, & Longman, 2004). Further research is necessary to gain a more involved understanding of the reasoning behind individual willingness to reconcile or not to reconcile in a post-conflict context.

1.3 Post-war tourism: Vietnam veterans going back to Vietnam

There has been a lack of research which investigates post-war tourism and its role in moving the reconciliation process forward. Since the Vietnam War ended, there has been a growing phenomenon of Vietnam War veterans returning to visit Vietnam. Documentation of these post-war visits is evident from a multitude of sources that include newspaper articles, books, journal articles and film. Tourism may serve as a positive force in reconciliation efforts and peace building between countries (Guo, Kim, Timothy, & Wang, 2006). The basis of tourism in facilitating reconciliation is premised on people coming into contact with one another in non-adversarial settings which support a higher probability that positive effects can result from this contact (Moufakkir & Kelly, 2010). The positive effect from contact in a tourism setting can serve as a catalyst to the development of strategies that address past conflicts (Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, Hamberger, & Niens, 2006). In addition, the growth of trust as well as improved intergroup relations and attitudes from these tourism contacts may facilitate the reconciliation process among the affected intergroups at the individual level (Hayes & McAllister, 2001). For example, Wilson (2005), an Australian Vietnam veteran spoke about his experience of visiting post-war Vietnam and coming into contact with the former enemy.
Yeah, well, I think the fact is, you know, that war overall is a nasty thing and the suffering occurs to both sides. And in their own way they were going through the same challenges that we are as well. In their own way. And to meet them in more friendly circumstances all those years later is, you know, is interesting. And, you know, you can’t say there is any malice remaining in this day and age. And when you look at how the country is, in my view, going ahead, you know. It was great to meet him. I would have liked to have had a longer chat with him. Yes, we didn’t really have a chance for that (Wilson, 2005).

This thesis examines the phenomenon of war veterans returning to post-war Vietnam with the intent of determining the affect these travels have on the reconciliation process with self and others.

Intergroup contact is an essential element for reconciliation initiatives, but there are challenges for this contact to occur in a post-war context (Freeman, 2012). For those involved in war, self-reconciliation and psycho-social healing may need to be reached in order for individuals to feel emotionally and cognitively ready to re-engage in intergroup contact with their former enemies. Moreover, this thesis investigates the war veterans’ experiences in terms of reconciliation events and group contact that may affect psycho-social healing and the reconciliation process.

The main purpose of this thesis is to present a case study on the reconciliation process of New Zealand Vietnam War veterans. Although it is important to note that the preliminary aim expanded from reconciliation with the Vietnamese to include reconciliation with fellow countrymen and with self. Focusing strictly on New Zealand Vietnam veterans rather than Vietnam War veterans from other countries, provided me with the ability to examine circumstances unique to New Zealand and determine their marked effect on the reconciliation process. By conducting research on this segment of the population it is hoped there will be a clearer understanding of the process of reconciliation with the self and others. More specifically, I have analyzed the longitudinal attitude changes of New Zealand Vietnam War veterans towards their fellow countrymen and the Vietnamese people. Furthermore, I have examined the positive and negative effects of these post-war visits on New Zealand Vietnam War Veteran’s psycho-social healing and orientations toward Vietnam and the Vietnamese
people. This research explores the diverse effects that intergroup contact can have on the relations between the New Zealand Vietnam War Veterans and the Vietnamese in post-war Vietnam. An analysis was included on whether or not intergroup contact in these post-war visits has a positive or negative effect on New Zealand Vietnam War Veteran’s psycho-social healing and orientations toward Vietnam and the Vietnamese people. This thesis serves as a map that shows the complexity of the reconciliation process of war veterans in a post-war environment.

1.4 Research Outline: Rationale and thesis contribution

Both internal and external conflict has affected these individuals’ ability to cope and reconcile with others and self. I argue that reconciliation can progress when responsibility of wrong-doing is in question. Traditionalist views of reconciliation limits the process by largely ignoring situations that are not easily categorized in relationship of victim and offender. This thesis illustrates that the reconciliation process in the post-war context not only involves the former enemy but also includes one’s own countrymen. Furthermore, I argue for the need to create a more developed concept of self-reconciliation and share my own configuration of this term and its applicability in a post-conflict context.

1.5 Thesis Outline

Chapter two concentrates on the conceptualization of reconciliation. This chapter focuses on the theoretical framework and concepts of reconciliation as it relates to the self and others. Included is a discussion of the motivations to reconcile and the barriers to achieve reconciliation. Furthermore the role that reconciliation plays in the psycho-social healing of the individual is examined. The third chapter focuses on the theoretical framework of intergroup contact theory. Included is a discussion of the issues that impact the ability of intergroup contact in reducing conflict. The fourth chapter examines the role of intergroup contact through tourism. Within this chapter there is a deliberation of tourism’s strengths and weaknesses in peace-building and achieving reconciliation. The fifth chapter presents a description of the research methods and the strategies involved in the collection of the research data. The sixth chapter provides a historical overview of the Vietnam War, a summary of New Zealand’s government and
military involvement in the war, and description of the New Zealand servicemen war-related experiences.

The seventh through ninth chapters comprise the analysis of the collected data. Chapter seven is concerned with the discussion and interpretation of the findings in regards to reconciliation with fellow countrymen. This chapter explores the veterans’ reconciliation process with their government, the Returned Serviceman Association (RSA) and the public including the anti-war protesters in New Zealand. This chapter illustrates that post-war psycho-social healing and the reconciliation process also encompasses in-group members. Chapter eight analyzes reconciliation with the Vietnamese people. This chapter first examines the constraints and factors that induce New Zealand Vietnam War veterans in returning to post-war Vietnam. Secondly, the affect of post-war visits is investigated to determine their impact on the reconciliation process. The ninth chapter addresses the conceptualization of reconciliation with self. Self-reconciliation is proposed as a nuance approach to the reconciliation process by which individuals are able to come to terms with their war-related experiences in a post-conflict environment. Additionally, a discussion of the concept of self-reconciliation is provided that offers a more defined interpretation of the meaning and the steps that are involved in this on-going process. The tenth chapter contains a summary of the research findings that concludes with a brief summary of findings, and reflection on the thesis that includes suggestions for future research. The final section discusses the positive contribution of this thesis towards expanding knowledge in terms of the relationship between reconciliation, psycho-social healing, intergroup contact and tourism.
Chapter 2 RECONCILIATION

2.1 Introduction

The investigation of the reconciliation process of war veterans is the primary aim of this thesis. Consequently it is important to examine the previous literature that discusses the conceptual as well as theoretical framework of reconciliation. Moreover, a focused discussion on the role of reconciliation within the context of a post-war environment is included. Furthermore, psycho-social healing and peace-building is scrutinized in order to show their significance within the reconciliation process. The review of previous literature on this topic justifies the need to conduct research on the reconciliation process of war veterans.

2.2 Conceptualizing Reconciliation

People and institutions are motivated to reconcile for a variety of reasons including the desire to continue a relationship, the need to reach psychological peace and/or for moral reasons (Dwyer, 2003). Scholars (Borneman, 2002; Crocker, 2003; Enright & Fitzgibbons, 2000; Gloppen, 2005; Prager, 2003; Staub, 2005) from different disciplines such as political science, philosophy, peace and conflict, psychology and theology have attempted to define the concept of reconciliation in a variety of ways that has resulted in a multitude of definitions (Meierhenrich, 2008). The drive to define the meaning of reconciliation has meant attempts to “capture multiple processes, ideas and practices, official, semi-official and unofficial, state-sponsored or sanctioned, or anti-state or non-state sanctioned that lead to very diverse, often contradictory societal processes” (Trimikliniotis, 2013, p. 251).

2.2.1 Reconciliation and forgiveness

Contributing to the problem of defining reconciliation is that forgiveness is often confused with reconciliation and that there is dissent on whether these actions work independently or interdependently with each other (Enright & Fitzgibbons, 2000). This section, by describing varying perspectives on reconciliation as well as forgiveness,
draws attention not only to the contentious, complex issues that encompass reconciliation but also highlights the need for further research on this concept.

Oftentimes there is a question of whether the concepts of reconciliation and forgiveness are interchangeable and what, if any is their relationship towards each other (Bryan, 2010). In terms of forgiveness, individuals feel motivated to forgive as a result of their identification of being offended by a wrong-doer and the psycho-social need to overcome resentment towards their perpetrator, to eliminate inner turmoil and stop actions that would cause further damage (Enright & Fitzgibbons, 2000; Murphy, 2005; Scobie & Scobie, 1998). Individuals may see forgiveness as an affirmative act because of its capability of creating a positive transformation for the victim, the perpetrator and communities (MacCannell, 1976). Forgiveness may lead to a changed attitude towards the wrong-doer, but this does not necessarily mean that the victim re-establishes their relationship to the perpetrator (Enright & Fitzgibbons, 2000; Meierhenrich, 2008). Furthermore, this position on forgiveness is based on the assumption of a prior relationship before the wrong-doing between the perpetrator and the victim, which is not always the case.

On the other hand, Kelly & Nkabahona (2010) posit that the call for reconciliation originates from perceived injustice and human right violations from a past event or experience. The motivation for reconciliation is based on the victims’ and perpetrators’ desire to move forward from conflict and/or wrongdoing so that they can rebuild their relationship and co-exist peacefully (Borneman, 2002; Long & Brecke, 2003; Staub, 2005). Reconciliation is seen as more demanding than forgiveness because those offended need corresponding action from the wrong-doer in order to reconcile with the wrong-doer whereas the power to forgive lies exclusively with the individual (Meierhenrich, 2008; Enright & Fitzgibbons, 2000).

There is dissension between scholars on whether reconciliation should be the aim of forgiveness and if forgiveness is necessary to achieve reconciliation (Gloppen, 2005; Enright & Fitzgibbons, 2000; Dwyer, 2003). Additionally, the synonymous usage of forgiveness and reconciliation in literature has added to the confusion of how to differentiate reconciliation from forgiveness. When research has focused on reconciliation and forgiveness, respondents have construed forgiveness in the same way
as reconciliation (Lombard, 2003; McGregor, 2006). The importance of reconciliation within the process of forgiveness has been stressed as being integral in re-establishing the relationship between the wronged and wrong-doer (Hargrave, 1994; Schneider, 1989). In addition, authors have outlined the goal of forgiveness as an act aimed at relationship building between the offended and the perpetrator in which there is the resumption of the relationship (Freedman, 1998; Hargrave, 1994; Lauritzen, 1987).

Dwyer points out the dilemma of when forgiveness cannot be achieved whether it is still possible for reconciliation to take place between the victim and the perpetrator. She argues that yes, reconciliation can occur without forgiveness if within the reconciliation process those involved openly discuss and listen to all of the respective sides that leads to a mutual interpretation of the events. Arriving at this conjecture of achieving mutual interpretation need not mean that wrong-doing is excused, apologies given or offers of forgiveness made or accepted. This perspective on reconciliation demonstrates the independent nature of forgiveness and reconciliation in that even when there are ‘unforgiveable’ acts committed the process of reconciliation can help victims and perpetrators move forward in their relationship with one another (Dwyer, 2003). According to this stance on reconciliation individuals are assigned the role of being either a victim or wrong-doer. In doing so, Dwyer neglects to recognize cases in which delineation between wrong doer and victim cannot be achieved because those involved can be identified as both victim and wrong-doer. Villa-Vicencio (2009) supports this argument that reconciliation “does not automatically involve forgiveness and bases this belief on the premise that the antagonists do not need to forgive or love one another in order to explore the beginning of new relationships” (p. 171). Forgiveness from his perspective is a separate process that is focused on healing the wounds of the past and involves building a present that is not negatively impacted by the past while reconciliation aims to “connect people across what are often historic and entrenched barriers of suspicion, prejudice, and inequality” (Villa-Vicencio, 2009, p. 170).

2.3 Shaping reconciliation

Reconciliation can be delineated into different processes as well as various forms, strengths, and levels (Gloppen, 2005). Reconciliation takes place on a global, national, community, group or individual scale that involves a wide array of expectations and
goals from those vested in the process (Droždek, 2010). Reconciliation can be viewed as a moral reckoning process that addresses but need not resolve past wrongs (Crocker, 2003). Reconciliation may occur on a micro-level which involves “local, face-to-face interaction between individuals and/or on a macro-level that comprises more global engagement with groups of people, nations and institutions” (Dwyer, 1999, p. 83). The micro level of reconciliation has mainly been the domain of psychological and religious counselling in which the achievement of reconciliation is considered a therapeutic goal of the individual in coming to terms with others after a traumatic event and their own past experiences (Gloppen, 2005). Reconciliation at a macro level can be seen as an “umbrella encompassing political and racial tolerance, support for human rights, and the extension of legitimacy to political institutions” (Gibson, 2009, p. 176). In addition, macro reconciliation is the mechanism by which a society damaged by conflict can mend its social fabric so there is an increased desire for co-existence (Gloppen, 2005; Skaar, 2001). Govier and Verwoerd (2002) argue that the division between micro and macro levels of reconciliation is an oversimplification of those involved in reconciliation as it fails to take into account relationships that lie between these two levels such as familial, small groups, and larger communities. Moreover, these levels fail to take into account that people and groups “can be connected, and in varying ways are interdependent, in many sorts of relationships such as friendship, religious, political, or community groups; and ultimately individuals and large groups acting together at the national level” (Govier & Verwoerd, 2002, p. 187).

There are differing viewpoints on the forms that reconciliation can take (Bhargava, 2012; Crocker, 2003). For example, Crocker (2003) proposed that reconciliation can be conceptualized in its thinnest form as simply a mutual agreement to co-exist non-violently whereas in its thickest form there is mutual healing that brings harmony of mind to relationships. A third form of reconciliation that rests between the thin and thick forms of reconciliation is the presence of mutual respect in a democratic sense in which there is more than simple coexistence, but less than friendship (Crocker, 2003). On the other hand, Bhargava (2012) divides reconciliation into two forms in which one is seen as thin and likened to resignation, a lowering of expectations. She states that this thin form is the weaker reconciliation which often occurs when groups in conflict come to the realization that neither group can claim victory. Additionally, reconciliation is done in such a way that those involved in the conflict are able to move on even
though the conflict and the wrongdoing by the other is not forgotten. The second form is referred to as strong reconciliation and is seen as an achievement process that involves those in the conflict taking collective responsibility for wrong-doing followed by forgiveness which cancels the estrangement with the other. Strong reconciliation includes the elimination of held prejudices towards the other by transforming their own identities through a difficult process. The result of this form of reconciliation is that there is a shared sense of morality, balance restored, the dissolution of alienation and fear, creation of new values that are shared, and amiable relationships (Bhargava, 2012). Weak reconciliation is believed to be the only form which can be realistically attained because strong reconciliation relies too heavily on the ability of those involved to forget and requires more than what is necessary or feasible (Bhargava, 2012).

There is an enduring debate on whether reconciliation can be conceptualized as a continuous process that is never completed or one that can end with the achievement of reconciliation (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004; Philpott, 2009; Prager, 2003; Villa-Vicencio, 2009). Prager (2003) asserts that reconciliation is an on-going process because conditions can change that may re-awaken unresolved issues related to the conflict that need to be addressed in order for the reconciliation process to become unstuck. Conversely, McGrew (2011) argues that reconciliation is both a process and a goal that allows individuals and groups to proceed from conflict through varying degrees of co-existence to reach the final objective of deep reconciliation where relationships are complex, interdependent, and meaningful. Rouhana (2004) agrees with McGrew’s assertion, but views reconciliation as a process that seeks to achieve a kind of relationship that is founded on mutual legitimacy which becomes the defining feature of the relationship as well as the cornerstone of mutual recognition and genuine security. He argues that the achievement of reconciliation does not offer respite from future conflict within the relationships but does protect the relationship from regressing to the stage in which the very legitimacy of each side is again questioned. Moreover, reconciliation from this approach is “a process that brings about a genuine end to the existential conflict between the parties and transforms the nature of the relationship between the societies through a course of action that is intertwined with psychological, social, and political changes” (Rouhana, 2004, p.35).
2.4 Advancing the reconciliation process

The advancement of reconciliation involves a “long-term process that consists of a multitude of initiatives and stages, where progress is an accumulation of small steps addressed at the individual–interpersonal, local, societal, and state levels” (Kosic & Tauber, 2010, pp. 83-84). Phillips (2001) argues that the motivation to begin the reconciliation process is reliant on a sense of guilt. Within the global community there is a wide array of suggested practices thought to be conducive in helping the reconciliation process move forward. The opposing views held by scholars on the best means to facilitate the reconciliation process further demonstrate the challenges faced by individuals and groups engaged in the reconciliation process (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004). For those involved in addressing past wrongs within a democratic society, Crocker (2003) developed an eight goal approach that outlines the actions that should be incorporated into the process of ‘righting’ past wrongs. These goals include the following actions: investigate, establish and disseminate the truth of the wrongful act(s), provide public platforms for victims to have their testimony publicly acknowledged, those who were responsible for the wrongdoing should be held accountable and given appropriate punishment, compliance with the rule of law and appropriate compensation paid to the victims.

Actions to address past wrongs include uncovering what caused the wrongdoing to occur and implementation of institutional reform. In addition, actions can include long term development to reduce the possibility of repeat violations, reconciliation with former enemies, and public deliberation that provides public space, debate and forethought of goals, institutions and strategies. The issue with these goals is that there is an overreliance on the truisms that there is always a victim and perpetrator as well as a wrongdoing that needs to be addressed in the reconciliation process. If both groups believe in their cause and their actions were sanctioned by their group leaders it begs the question of what if any actions can facilitate reconciliation in these situations.

Nets-Zehngut (2007) offers a different approach to facilitating reconciliation and looks towards activities that contain both internal and external components to create a greater likelihood of successful outcomes from reconciliation. Internal components consist of activities designed to promote causal change of attitudes, motivations and emotions.
For instance he uses the example of incorporating actions like apologies, expressions of empathy and negotiation of a collective memory as actions that have the capability of changing negative stereotypes of the other into positive ones (Nets-Zehngut, 2007). The external components are within the economic and socio-political domains that address the external harm that stems from conflicts and traumatic events such as rebuilding the economy in post-war Vietnam. There are two definitive poles of activities that are defined as planned activities and naturally-occurring activities. Planned activities are deliberate and are created out of recognition that the involved members are involved in a conflict that is fuelled by the aim to reconcile and completed with the goal of advancing the reconciliation process. Naturally occurring activities are unplanned and are not geared towards progressing reconciliation, but rather they happen intuitively. Examples of naturally occurring activities include the opening of arterial lines of transportation, allowing foreign visitation, and fostering economic relationships (Nets-Zehngut, 2007). Hybrid activities incorporate both planned and unplanned activities that are used to reach reconciliation and also to help protect economic, cultural and tourist investments. According to these definitions, the post-war visits by veterans is difficult to assign what component this is as there may be intent for the trip to serve as part of the reconciliation process with their former enemy, but that does not necessarily mean that events are staged to provide opportunities for them to engage in a reconciliation process with their former enemy.

Victims of wrong-doing are receptive to receiving an apology by the wrong-doer as it may assure them “that the social conflict that he or she faces may be resolved in ways that restore his or her self-esteem and social identity, promise a full restitution for harm, and punish the harm-doer” (Ohbuchi, Kameda, & Agarie, 1989, p. 220). The ultimate goal of an apology is to reach reconciliation between the victim and the wrongdoer (Andrieu, 2009). The act of apology after a wrongdoing can have adverse as well as positive effects on the reconciliation process. If the apology is poorly delivered or there is distrust of the apologizer’s motivations and commitment, a higher likelihood exists that the apology will cause more harm than good (Kellogg, 2007; Thompson, 2012). When an apology does take place, the apology may fail to decrease the victim’s anger towards the wrong-doer (Thomas & Millar, 2008). Furthermore, when the apology is offered too soon it can impact the willingness of the victim to accept an apology from the wrong-doer because the victim did not have enough time to voice why they felt
offended to the wrong-doer, thereby resulting in their difficulty in accepting that the wrong-doer truly understands what they have done wrong (Frantz & Bennigson, 2005). Conversely, the act of apology has been shown to greatly improve relations and that when apologies are not offered this can increase the victim’s anger towards the wrong-doer (Frantz & Bennigson, 2005; Ohbuchi et al., 1989).

The perceived positive affect from apologies serves as inducement for political leaders and government officials to offer apologies when their constituents demand accountability for past wrongs (Thompson, 2012). Political apologies are commonly criticized for not being genuine because they are perceived to be offered for political gain and/or from political pressure rather than a sincere admittance of committing a wrong-doing and willingness to repair the relationship (Thompson, 2012). Moreover, the call for a political apology in itself can generate conflict in determining who should apologize, what should be included in the apology and if indeed it is even necessary to offer an apology (Harris, Grainger, & Mullany, 2006). Andrieu (2009) argues that political apologies can move the reconciliation process forward.

By acknowledging past wrongs, they affirm a common moral ground through which communities can be built discursively through processes of communication; by expressing regret, they are a reassuring signal of intention that can help build social trust and end the cycle of fear and revenge; by recognizing responsibility, they individualize guilt and prevent collective stigmatization while promoting social identification (Andrieu, 2009, p. 22).

The success of the apology is reliant on the inclusion of a commitment to restitution or compensation by the apologizer that indicates their willingness to reform their behaviour to avoid future wrong-doing (Verdeja, 2010).

### 2.5 Post-conflict Reconciliation

In recent years, newspaper articles have been published with such headlines as ‘The Necessity of Religious Reconciliation in Iraq’ and ‘Ukraine's president calls for reconciliation between rival war veterans’ ("Ukraine's president calls for reconciliation between rival war veterans," 2005; Walsh, 2008). These news articles advocate for
reconciliation between warring factions based on the premise that reconciliation is a positive act within society. Bar-Siman-Tov (2004) also raises the need for reconciliation when societies are involved in conflict in which widely shared attitudes and beliefs support adherence to the conflictive goals, maintain the conflict, and delegitimize the opponent. He believes that without reconciliation there is less possibility for peaceful resolution and development of peaceful relations. If reconciliation is necessary after conflict then the question becomes what is the best method to move the reconciliation process forward.

On the international scale, traumatic experiences are often produced by destructive conflicts involving external forces that frequently generate combat casualties, psychological wounds and mutual enmity (Tsai & Coleman, 1999). Post-conflict reconciliation contains a process that progresses from an unstable peace in which there is an end to violence but could easily erupt again to stable peace in which there little to no possibility of war (He, 2009). He (2009) categorizes interstate reconciliation into three levels of reconciliation. The first level is non-reconciliation which is marked by a high threat for war, lack of recognition of national sovereignty, minimal economic interaction, and hatred and fear of the populace towards the other state. The second level is reached when shallow reconciliation occurs. At this level there is a moderate expectation of war, partial national recognition, limited economic interactions, and moderate popular tension. The third level involves a deep reconciliation where there is a common expectation of peace, full national recognition, comprehensive, smooth economic interactions and harmonious mutual feeling. In order to reach deep interstate reconciliation after a conflict, stable peace as well as an environment that produces amicable relationships on a governmental and individual level is necessary (He, 2009).

2.6 Barriers to post-war reconciliation

A multitude of barriers may impede the post-conflict reconciliation process between groups and individuals. Elder (1998) deemed that for reconciliation to progress between countries engaged in war, they must first begin by acknowledging the harm they inflicted upon their enemy. Countries taking responsibility for causing harm towards their enemy is in itself problematic. If both sides believe their cause is righteous this will likely serve as justification to the harmful acts they carried out to further their
agenda thus stalling the process of forgiveness and reconciliation (Branscombe & Miron, 2004). Even in cases when group members accept responsibility for harm-doing, they may still reason that committing these harmful action was necessary (Branscombe & Miron, 2004). When feelings of collective anxiety arise from group threat, these feelings can motivate in-group members to become more protective of their own actions that in turn further validates their own negative behaviour towards the out-group (Wohl & Branscombe, 2009). Therefore, the in-group’s negative perceptions of the out-group might lead to a greater willingness for them to forgive their own in-group for its aggressive actions against the out-group (Wohl & Branscombe, 2009). Large-group enmity can raise feelings of group belongingness that causes group identity to become more important than the identity of the individual. In addition, large-group enmity may increase the need to provide a clearer distinction between one’s own group and the enemy group (Volkan, 1999a). Specific to war, practices may be enacted to help maintain a separate identity from the enemy and to insure that a psychological border is kept between the groups regardless of cost. When these practices fail to separate the identity of groups in conflict, mass anxiety may occur that increases intergroup hostility (Volkan, 1999). Furthermore the presence of emotions such as hate, contempt and disgust can lead to intergroup avoidance making it more challenging for positive intergroup contact to occur (Feddes, Mann, & Doosje, 2012).

Another barrier to the process of post-war reconciliation is the dehumanization that occurs between war adversaries. In order for violence to occur, the enemy must be dehumanized as it makes it easier to engage in violence against those who are not like self and viewed as not human (Aiken, 2008; Northrup, 1989). Moreover, this process involves the rejection of valid and invalid information “about the enemy and relying on the psychological construction of the other: communists are bad people, their beliefs deny individualism and freedom, they want to take over the world and so on” (Northrup, 1989, p. 74). Halpern and Weinstein (2004) believe that for reconciliation to progress there needs to be a “reversal of this dehumanization and a return of humanity to those from whom categorization has removed all individual attributes” (p 567). Furthermore, the dehumanization that occurs during war can hinder the post-war reconciliatory process by reducing support for adopting actions in order to repair the
harm that was committed against the victim out-group (Zebel, Zimmermann, Tendayi Viki, & Doosje, 2008).

Social breakdowns may shift the sense of individuality to group identity resulting in individual actions becoming more influenced by group pressures that causes out-group members to become dehumanized by the in-group (Halpern & Weinstein, 2004). Additionally, when large groups are actively engaged in conflict, a need exists to view the enemy as different from themselves which enables them to project unwanted traits onto their enemy, thereby dehumanizing their enemy (Volkan, 1999). By attempting to understand the humanity in enemies the belief that there can be a future peaceful coexistence can begin to grow (Shriver, 1995). Moreover, the first step in normalizing or re-humanizing the former enemy is through the discovery of commonality with them (Halpern & Weinstein, 2004). Forgiveness because it focuses on the past rather than the future does not offer the psychological basis for individuals to re-humanize their former enemies (Halpern & Weinstein, 2004). Conversely, reconciliation is seen as better apt to address the problem of re-humanizing those whose categorization has removed their individuality (Halpern & Weinstein, 2004; Volkan, 1999a, 1999b).

### 2.7 Political and historical reconciliation

Political status of a conflict is reached when personal ideas and acts associated with the conflict become public and then subjected to communal discourse (Kohen, Zanchelli, & Drake, 2011). In keeping with this, political reconciliation is defined as actions taken within the public sphere that strive to restore trust between antagonistic groups after an international or intrastate conflict (Kohen, 2009). After a national or international conflict, there can be a drive towards political reconciliation. In other terms, political reconciliation can be viewed as the agreement between two conflicted groups that encompasses an agreed understanding and recognition of a shared event (Kohen et al., 2011). Political reconciliation should serve as “an aspiration that sustains politics by framing an encounter between enemies in which they might debate the possibility and terms of their association” (Schaap, 2012, p. 86).

Schaap (2012) asserts that achieving political reconciliation is impossible because while it can be hoped that politics between former adversaries can take place in the
present, complete reconciliation cannot be achieved as this would mean that contingency and plurality has been overcome. Pluralism in politics is based on the premise there is “no unifying principle holding society together”, but rather society is a contingent anarchy in which groups are working together as well as against each other “and maintaining a rough and ready equilibrium in the struggle” (Mack, 1958, p. 4). Shriver (1995) proposes that the crimes of a government cannot exclude their citizens’ participation thereby steps must be taken to acknowledge and correct what has occurred so a positive political community can be created. The ability of political leaders to represent their collective to remember and forgive the actions of others can be a powerful influence for his/her constituents to do the same (Shriver, 1995).

Historical reconciliation addresses the “long-term memories of group animosity, that continue to haunt the national memory” (Barkan, 2009, p. 903). The process of historical reconciliation involves the individuals, institutions and societies who assume the role of perpetrator or victim that were not present during the injustice or conflict (Weyeneth, 2001). Time can weaken the resolve for demanding the adoption of action to move the reconciliation process forward (Gloppen, 2005). Due to the participants in the original wrong no longer living, there are fewer advocates who are driven to push for the adoption of actions needed to move the reconciliation process forward (Weyeneth, 2001).

The next generation charged with the task of reconciliation may have less motivation to address the past by working towards reconciliation. As in the case of the Vietnamese people, the vast majority currently alive have been born after the end of the Vietnam War. This fact brings to the surface the dilemma of how realistic is it to ask those who were not present during the war to engage in the reconciliation process with the former enemy. Potentially, those indirectly impacted by the war, such as the children of the Vietnam War veterans could drive the campaign for historical reconciliation based on the theory of trans-generational trauma. This theory posits that unresolved psychological tasks stemming from an ancestor’s trauma are passed down from generation to generation to finish (Volkan, 2009).

There are cases of war veterans’ children who have encouraged their fathers to visit post-war Vietnam in hopes that it might help in their father’s healing process. These
children may feel that it is their responsibility to continue to commemorate the Vietnam War and make right the wrongs committed against their fathers. Amanda, a child of a Vietnam veteran believed that the passage of time and actions taken by the children and grandchildren of the Vietnam veterans will insure that in the future the Vietnam War will be commemorated in such a way that honours the veterans’ service during the war (personal communication, 2012). Furthermore, she believed this was so because the children were more energized whereas the veterans seem more resolved to the lack of acknowledgement and respect for their service as they had to deal with this mistreatment for quite a long time.

2.8 Post-war reconciliation events

Long and Brecke (2003) assert that reconciliation events between former foes may improve the likelihood of reconciliation within the context of civil conflict. The following section examines the role that reconciliation events have in facilitating the post-war reconciliation process between former adversaries. Reconciliation events can be marked in historical records as opposed to reconciliation which occurs on an internal level within the individual’s mind (Long & Brecke, 2003). When conflict is present at an international level, reconciliation events based on the rational choice model can be adopted as a strategy. This strategy breaks down the pattern of hostile interactions by sending signals that provide a measure of commitment to the pursuit of improved relations with the other (Long & Brecke, 2003). The effectiveness of reconciliation events as signals is based on the high political cost associated with the leaders of opposing sides who organize and attend these events. The risk lies in the constituents not supporting the actions enacted by their leaders which could cause damage to the political images of the participating leaders. Moreover from a social psychology standpoint, these events can break impasses between conflicted groups by the inclusion of the conditions outlined in contact theory as will be discussed more at length in chapter three of this thesis.

The alternate approach to reconciliation is based on the forgiveness hypothesis. Reconciliation within the context of civil conflict is seen as “part of a process of forgiveness, transforming certain emotions (moving from anger to affinity) and transcending certain beliefs about oneself and the other, that opens the possibility of
new, beneficial relations” (Long & Brecke, 2003, p. 23). Reconciliation events based on the forgiveness hypothesis require contact between opponents, often with senior representatives from the respective factions; a public ceremony with substantial publicity or media attention that reports the event to a national audience; and ritualistic or symbolic behaviour that indicates the dispute is resolved and those involved may proceed in a more amicable relationship (Long & Brecke, 2003). Long & Brecke’s (2003) research results indicate reconciliation events improve relations between former war adversaries, is a step towards improving relations rather than a breakthrough and positive affect from these events may deteriorate over time.

2.9 Post-war psycho-social healing and peace-building

There is ambiguity about the relationship between peace-building, healing and political reconciliation within the post-conflict context. Staub et al. (2005) purports that healing not only decreases pain and suffering, but makes reconciliation possible. The process of reconciliation can be instrumental in building deep, lasting peace. Reconciliation has the power to change societal attitudes towards the conflict and the nature of the relationship between conflicted groups (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004). Strong peace requires that positive attitudinal change take place between the individuals, institutions and society involved in the large group conflict (Staub et al., 2005). The achievement of peace may be more easily reached when reconciliation and psycho-social healing are incorporated into the peace process (Staub et al., 2005). The resultant attitudinal changes from the reconciliation process is used to view intergroup relations in a new, peaceful framework that acts as a stable foundation for future amicable relations between former adversaries (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004). In opposition, Parent (2011) believes peace may be all that is necessary for healing to occur. She bases this assertion on the premise that even when post-traumatic suffering has been ignored and the achievement of political reconciliation seen as unnecessary, the achievement of peace has led to healing.

Oftentimes reconciliation is a top priority within international peace building practices (Parent, 2011). Peace building that adopts a top down approach empowers the political institutions rather than the individual to institute actions geared towards peace building. The bottom up or grassroots approach locates peace within the healing and recovery of
the individual (Parent, 2011). In using a top down approach political leaders may negotiate agreements that have little affect for the larger society and group members may disagree with the settlements and still harbour feelings that led to the conflict (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004). All of which can create an unstable peace that could easily collapse (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004. Even when peace agreements are reached, this does not mean necessarily that feelings of fear, mistrust and hostility have dissipated from those impacted by the conflict (Staub et al., 2005). Parent (2011) contends the debate between the effectiveness of top down versus the bottom up approach to peace building is unproductive. Instead she feels that peace should be found and built through individual healing and from the process of political reconciliation. Charbonneau and Parent (2011) also champion for the need to move on from the bottom up and top down debate to peace building because both approaches fail to demonstrate their interconnectedness in peace building interventions.

As an integrated-action process, psycho-social healing looks to promote the well-being of individuals as well as society (Gutlove & Thompson, 2006). This type of healing is especially important within the post-conflict environment as it aims to heal the psychological and sociological damage caused by the traumatic events of the conflict (Gutlove & Thompson, 2006). Trauma is believed to occur during war-time events when feelings of being overwhelmed leads to a sense of individual powerlessness and feelings of not being able to cope with the traumatic event (Gutlove & Thompson, 2004). While it is the individual who is adversely affected by socially generated traumas such as war, the healing needs to take place within a collective context that involves the individual (Charbonneau & Parent, 2011; Gutlove & Thompson, 2004).

Individuals within a group may experience different healing processes because of the variant nature of traumatic events in causing uneven effect (Keilson, 1992). Furthermore, the level of healing that those in positions of power may consider adequate may not be seen as good enough for those individuals and groups who suffered the trauma (Charbonneau & Parent, 2011). Those not directly affected by the large-group conflict may still be psychologically impacted by the transmission of the large-group’s feelings of pride, shame, and humiliation by simply being a group member (Volkan, 1999). Moreover, Amilivia (2012) state that social healing and reconciliation can only be achieved when the social and the political communities
responsible for the conflict accept ownership of the harm they have committed and take active steps that involve the whole community, the society, and the responsible institutions in the healing process.

When individuals engage in violence towards others, a part of their own humanity becomes closed off and feelings of empathy and compassion are repressed towards their victim(s) (Staub, 1989; Staub et al., 2005). Premeditated violence may require the perpetrators to blame the victims and hold onto ideology that serves as justification of their actions. By doing so the perpetrator is able to protect themselves from being overwhelmed with the guilt and horror of what they have done (Staub et al., 2005; Staub & Pearlman, 2001).

After experiencing a trauma, group membership can prove cathartic because it re-creates a sense of belonging, re-stores humanity, offers positive affirmations, and provides protection from terror and despair (Hermans, 2001). For those traumatized, simply being in a group who share similar experiences can provide comfort. This comfort is exemplified by Ken Smith who shares his experience of joining a Vietnam veterans group.

Since Vietnam I’d never had a friend. I had a lot of acquaintances, I knew a lot of women, but I never really had a friend, someone that I could call at four o’clock in the morning and say I feel like putting a 45 in my mouth because it’s the anniversary of what happened to me at Xuan Loc or whatever the anniversary is…Vietnam vets are misunderstood, and it takes another Vietnam vet to understand us. These guys perfectly understood when I started talking about…certain things. I felt this overwhelming relief. It was like a deep dark secret I’d never told anybody (Herman, 2001, p. 215).

Military deployment can increase the risk of some mental health conditions included in the DSM in comparison to the general population (Campbell, Pickett, & Yoash-Gantz, 2010). The psychological trauma experienced by soldiers serving in the Vietnam War led to the addition of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder to the DSM (Brende, 1983; Volkan, 1999a). The experience of living through a traumatic event can cause maladaptive behavioural, cognitive, emotional and physical responses that can develop
into PTSD (Brende, 1983). PTSD adversely affects the ability of the individual to function in society and decreases the overall quality of life (Gutlove & Thompson, 2004).

In 1997, MacDonald, Chamberlain, and Long conducted a study on New Zealand Vietnam veterans to determine the prevalence of PTSD amongst this population. Participants completed a questionnaire that included multiple scientific assessments for diagnosing PTSD. Of the valid returned questionnaires 43 of the 161 Maori veterans and 84 of the 563 non-Maori veterans were classified as "PTSD cases". PTSD may cause those afflicted to become depressed, distance themselves from others, wish for revenge, and/or suffer from shame, guilt and helplessness (Volkan, 1999). The identification of PTSD as a mental disorder is in itself problematic. The implication is such that the only way to avoid being diagnosed with this disorder is to be unaffected adversely by a trauma, but a lack of suffering from the ill effects of the trauma is also seen as abnormal (Boone, 2011).

### 2.10 Summary

In conclusion, this chapter discussed the conceptual and theoretical framework of reconciliation and how it differs from forgiveness. Also a focused discussion was included on the relationship between reconciliation, psycho-social healing and peace-building within the context of a post-war environment. Within this examination, the barriers as well as the facilitators in moving the reconciliation process forward were exposed. The following chapter provides an explanation of contact theory and its effectiveness in generating positive attitudinal change and reducing prejudice between in-groups and out-groups.


Chapter 3  CONTACT THEORY

3.1  Introduction

This thesis explores intergroup contact and its connections to post-war reconciliation between New Zealand Vietnam War veterans and their fellow countrymen, the Vietnamese and with self. Intergroup contact has been shown to be beneficial in improving intergroup relations as well as a component in facilitating reconciliation (Nadler & Fisher, 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Contact theory provides the theoretical framework that serves as the basis of this thesis in that intergroup contact is theorized as the mechanism that moves the process of reconciliation forward. Subsequently, it is useful to present the origins and development of contact theory as well as the various aspects that can impact contact’s ability to reduce prejudice and improve intergroup relationships. Meta-analytic testing has been performed on contact theory research (Ford, 1986; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2000). By scrutinizing the results from these testing, demonstrates the effectiveness of intergroup contact in the reduction of intergroup prejudice and producing positive attitudinal change.

3.2  Contact Theory

Since the 1940’s, academic researchers have explored the effects of intergroup contact on prejudice. Prejudice is defined as “a widespread, but socially unaccepted attitude, which categorizes individuals and/or groups by negatively evaluated attributes” (Schütz & Six, 1996, p. 442). Previous research on prejudice and its effects on individuals, groups and society have predominately studied it as a negative attitude needing to be eliminated (Brewer, 1999). Additionally, there is conviction that prejudice based on group membership is a contributing factor in the development and continuation of conflict in society. Both Williams’ (1947) and Allport’s (1954, 1979) research looked towards discovering how to reduce black prejudice by whites in America. Their findings became the foundation of contact theory which is based on the belief that in-group members by learning new information about the out-group through direct contact
will be less prejudiced towards members of the out-group\(^1\) (Williams, 1947; Allport, 1954, 1979).

Allport designated the optimal conditions supportive of contact’s potential to reduce intergroup prejudice and promote positive intergroup outcomes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). The optimal conditions that support intergroup contact in reducing prejudice are as follows; intimate and voluntary actions between individuals with equal status who share common goals in a supportive environment whose intergroup attitudes are not extremely negative (Allport, 1954). Contact theory since its first inception has expanded to examine groups based on nationality (Pizam, Jafari, & Milman, 1991), disability (Cameron & Rutland, 2006), ethnicity (Rydgren, Sofi, & Hällsten, 2013), religion (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Hewstone et al., 2006), and sexual orientation (Heinze & Horn, 2009). Previous research has focused on the premise that individuals are members of multiple groups and have examined the effect of cross-categorization such as gender and ethnicity on the reduction of prejudice, bias and discrimination with varying results (Brewer, Ho, Lee, & Miller, 1987; Crisp & Hewstone, 1999; Crisp, Hewstone, & Rubin, 2001). This thesis has focused on a simple-group category of nationality, but acknowledges that multiple group categories may affect the results of contact reducing group prejudice.

### 3.3 Extended contact theory

Based on contact theory, the extended contact hypothesis proposes that gaining knowledge from an in-group member with a close relationship with an out-group member can lead to more positive intergroup attitudes (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). The effectiveness of extended or indirect contact is reliant on the mechanisms of positive in-group exemplar, positive out-group exemplar and including other in self (Wright et al., 1997). Positive in-group exemplar describes the process of when in-group members are able to gain knowledge about the norms of the out-group through intergroup interaction. Accordingly this knowledge is shared with

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\(^1\) “Through a social comparison process, persons who are similar to the self are self-categorized with the self and are labelled the in-group; persons who differ from the self are categorized as the out-group” (Stets & Burke, 2000, p. 225).
other in-group members who then become less anxious in their interactions with the out-group because they understand what behaviours are expected of them (Wright et al., 1997). The out-group exemplar occurs when observations of positive intergroup interactions can counteract previous negative stereotypes about the out-group and show higher variability among members of the out-group (Wright et al., 1997). The inclusion of others in self identity in terms of close relationships can be described as follows:

The person acts as if some or all aspects of the partner are partially the person's own. Specifically, to the extent a partner is perceived as part of one's self, allocation of resources is communal (because benefiting other is benefiting self), actor/observer perspective differences are lessened, and other's characteristics become one's own (Aron et al., 1991, p. 242)

The integration of the in-group into one’s concept of self occurs when the individual self-categorizes, or views self in terms of group membership rather than seeing self as a unique entity (Smith & Henry, 1996). Additionally, when an individual has an out-group friend, the friend’s in-group may become part of their self in which to “some extent, the self begins to see members of that group as part of the self” (Wright et al., 1997, p. 76). As a result their attitude towards members of their friend’s in-group becomes more positive and akin to how they would treat their own understanding of self, which undermines the in-group-out-group distinction (Wright et al., 1997). The mechanisms of positive in-group exemplar, positive out-group exemplar and including other in self have been found to play an independent role in which each of these variables contributes to the understanding of the effects of extended contact on attitudinal change (Turner, Hewstone, Voci, & Vonofakou, 2008).

Extended contact has a greater probability to reduce prejudice because it can be applied in circumstances in which there is limited opportunity to engage in direct intergroup contact (Turner et al., 2008). Previous research (Cameron & Rutland, 2006; Turner et al., 2008) confirms that extended contact can result in more positive out-group attitudes demonstrating its potential in reducing prejudice. Additionally, a study by Feddes, Noack, and Rutland (2009) determined that extended friendship is moderately associated with positive out-group evaluations from both minority and majority groups. Cross-group contact, and especially friendship, is thought to better enable one to
empathize with and take the perspective of the out-group (Pettigrew, Christ, Wagner, & Stellmacher, 2007). Compared to direct-ethnic friendship associated with a setting with a high rate of intergroup interaction, extended cross-ethnic friendship appears less effective in changing the majority group attitudes over time (Turner et al., 2008; Feddes et al., 2009).

3.4 Limitations and strengths to contact reducing prejudice

There is a paradoxical nature to contact because prejudice can stem from a lack of contact as well as negative intergroup contact between in-group and out-group members (Simpson, Yinger, & Milton, 1953). Therefore it is important to examine how intergroup contact in general can perpetuate prejudice that results in outcomes that can negatively affect members of society. Moreover it is crucial to discuss how intergroup contact that is generated with the intent to help reduce prejudice can result in both positive and negative affects for in-group and out-group members. Discussing these issues will show the complex consequences that can stem from intergroup contact.

The need to form groups is fundamental to human continuity. In order to survive, human beings have learned altruistic behaviour and the need to cooperate with others in sharing resources (Brewer, 1999). The presence of group differentiation and clear group boundaries provides one mechanism for balancing individual selfishness and interpersonal sharing (Brewer, 1999). “In effect, defined in-groups are bounded communities of mutual obligation and trust, which define the boundaries of mutual cooperation. These defined groups limit the extent to which the benefits and the costs of cooperation can be expected” (Brewer, 1999, p. 77). In contrast to in-groups, out-groups consist of people outside of one’s own group and are viewed in terms of “they” rather than “we” (Allport, 1954). The mere presence of an out-group member can promote comparisons between groups; thereby leading people to perceive themselves and others in terms of group membership (Tajfel, & Turner, 1986; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971; Wilder, 1984).

Conflict can occur when the in-group favours their own members by choosing to discriminate or carry out actions that negatively affect members of the out-group (Allport, 1954; Schütz & Six, 1996). The concept of discrimination is not distinct from
prejudice; rather both are expressions of prejudice in which the prominent difference is that the discriminatory action is more easily observed while the prejudicial thought is easily concealed and more difficult to investigate (Works, 1969). In addition, group threat over resources or national symbols has been shown to increase the in-group’s willingness to expel out-group members from their society. On a positive note, McLaren’s (2003) study on immigration determined that perceived threat could be reduced if intergroup contact gave group members the potential to view similarities between their groups. Environments with high levels of threat were affected by people having less hostility if they had increased contact and more friends within the minority group. Furthermore, a positive outcome from contact occurred when people felt that friendship could result from the contact, there was a reduction of exclusionary preferences regardless of the threat factor. Although when there were fewer members in the minority group there was less effect on friendships decreasing hostility.

Stereotypes, defined as beliefs about the characteristics or behaviours of most members of a social group, can be harmful because they often contain unfavourable characteristics that are generalized to all out-group members (Mackie & Hamilton, 1993; Wilder, 1993). Additionally, in-group concern for their own extinction can strengthen behaviours that results in a group that is more homogeneous and isolated (Wohl & Branscombe, 2009). The negative consequence from viewing groups as homogeneous is that in-group members are then more likely to discriminate against out-group members (Wilder & Allen, 1978). In addition, factors such as favouritism and protectionism which strengthen in-groups also provide justification for antagonism and distrust towards members of the out-group (Brewer, 1999). There is also a concern that when individuals interact with an out-group member whom they perceive as being atypical of their group, that the in-group member is then unlikely to change their stereotypes of the out-group even if the contact is positive (Wilder, 1993). Increased intergroup contact can be an effective means to reduce the negative effects that result from stereotyping if the contact provides in-group members with the opportunity to learn that there is variability among the out-group members (Islam & Hewstone, 1993).

The effectiveness of intergroup contact in reducing prejudice has been shown to be adversely influenced by feelings of anxiety. According to Barlow (1991), anxiety originates from a sense of uncontrollability that prepares the individual to act when
confronted with future threats, dangers, or other negative events that might result in harm to the self. Intergroup anxiety refers to feelings of threat and uncertainty that people experience in intergroup contexts because they are unsure of how they should act, how they might be perceived, and whether they will be accepted (Berger & Calabrese, 1975; Blascovich, 2000; Gudykunst, 1985; Mendes, 2002; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Anxiety which is common in initial encounters between members of different groups can result in negative reactions (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Stephan & Stephan, 1992; Stephan & Stephan, 1985, 1989) which can occur even without intergroup prejudice (Wilder, 1993).

The intensity of intergroup anxiety is based on prior time spent with the intergroup, intergroup knowledge, and the amount of structure offered during the intergroup contact (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Continuous contact with out-group members is believed to reduce intergroup anxiety because repeated interaction provides knowledge that lessens uncertainty on how to interact with the out-group (Blair, Park, & Bachelor, 2003). Generally, structured events will produce less anxiety than unstructured events because people are better able to conduct their behaviour in terms of agreed norms and roles (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). In addition, intergroup contact that incorporates cooperation rather than individualized competition is more likely to reduce prejudice (Slavin, 1985). The negative interaction of much competition stems from the zero-sum goal structure of exchanges between in groups and out-groups (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). In general, when shared goals are included in the interaction both the in-group and out-group benefits from the intergroup interaction (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Although when cooperation is involved there might be heightened anxiety at the beginning of the interaction because of the closeness and coordination required to accomplish the shared goal (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Although increased intergroup contact can lessen personal animosity towards out-group members this does not automatically translate to the in-group actively seeking out actions that would eliminate discriminatory practices (Jackman & Crane, 1986).

3.5 Mitigating barriers

Reducing negative feelings such as anxiety and group threat represents an important means by which intergroup contact diminishes prejudice (Islam & Hewstone, 1993;
Previous research has demonstrated that intergroup anxiety mediates the relationships of intergroup contact and prejudice (Aronson, Blaney, Stephan, Sikes, & Snapp, 2002; Mowforth & Munt, 2009; Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, & Voci, 2004). Furthermore, studies have shown repeatedly that contact can reduce feelings of threat and anxiety about future cross-group interactions (Blair et al., 2003; Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Paolini et al., 2004; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). While anxiety can generally be reduced by continued contact, there are conditions which can increase intergroup anxiety. Prejudicial attitudes are believed to increase intergroup anxiety because they predispose individuals to expect the worst from the out-group and to view any intergroup interaction as potentially threatening (Blair et al., 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). The perception of threat coming from the out-group may originate from the in-group members’ own personal prejudices prior to the interaction (Blair et al., 2003). The perceived threat can cause the in-group to dislike the out-group more intensely after the interaction, ensuring that they forget prior positive intragroup encounters and avoid future contact with out-group members (Blair et al., 2003). Intergroup anxiety may itself increase prejudice and alter one’s perceptions of prior and future encounters (Blair et al., 2003).

The most extreme discrimination, arrogance and condescension occur when an in-group’s superior status is threatened by an out-group (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). For example, tourists visiting foreign countries may exhibit rude behaviour towards the locals because they feel threatened as a result of no longer being part of the in-group (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Stereotyping of a group is more likely to occur when groups engage in intergroup contact in an environment with high levels of anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). These intergroup interactions are more likely to generate in-group perceptions that the behavior of individual out-group members are consistent with the out-group and distinctive from their own in-group behavior (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). They are therefore likely to base trait inferences about the other group on these behaviors. Neither group is likely aware that much of the behavior they observe is caused by the anxiety generated by their own presence (Stephan & Stephan, 1985).
3.6 Contact studies

The majority of research on intergroup contact has failed to focus on how members of the out-group perceive their interactions with the in-group (Pettigrew et al., 2007). One exception is a study that examined the effects of intergroup contact on the out-group (Richeson, Trawalter, & Shelton, 2005). This study determined that the out-group of black students who had negative pre-conceptions of the in-group of whites were more likely to gain negative experiences as a result of the interracial contact (Richeson et al., 2005). In addition, research has indicated that black participants were more likely to be positively biased towards whites and less likely to show favouritism towards their own group (Richeson et al., 2005; Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005). Additional support for negative effect from contact is evident in Islam and Hewstone’s (1993) study which examined the effects of contact between the minority group of Hindus and the majority group of Muslims. Although Hindus experienced more contact with Muslims, the Hindus rated the contact as more unpleasant, more unequal in status and had higher anxiety levels than the Muslims. These findings may be in part because deviation from equal status has been shown to increase anxiety levels thereby increasing prejudicial tendencies (Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

Paolini, Harwood and Rubin (2010) studied face-to-face contact between white and ethnic Australians in order to determine if negative contact leads to high category salience. The results showed that when negative contact occurred with out-group members, the in-group members were more likely to refer to the ethnicity of the out-group members more frequently and sooner after the contact occurred. This study also found evidence that the valence-salience effects\(^2\) were relatively long lasting. A closer look at the communicative and affective foundation of these effects revealed that perceptions of the ethnic partner’s lack of nonverbal immediacy and participants’ lack of positive emotions contributed to increases in category salience. Further investigation of intergroup contact theory must take into account the subjective factors involved for

\(^2\) Valence-salience effects are the mechanism in which “negative contact makes individuals more aware of their respective group memberships causing high category salience, whereas positive contact causes low category salience (Paolini et al., 2010, p. 1724).
both groups in the interaction to fully understand the impact from contact (Pettigrew et al., 2007).

The interventions to resolve conflict often look to changing in-group attitudes towards the out-group (Hewstone et al., 2006). This belief of resolving conflict through attitudinal change is based on the premise that when the majority group adopts a more positive view of the minority group, there is a hope that this change of attitude will become the foundation for a more peaceful world. Dixon, Tropp, Durrheim, and Tredoux (2010) determined that previous research on intergroup contact has predominately adopted a model of social change that is based around the psychological rehabilitation of in-group members in order to reduce prejudice and conflict. When interventions meant to reduce or eliminate the in-group prejudices are successful, there can be negative effects for the out-group. Positive contact may increase the out-groups’ trust in members of the in-group, but this increase of trust of the in-group may decrease the out-group’s perception of racial inequality.

Previous studies (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2007; Dixon, Levine, Reicher, & Durrheim, 2012) have supported the proposal that the out-group may underestimate the injustice and discrimination suffered by their group thereby causing them to withdraw action to fight for equal status with the in-group. Furthermore, positive intergroup contact can contribute to members of disadvantaged groups’ failure to recognize and act against structural inequality (Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009). Direct contact could lead to an increase of positive attitudes towards the minority group which would result in reduced attention to inequality among both the majority and minority groups. The heightened expectations for equality among the minority group may prove unrealistic when judged against the real distribution of resources of the majority group. Even if intergroup harmony is attained, this does not necessarily mean that social equality has been achieved. Saguy’s et al. (2009) study indicated that although positive contact can improve attitudes there does exist a blurring of group differences which can undermine collective action to remove social inequality. Positive intergroup contact did not weaken its effect on promoting equality but rather the critical factor focuses on what comprises the positive contact and the process in which conflict is resolved (Saguy et al., 2009).
3.6.1 Meta-analytic testing of contact studies

Several meta-analytic tests have been performed on intergroup contact research. Meta-analytic testing refers to the process of conducting statistical analysis on a large compilation of quantitative findings from individual studies. The purpose of these tests is to integrate the collective findings to determine “the typical effect, its variability, its statistical significance, and the nature of the moderator variables from which one can predict the relative strength of the effect” (Glass, 1976; Rosenthal, 1995, p. 185). Performing meta-analytic testing is beneficial in providing a big picture from collected studies, keeping statistical significance in perspective, and becoming more familiar with the studies from a specific research area (Rosenthal & DiMatteo, 2001). There are potential issues in generating data from a large group of studies. For example, these tests can produce flawed generalized assertions due to a failure to factor in underlying issues that affect the results of the individual studies. Furthermore, all meta-analytic tests contain some bias due to the nature of determining which studies will be included in the test. Additionally, it is very likely that not all appropriate studies will be found because studies that have null to negative results are less likely to be published (Rosenthal & DiMatteo, 2001). Due to the exclusion of qualitative studies in meta-analytic testing, there is a failure to include the more detailed information generated from these types of studies that may contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the effect or the phenomenon being analyzed.

The first meta-analytic review of contact research was performed by Ford in 1986. This review included 53 papers published from 1960-1984 (Ford, 1986). Ford proclaimed that the review’s results could not conclusively pronounce that positive contact definitively reduces prejudice. The inability to do so was attributed to the failure of the journal articles to include detailed information that would allow for a more thorough critique of their findings. In addition, because half of all these contact studies were set in school and home settings, the research underrepresented the effects of contact at the workplace and during leisure activities. Due to the lack of diverse settings in the articles reviewed, future research was deemed warranted to determine if the ability of contact to reduce prejudice was effected by settings outside the school and home environment (Ford, 1986).
A preliminary report by Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) analyzed a compilation of direct contact studies. In order for a study to be included in their meta-analysis the research had to meet the following requirements; empirical study in which intergroup contact is the causal independent variable for intergroup prejudice, direct intergroup interaction between members from distinguishable groups, the prejudice variable must be individually collected rather than as an aggregate outcome and the comparative data must be available to evaluate any variability in prejudice. Overall, the results from the meta-analysis appeared to confirm the notion that face-to-face contact aids in the reduction of intergroup prejudices and that these effects can be generalized. The studies which took place in work and other organizational settings resulted in the highest effect of all the settings.

In 2006, Pettigrew & Tropp performed a more extensive meta-analytic test on 515 studies from quantitative research of contact theory (1940 to 2000). The overall result from the meta-analysis indicated that intergroup contact reduces prejudice. Strong effects were especially evident in experimental studies in which participants were unable to avoid intergroup contact. Attitudes toward the immediate participants usually become more favourable to intergroup contacts effects can be generalized beyond participants in the immediate contact situation. Intergroup contact may be useful for reducing prejudice in a variety of intergroup situations and contexts, beyond its original focus on racial and ethnic groups. The results from the meta-analysis of contact studies demonstrated that establishing Allport’s optimal conditions in contact situations generally enhances the positive effects of intergroup contact but are not imperative to achieve positive outcomes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Research samples which failed to meet all of the required conditions of contact still indicated a significant relationship exists between contact and prejudice. Structured programs showed significantly stronger, more positive effect between contact and prejudice effects. Pettigrew and Tropp attributed this outcome to the important role of institutional support in facilitating positive contact effects. Implementing the structured condition in isolation should be met with caution as these studies were designed to provide optimal conditions for positive intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). In addition, institutional support for contact under conditions of competition or unequal status frequently boosted animosity between groups, thereby diminishing the potential
for achieving positive outcomes from contact (Sherif, 1966). To facilitate positive intergroup outcomes, optimal conditions for contact were most effective when designed to function together rather than as standalone contact conditions (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

3.7 Summary

As discussed in this chapter, the extensive research on contact theory has produced mixed results. Factors were highlighted that have been shown to impact contacts ability to reduce intergroup prejudice. The examination of the meta-analytics review and tests, demonstrates the overall effectiveness of intergroup contact in reducing prejudice. The next chapter looks at the tourism experience and its role within the post-war reconciliation process.
Chapter 4  TOURISM EXPERIENCE

4.1 Introduction

Building upon the preceding literature review on contact theory and reconciliation, this chapter examines the tourism experience. Firstly, this chapter critiques the results from Pettigrew and Tropp’s meta-analytic (2006) test on the sub-category of travel and tourism studies. An assessment is included of the effectiveness of the tourism experience in improving intergroup relations, peace-building and facilitating reconciliation. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the phenomenon of the tourism experience in which Vietnam War veterans visit their former war site(s).

4.2 Critique: Pettigrew and Tropp’s meta-analysis on travel and tourism

Intergroup contact within the tourism setting has the potential to meet the conditions to reduce prejudice as mapped out by contact theory. As mentioned in the contact chapter (see Chapter 3) of this thesis, Pettigrew & Tropp conducted meta-analytic tests on contact theory. The travel and tourism setting was included as a sub-category in the meta-analytic testing in which 13 samples from nine studies were used to measure attitudinal change (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2000). Although the compilation of the travel and tourist studies of all the situational predictors was shown to be the least conducive in reducing prejudice, there was limited investigation to explicate this finding by Pettigrew & Tropp. In this section, the failings of this test are identified that castes doubt to the validity and reliability of Pettigrew and Tropp’s findings. Several tourism studies included in the meta-analytic tests are scrutinized. In doing so, provides insight into why travel and tourism was measured as ineffective in the reduction of intergroup prejudice.

4.2.1 A general assessment

Pettigrew & Tropp attributed the failure of the travel and tourism setting in facilitating positive attitudinal change to the less intense and shorter duration of contact compared to that which took place in more formalized settings. They further ascertained that organizational settings may benefit from authority support whereas travel, tourism and
recreation may not. The specified criteria by which selected studies were categorized into the various contact settings was not included (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). As a result there is an inability to ascertain from the published results if there is cohesiveness or distinct differences between the studies assigned to the different settings that may impact the generalized results.

Through examining each study contained in the travel and tourism setting, a major difference in the studies was identified. Included in the meta-analysis were studies in which participants travelled for work and education purposes while other studies examined tourists travelling for personal pleasure. The vast majority of these studies fit into the travel rather than the tourism category. By not differentiating travel from tourism poses problematic in blind acceptance of the results generated from meta-analytic testing. The following is a discussion that describes the differences between tourism and travel which supports the error in grouping these two settings under one category.

Within academic literature, there has been much discussion on defining tourism as well as concerted effort in differentiating travellers from tourists (Beaver; Week, 2012). For the purposes of this thesis, tourism encompasses the “movement of people outside their normal routine for business, pleasure, or personal reasons” (Davidson, 2005; UNWTO, 2013). Travel is then defined as the activity of individuals who move between different geographic locations for any purpose (Yeong-Shyang et al., 2000). Tourism is categorized as a subset of travel and is defined as following (UNWTO, 2013):

Tourism comprises the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one year for leisure, business, and other purposes together with organizations or persons which facilitate these activities. It includes the services which enable and support those activities and the providers of these services, both public and private, whether supplied direct to travellers or through intermediaries (Beaver, 2005, p. 316).

Scholars (Cohen, 1974; Gibson & Yiannakis, 2002; Iso-Ahola, 1983) assert that a clear and distinct difference exists between tourists and travellers. To clarify, tourists are identified within this thesis as “voluntary, temporary travellers, travelling in the
expectation of pleasure from the novelty and change experienced on a relatively long and non-recurrent round-trip” (Cohen, 1974, p. 533). The clear distinction of tourist behaviour from other travel-related roles is such that tourists are fixated centrally on deriving pleasure from the trip (Cohen, 1974; Iso-Ahola, 1983; Yiannakis & Gibson, 1992). Alternatively, travellers comprise individuals such as migrants, workers and students and as such are not included in the tourist category (Yeong-Shyang et al., 2000).

4.2.2 Travel and tourism setting studies

The following section exams several studies included in Pettigrew and Tropp’s (2006) travel and tourism sub-setting. Carlson and Widaman’s (1988) survey study compared one group of college students enrolled in a yearlong study abroad program to a group of college students who remained at their home college. The study’s aim was to determine the impact of studying abroad on increasing international understanding. The post-travel results indicated that the study abroad students had higher levels of international political concern, cross-cultural interest, and cultural cosmopolitanism than the comparison group. In addition, students who studied abroad reported significantly more positive, but more critical attitudes toward their own country than did the comparison group. Moreover, those students with no travel abroad experience prior to their study abroad experience had a more positive shift in cultural understanding post-travel.

Carlson and Widaman’s findings did demonstrate attitudinal change, however the survey questions were generalized to all foreigners rather than a specific national group. Thereby failing to capture how intergroup contact via the study abroad experience specifically affected the negative prejudices students may have held on members of the host country. Another issue is even when attitudinal change is achieved; it does not necessarily mean participants reduced their prejudice towards their hosts as a direct result of the intergroup contact. Further investigation is needed to ascertain if the items on the questionnaires are reliable in indicating changes in negative stereotypes and prejudice that result from intergroup contact between the travellers and their hosts. Additional information gathering would prove beneficial in determining if the
participants who actively sought out and befriended members from the host country achieved more international understanding.

A second study included in the meta-analytic test was conducted by Loomis and Schuler (1948). This study examined the attitudinal change of Latin-Americans towards the United States, its people and institutions of governmental trainees during their yearlong apprenticeship in the United States. The goal of this trainee program was to increase “hemispheric solidarity” between North and South American countries by having the visitors become more conversant with the American culture and gaining competence in their specialty. Overall, the findings indicated participants held more favourable views at the point of their arrival and departure of the following: American social practices of recognizing the dignity of labour, importance of ability and energy in achieving high social position and the tendency to regard practical ability as the highest criterion of value. However, at their point of departure, participants left with less favourable attitudes towards the United States in reference to the dominant role of women in the home, their sexual morals, and lack of sanctity of marriage and race relations. Moreover in regards to race relations, the participants believed their countries offered more equality between blacks and whites than in the United States (Varshney, 2003).

This study failed to take in account the affect of participants’ nationalistic feelings (Loomis & Schuler, 1948). When travelling in a foreign country individuals may experience increased feelings of patriotism towards their native country (West, 2006). When actors are overseas, nationality becomes an avenue through which to attain ‘recognition as’ individuals are continually reminded of their citizenship and nationality in such ways as being asked where they are from by locals and other foreigners (West, 2006). Furthermore, Loomis and Schuler discussed a possible shift of the guests’ attitudes on arrival from overlooking the faults of their host nation to gradually changing to feelings of home-sickness which leads to the tendency to overlook the faults of their home culture. The manner in which the study’s questions were formed invited the participants to answer whether traits were more typical of their home country or the United States. These questions forced participants to decide traits that were more likely to be of a US citizen or of their countrymen. These questions may indicate an attitudinal change as a result of contact, but it raises the question of the
likelihood of participants’ willingness to rate their country less favourably than their host country. Just as in Pizam, Jafari & Milman’s (1991) study, the need to identify with ones group may have caused participants to remain loyal to their home country, thus leading to a less favourable rating of the United States.

Similar to other contact research, Loomis & Schuler’s (1948) study used pre- and post-visit questionnaires to measure attitudinal change within the tourism setting. These questionnaire solicit participants to substitute one set of stereotypes for another, instead of searching for a more comprehensive understanding of the environment that generates the underlying cliché representations of ‘the other’ and capture the reasons for the changed behaviour (Litvin, 2003; Scott, 2012). For instance, Loomis & Schuler’s (1948) study questioned whether participants felt their country or the United States was more racist. This resulted in the majority stating that the United States was more racist than their home country. Table 1 presents the average change in the beliefs of typical traits held by American citizens by 62 Latin American Trainees after living in the USA for one year (Loomis & Schuler, 1948).
Table 1: Questionnaire results from Loomis & Schuler 1948 study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directional change of U.S.A. being considered more typical of Trainee’s Country</th>
<th>Initial Score</th>
<th>Average Change</th>
<th>Directional change of being considered more typical of U.S.A.</th>
<th>Initial Score</th>
<th>Average Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ability to relax</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>1. Tendency to display insatiable curiosity</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tendency to be cleanly</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>-.8</td>
<td>2. Tendency of women to dominate men</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Morality of Women</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>-.7</td>
<td>3. Inability to prepare appetizing meals</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Punctiliousness in observance of amenities</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>-.7</td>
<td>4. Tendency to be typically lacking in good taste</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Tendency for politics to be corrupt</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>-.6</td>
<td>5. Tendency to be revoltingly informal</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Tendency to venerate things spiritual</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>-.6</td>
<td>6. Tendency of education to emphasize what is essential to making a living</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tendency to emphasize class distinctions</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>-.5</td>
<td>7. Tendency of religious organizations to foster development of democratic political institutions</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Preciseness of expression</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>-.5</td>
<td>8. Tendency of popular music to be disgusting</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Equality of treatment between Negroes and Whites</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>-.4</td>
<td>9. Tendency of young women to talk about women</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Tendency to make a great distinction between physical and intellectual work</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>-.4</td>
<td>10. Degree of sexual freedom of women before marriage</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to understand why this finding is suspect, it is helpful to look at the historical context of when Loomis & Schuler’s (1948) study took place. The timing of the study was such that the United States was in the throes of the Jim Crow Laws sanctioned by
the government which segregated blacks from whites. These participants were exposed to visible signs that informed the public that blacks were not allowed access to various facilities and amenities. In contrast, the Brazilian participants of the study had never experienced government sanctioned segregation or apartheid (Rosa-Ribeiro, 2000). Moreover, the Brazilian government and culture conveyed a message of national unity rather than promoting group distinctions (Saguy et al., 2009). Additionally, race in Brazil was not easily identifiable due to their large, racially mixed population (Owensby, 2005). In comparison the United States clearly defined the various races and there was a consensus of who belonged to these races.

Conversely, Brazil has been in denial of racism existing in their country. Yet, there are undertones of racism in the Brazilians manner of speech and samba music lyrics (Martins, 2008). For example, samba songs have included derogatory terms in reference to Afro-Brazilians (Martins, 2008). Historically the effect of racism towards Afro-Brazilians has materialized in their noticeable lack of receiving higher education, working in lower status and paying employment and higher likelihood of being impoverished (Martins, 2008). Although questionnaires can provide data that is statistically definitive in their results, there needs to be more care in understanding the cultures of the participants and how it may affect the results.

4.3 The ability of tourism to foster intergroup contact

Even in today’s society in which countries and communities may have residents from a wide array of ethnicities, groups can still remain spatially separated (Dixon, 2001). Indeed, when intergroup contact does occur in the every-day setting, individuals must “cross real or imagined barriers that continue to separate communities” (Dixon, 2001, p. 589). This statement holds true as well in the tourism setting. Tourists have the power to select the destination(s) and make decisions that impact interactions with their host. This section examines the potential barriers to intergroup contact between hosts and tourists. This examination is pertinent in providing the influential factors that affect the ability of returning war veterans’ to engage in intergroup contact with the Vietnamese in post-war Vietnam.
4.3.2 Tourist bubble

One obstruction for intergroup contact to occur between tourists and hosts is the existence of tourist bubbles. Tourist bubbles denote the “tendency of tourists to stay among themselves and to be physically in a foreign place but socially outside its culture” (Smith, 1989, p. 6). The term tourist bubble connotes the physicality of place as well as psychological aspects of the tourist, such as the tourists’ “eigenwelt of motivations, attitudes, and belief systems” (Jaakson, 2004, p. 45). Tourist bubbles or mobile enclaves enable the tourist to travel whilst maintaining a safe distance from other people (Edensor, 1998). Cohen (1972) describes how tourists do not abandon their everyday environment when visiting destinations, but instead travel within protective bubbles that resembles their daily life.

Often the modern tourist is not so much abandoning his accustomed environment for a new one as he is being transposed to foreign soil in an “environmental bubble” of his native culture. To a certain extent he views the people, places, and culture of that society through the protective walls of his familiar ‘environment bubble, within which he functions and interacts in much the same way as he does in his own habitat (Cohen, 1972, p. 166-167).

The effect of the tourist bubble on intergroup contact is evident in a study by Maoz (2006). Maoz’s (2006) research results indicated that the intergroup contact between the Indian host and the visiting Israelis led to negligible improvement in their relationship. The Israelis have distance themselves from their local Indian hosts, by creating and staying in their own tourist bubbles. These enclaves closely resemble life in Israel as they eat Israeli food, listen to Hebrew music, and attend Jewish spiritual centres. The Israeli tourists negatively perceived their Indian hosts as primitive, exotic and marginal which justified their negative behaviour towards their Indian hosts. As one Israel backpacker stated, “we treat them like trash, maybe because that is what they project. It’s not us, it’s them. They accept it as their karma, their faith” (Maoz, 2006, p. 227).

Eigenwelt is “the personal world as it is experienced, including one’s awareness of mind and body and the sense of who one is” (Colman, 2008).
response, some Indian hosts have shown resistance to the Israeli backpackers by not offering them services and posing as spiritual leaders. Indian hosts working in the tourism industry viewed the visiting Israeli backpackers as unsophisticated people, easily satisfied with instant gratification.

Psycho-social factors impact tourists’ contact with others. For example, tourists may actively isolate themselves from participating in intergroup contact with their host. Tourists may be motivated to travel as a form of interpersonal escape in which they desire to evade annoying people, to break away from a stressful social environment, and to circumvent social interactions with others (Snepenger, King, Marshall, & Uysal, 2006). In addition, tourists may spend the majority of their time in areas with a high concentration of tourist accommodations, attractions and facilities; which limits the amount and intensity of the intergroup contact with their host (Berno & Ward, 2005; Mathieson & Wall, 1982). As a result of this restrictive contact, there is less likelihood that intergroup contact will meet the conditions thought to reduce prejudice and promote positive attitudinal change. Furthermore, the relationships that form between the tourists and hosts are frail (Franklin, 2003). This frailty stems from feelings of uncertainty in maintaining strong, long lasting relationships due to the transient nature of the contact (Franklin, 2003).

Mass tourism is a barrier to intergroup contact producing positive attitudinal change in tourists. Mass tourism\(^4\) “commoditizes culture and human relations in which the limited contact between hosts and tourists dehumanizes both groups” (Seaton et al., 2000, p. 383). The result of mass tourism is an “increasingly dehumanizing assembly line production of tour experience, strictly controlled by the tour operators in terms of length of stay, choice of lodging, what to see, where to eat and shop, and with whom to interact” (Feng, 2012, p. 392). In particular, tours packaged for mass consumption have created “highly mediated experiences between host and guest that intensify the sense of outsidersness felt by each group, which in turn creates stereotypes” (McKercher, 2008, p. 345). As traditional hospitality cannot be maintained in the “face of the constant flow of tourists, tourists become objectified, faceless customers and locals are merely curious objects” (Seaton et al., 2000, p. 383; Feng, 2012).

\(^4\) Mass tourism refers to participation in tourism in large numbers (Beaver).
4.3.1 Stereotypes

In today’s society, stereotypes of tourists are a commonplace phenomenon, rooted from individual observations of the first rush of mass tourists (McKercher, 2008). As discussed in the contact chapter (see Chapter 3) of this thesis, stereotypes have a negative effect on improving intergroup relationships (Brewer, 1999; Mackie & Hamilton, 1993; Wilder, 1993). Individuals have an intrinsic need to “achieve positive group distinctiveness that causes them to compare their in-group with the out-group and favourably perceive their own group” (Struch & Schwartz, 1989, p. 365). Hosts are prone to stereotype tourists specifically by their nationality and perceive them to behave and live differently from themselves (Pizam & Sussmann, 1995). Indeed, the peculiar dynamics of the host-guest interaction can perpetuate intergroup stereotypes, rather than broadening perspectives of one another (Pearce & Stringer, 1991). Tourists have been stereotyped as crass, exploitative, and limited in showing appreciation and respect towards their host’s culture and sites (Jacobsen, 2000; Pearce, 2005). The very word tourist has been “imbued in contemporary understandings with a culturally derogative and negative connotation” (McCabe, 2005, p. 86). As a result, there is societal acceptance of disdain towards tourists to the point that even tourists dislike tourists (MacCannell, 1976).

The rhetoric of moral superiority that comfortably inhabits this talk about tourists was once found in unconsciously prejudicial statements about other ‘outsiders’, Indians, Chicanos, young people, blacks, women. As these peoples organize into groups and find both a collective identity and place in the modern totality, it is increasingly difficult to manufacture morality out of opposition to them. The modern consciousness appears to be dividing along different lines against it (sic). Tourists dislike tourists (p 9–10).

Stereotyping and the prejudice that results from tourism can damage the likelihood of intergroup contact producing positive attitudinal change. For example, African tourists have avoided travelling to KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa because of the racism and xenophobia they are subjected to in the province. Hanneli Slabber, South African
Tourism's global product manager, explained how the hosts need to change their attitudes towards these African tourists.

We need to look at the front-line service staff. We need to get over this whole xenophobia thing. We need to be friendly and welcoming and to understand the value of African tourists. The hospitality industry, the visitors' first point of contact, should take the lead and make people feel welcome. Offending South Africans "need a complete attitude shift (Cole, 2008).

The following study demonstrates the effectiveness of tourism in producing positive attitudinal change in tourists engaged in mass tourism. Anastasopoulos (1992) conducted a study on Greek tourists who travelled to Turkey on a week-long bus tour. Historically, the Greeks and the Turks have held opposing political and cultural views which has led to intermittent wars and open hostilities between these two countries (Volkan & Itzkowitz, 1994). Anastasopoulos was hopeful that the intergroup contact from these trips would lead to better relations between these two countries (Anastasopoulos, 1992). The study’s results indicated that the Greek tourists held predominately more negative feelings towards Turkey post-trip than the control group who remained in Greece. Anastasopoulos felt both governments’ lack of encouragement and promotion of intergroup contact on a grass-roots level resulted in an absence of intergroup contact in a positive environment. Also, the negative results may have resulted from the lack of intimacy of the contact and limited opportunity to engage in intergroup contact between the Greeks tourists and their Turkish hosts. Due to this limited and less intimate intergroup contact, there was less likelihood of contact leading to a reduction of stereotypes and prejudice. Future study was recommended to investigate tourists’ visits to destinations which hold historical significance to their heritage and ethnic background. This research is needed to provide insight on determining whether such sites intensifies visitors ethnic or patriotic feelings, resulting in a less likelihood of intergroup contact generating positive attitudinal change (Anastasopoulos, 1992).
4.4 Tourism: role in peace-building

There has been growing interest in utilizing the tourism sector as a means to facilitate peace in a post-war environment. Within the tourism research, D'Amore (1988b) defined peace as the absence of war and physical violence. Peace also encompasses the achievement of being able to live in harmony with self and others, the environment and the spiritual realm (D'Amore, 1988b). Tomljenovic (2010), a proponent of this approach believes that the intergroup contact within this setting can be utilized towards resolving conflict and creating good will. Conversely, Litvin (1998) argues that tourism cannot produce peace but is simply the beneficiary of a peaceful environment. Furthermore the connection between peace and tourism has been limited to theories based on little fieldwork or empirical data. By examining previous research that has analyzed these peace building initiatives there will be a clearer picture of the viability of tourism as a means to cultivate peace in the world.

The argument that tourism can be utilized to create peace is based on the following assumptions: tourism brings people in contact with each other, contact is sufficient in facilitating greater understanding and mutual liking and that this increased liking will lead to world peace (Tomljenovic, 2010, p. 17). The strength of tourism in generating peace is that it is an activity that brings people together in non-adversarial environments that provides opportunities that creates better understanding and empathy between people in which the application of that good will can be utilized towards resolving conflict (D'Amore, 1988b; Shin, 2010; Tomljenovic, 2010).

There have been more pro-active approaches in utilizing tourism as a mechanism to foster peace. For example, an educational programme is currently being administered by The Peace Boat Global University (Tatsuya, 2013). The participants of this programme spend three months at sea attending activities such as workshops, seminars and exposure tours. The goal of this programme is to provide a safe community in which students, teachers, resource staff, and instructors are able to co-exist peacefully. This educational programme appears to meet the conditions mapped out by contact theory to reduce prejudice. This is premised on the fact that participants are able to learn in safe spaces in which the activities and living in close quarters requires intergroup cooperation. Success of this programme is evident in a case of two youths,
one Israeli and the other a Palestine who participated in the programme. They were able to work through their differences and build trust to the point that upon returning home they initiated a joint peace programme together (Tatsuya, 2013).

Still, previous research on tourism and peace research has failed to demonstrate a strong link between tourist contact and peace processes initiated between those experiencing inter-group conflicts (Simone-Charteris & Boyd, 2010). The tourism sector although clearly a beneficiary of peace, may not be considered to be a generator of peace because it has never been successful in the absence of peace (Litvin, 1998). Furthermore, when tourism is revived after the occurrence of a conflict does not necessarily mean that tourism was responsible for the resolution of the conflict. Rather the revival of tourism post-conflict may simply be an indication of the resilient nature of the tourism industry (Litvin, 1998).

A case that failed to build peace was a tourist exchange project designed to gain cooperation from a Northern Turkish Cypriot village and a Southern Greek Cypriot village (Scott, 2012). The project’s aim was to develop a two centre vacation package that involved the exchange of tourists between the communities and sales of each other’s products in their respective markets. The success of the project was contingent on mutual reciprocity and cooperation between the two villages. Even though Karpaz, the Turkish Cypriot village was willing to take part in the project, the effort to gain buy-in from a Greek-Cypriot village ultimately failed. As a result the project continued without the participation of a Greek-Cypriot village.

The project’s failure was attributed to the sensitive political environment, a breakdown in recognizing the mutual benefits of reciprocity and a need for higher level support. The intergroup contact occurred in a non-neutral space which emphasized imbalance in the intergroup relationship. Furthermore, an element of competition was introduced in which Greek Cypriot villages would compete with one another in order to be selected for this project. Imbalance of status and competition are two conditions of contact theory that would negate the capability of contact in the improvement of attitudes. Rather than adhering to Scott’s call to move beyond examining individual contact as a means to work towards peace, there needs to be more focused examination on how the
conditions in which the individual contact occurred impacted the resulting failure from the initiative.

4.5 Tourism: fostering reconciliation

Scholars have argued whether tourism can foster reconciliation between nations in conflict and within a divided society (Braithwaite & Lee, 2006; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2003; Kim, Timothy, & Han, 2007; Sönmez & Apostolopoulos, 2000). The utilization of tourism to facilitate reconciliation is framed as a “subset of the broader peace through tourism goal, which accepts that harmonious relationships can result from frequent, high-quality intercultural contacts” (Kelly & Nkbahona, 2010, p 233).

Tourism can contribute to the development of positive images between long-term enemies, leading to more peaceful relationships on an individual level (Simone-Charteris & Boyd, 2010). When more conventional methods to reconciliation fail to reduce hostilities, tourism offers opportunities to improve relationships between adversaries as it increases intergroup contact and cooperation due to the need to work together in order to promote and make profitable their tourist goods and services (Simone-Charteris & Boyd, 2010; Sönmez & Apostolopoulos; 2000). The model in Figure 1 illustrates the predictors, moderators, mediators and outcomes of intergroup contact. The relevance of this model is that shows the complexity of the role of intergroup contact in the reconciliation process.
Post-World War II, the Cold War developed from the transnational ideological conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States (Leffler, 2005). As a result these countries experienced an adversarial relationship that did not improve until the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 (Leffler, 2005). Pizam, Jafari & Milman (1991) conducted a study of United States students visiting the USSR to determine if positive attitudinal change resulted from intergroup contact between the Americans and the Soviets. The study’s results indicated limited attitudinal change amongst the Americans towards the Soviets. The two positive changes attributed to the visit were an increase in American students belief that the Soviets were more reliable and less agreement with Soviets wanting world domination. Conversely, the trip resulted in the American students adopting the opinion that the Soviets were less clean, the government exhibited a lack of concern for people’s welfare and life in the United States was superior to that of the Soviet Union.

The authors of this study contended that there was little positive affect due to the inequality of status between the American students’ and the Soviets who served them (Pizam, Jafari & Milman, 1991). As in most tourism situations, the status of visitors and their hosts tends to be unequal because oftentimes there are perceptions that the
tourists are wealthier than their hosts whereas the hosts are perceived more likely to be more knowledgeable of the local culture, resources, and costs (Berno & Ward, 2005; Mathieson & Wall, 1982). Secondly, the contact was not intimate in nature as the escorted tour provided only limited opportunity to interact with the Soviet people (Pizam, Jafari & Milman, 1991). This study demonstrates that intergroup contact alone may not be enough to invoke attitudinal change and points to equality of status and the need for intimate contact among the hosts and travelers as being important conditions for the reduction of prejudice in this setting.

In 1994, Israel and Jordan signed the Treaty of Peace that ended a 46 year war driven by disputes over territorial ownership (Beaumont, 1997). Included in this peace treaty was an agreement by Israel and Jordan to develop joint tourism projects and encourage tourism to flow between their countries (Gelbman & Maoz, 2012). A breakdown of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process in the late 1990’s re-ignited tensions between the Israelis and Jordanians and this had a negative spill over affect on cross-border tourism between Jordan and Israel (Hazbun, 2008). Furthermore, the political tension between Israel and its neighbouring countries has created boundaries that have significantly impeded the development of inter-regional tourism (Gelbman & Maoz, 2012).

Political tourism has been developed as “a strategy in which peace and social justice activists show visitors locations of contention and the ways in which civil society addresses many aspects of the conflict” (Chaitin, 2011, p. 40). Political tourism provides experiences designed to encourage visitors to advocate and support peace and social justice initiatives upon their return home (Chaitin, 2011). In Simone-Charteris & Boyd’s (2010) seminal study, they investigated the role of political tourism as a mechanism for reconciliation between the Loyalist and Nationalist communities within Northern Ireland. Their findings indicated that this type of tourism contributes positively to communities reconciling by enabling people to share their perspectives of the conflict in a peaceful manner thereby reducing the likelihood of relapse of violence between them. That being said there are factors that impact the capability of tourism in reducing conflict; when a ceasefire to the conflict has been declared and the need for economic cooperation is evident, tourism can be more effective in facilitating peace building and reconciliation. The second factor relies on the willingness of the tourists
after coming home to become messengers of peace that would encourage others from their group to change their attitudes towards the enemy.

Trauma tours have been adopted as a more pro-active approach in facilitating reconciliation. For example, the Western Cape Action Tours (WECAT) offered by the Direct Action Centre for Peace and Memory within South Africa aims to keep the memories of the political violence and social injustices of apartheid alive by exposing travellers to townships and sites of violence in an effort to explore and understand South Africa’s past (Meskell, 2006). The tours are led by former soldiers of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress who fought against the old apartheid regime of South Africa (Tarica, 2004). These tours serve as the means by which visitors and the locals are able to come in contact with one other in a safe environment so that they can “work towards reconciliation and understanding” through interpersonal exchanges (Meskell, 2006, p. 169). Thabo, a tour guide told a white tourist that it was not long ago that he felt that

… all white people were wrong, whether they were South Africans or Americans. But today I can look at you straight in the eye, without shaking . . . . By taking this tour, you are helping to cross the racial divide, where people can look at each other, not as black or white, but as human beings (Tarica, 2004, p. 3).

Still, there is a danger that these trauma tours “might only embellish the standard township tour of old, one that sought to eroticize a world of cultural differences” (Meskell, 2006, p. 169). Although these tours claim to offer visitors a more authentic experience that depicts real people, there is acknowledgement by tourists that there is a performance aspect to these tours (Butler, 2010) Whether or not these tours lead to reconciliatory achievement is unclear in that there is little anecdotal data that would either support or dispute these claims.

Tourists are drawn to visit war-related sites such as war memorials, battlefields, and war museums. War memorials and battlefield sites seen as sacred may serve to increase feelings of patriotism that may discourage a more critical view of the part that both sides played in the event (Kelly & Nkabahona, 2010). Rather than increasing peaceful attitudes amongst the visiting tourists, these sites can actively perpetuate
hostility and hatred towards the (former) enemy, especially places that rely on shock factor to attract tourists (Kelly & Nkabahona, 2010). Evidence of this hostility can be seen in the comments left in visitors’ books at Holocaust and former prisoner of war sites such as “Germans must die!” and “Long live Israel” (Besser, 1994, p.48; Kelly & Nkabahona, 2010; Lennon & Foley, 1999).

These sites can help visitors become more knowledgeable about the past which may help them realize the need to maintain peaceful coexistence with others. Miles Lerman, chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council and a Holocaust survivor agrees with this assertion as evident in the following statement.

The museum has gone further than people expected, not only has it proven to be a very meaningful way of remembering the tragedy that befell our people, but it serves as a powerful lesson in contemporary history. We are finding that visitors become more sensitive to the world around them because of the museum (Besser, 1994, p.48).

4.5.1 Post-conflict: Tourism contact research

Pizam, Fleischer, and Mansfield (2002) conducted a study which asked Israeli eco-tourists who had travelled to Jordan on a 5 day bus tour to complete a structured questionnaire that quantitatively measured their attitudes towards Jordan’s people, politics, and institutions. Their results indicated a 45% positive change with no movement of attitudes changing in a negative direction as a result of the tourist experience. The Israeli ecotourists thought that Jordanians were kinder, more peace loving, better educated, and overall were more positive about their host than before they went to Jordan. The experience also improved the perception Israeli tourists had of Jordanian political beliefs and institutions. These findings were attributed to the fact that all of the conditions of contact theory were met. During the time that the study was conducted, Israel and Jordan were cooperating on numerous economic and political issues and saw themselves as partners in the quest for peace and prosperity ("Jordan, Israel Discuss Transport Cooperation," 2000).
Secondly, the Israeli visitors undertook a tour in which they were able to experience relatively intimate interactions with their hosts. The participants in being eco-tourists were atypical of mass tourism. Eco-tourists tend to have a higher level of environmental and social consciousness, which may lead to a better understanding amongst people and a more active interest in peaceful coexistence (Pizam, Fleischer, & Mansfield, 2002). Third, the political climate in the case of Israel-Jordan was considered favourable when the study took place. During this time both governments encouraged their countrymen to forge social contacts between their citizens and there were no recent reports of negative incidences between the countries (Luxner, 2000). Finally, there was a prior affinity amongst Israelis toward the Jordanian people and the royal Hashemite family for their role in promoting peace initiatives between Israel and their Arab neighbours (Zak, 1996). This study illustrates the need to investigate on a deeper level the effect of intimacy of contact, government support and the role of intergroup conflict on a more global scale in generated positive attitudinal change in the tourism setting.

Intergroup contact within the tourism environment is one method thought to reduce conflict caused by national differences. Uriely, Maoz and Reichel (2009) explored the impact of contact between Israeli tourists and their Egyptian hosts at a Sinai resort. The 2 year period of the study was marked with Egyptian terror attacks against Israeli tourists. Despite these hostile acts, the Israeli tourists who stayed at the Sinai resort and their Egyptian hosts both reported positive contact with each other in a peaceful environment. Uriely, Maoz and Reichel’s (2009) study indicated an increased awareness of the shared similarities led to a decrease in stereotypes and a willingness of the Egyptians to become friends with the Israelis. The researchers attributed these findings to the cooperation between the Israeli tourists and Egyptian hosts in helping each other reach their respective goals. The Egyptian hosts willingly helped their Israeli guests fulfill their need for an economical, calm vacation in exchange for monetary payment (Uriely et al., 2009). The intergroup contact which occurred was with mutual acknowledgement of each others goals and conducted in such a manner that would avoid conflict. For example, there was noted repression of political discussion centred on the Arab-Israel conflict.
As the majority of the Egyptian hosts reaped economic benefits from working at the Sinai resorts may have resulted in their having a more positive attitude towards their guests (Ap, 1992; Getz, 1994b; Jurowski, Uysal, & Williams, 1997; Pizam, 1978). Furthermore, positive results from the intergroup contact may have been supported by the isolation of Sinai from both countries which generated a detachment from the ongoing conflict in the region. Additionally, participants were able to rationalize their peaceful behavior through distinguishing each other as good people clearly separate from the bad Israelis and Egyptians responsible for the ongoing conflict.

4.6 Vietnam War Veterans return to former war sites

War-related tourism has a long history dating back to the seventeenth century when people travelled to watch battles in progress (Butler & Suntikul, 2013). Indeed war-related tourism has grown to include travel to war memorials, cemeteries, battlefield sites, and war museums. The period that post-war tourism starts is at the end of the war that is marked by tourists’ numbers beginning to rebound towards the pre-war period as there is a growing number of adventure tourists, family members of missing servicemen, and opportunists infiltrating the war zone (Weaver, 2000).

Previous research has examined the conditions that increase the probability of war veterans in returning to locations they served in during a war (Leopold, 2003; Weaver, 2000). The passage of time is an influential factor in motivating war veteran in returning to the war sites. Weaver ascertained that older former soldiers are more likely to travel overseas to the battlegrounds 20 years after the conclusion of the war. Their willingness to travel is premised on the fact that it is during this period of time war veterans begin to enter into the family life cycle and occupation stage in which these visits becomes more feasible and psychologically tolerable (Weaver, 2000). Leopold’s (2003) findings supports Weaver’s results as her participants were returning to post-war Vietnam approximately 20 years after the Vietnam War ended. Leopold’s survey indicated 29 New Zealand Vietnam veterans had returned to visit Vietnam predominately from 1996-2000 (Leopold, 2003). Of the 122 members of the New Zealand Ex-Vietnam Service Association, 47% indicated future intentions of travelling back to Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Laos, and/or Cambodia).
A major motivation of the New Zealand Vietnam veterans in returning to Southeast Asia was to see how the place has changed since they served in the Vietnam War (Leopold, 2003). This notion supports findings identified by Smith (1996) who acknowledged that veterans travel back to former war sites to “revisit and remember the days of their youth.” A number of authors, (Cameron & Gatewood, 2000; Cameron & Rutland, 2006; Garton, 2013; Smith, 1996; Timothy & Boyd, 2003) have pointed towards nostalgia representing a motivation for veterans.

Similar to the New Zealand war veterans, there has been a growing trend of Australian Vietnam veterans who have returned to Vietnam to visit historically and personally important battle sites such as Long Tan (Caron, 2008). Former Australian soldier and Vietnam veteran Gary McKay authored a book to help veterans decide whether they should go back to the land where they once fought. McKay reported that for many returning to a site where they saw their mates killed could be a difficult, but cathartic experience for them (Caron, 2008). W.W., an Australian Vietnam War veteran was able to meet with a Captain who served with the North Vietnamese communist forces during the war.

War overall is a nasty thing and the suffering occurs to both sides. And in their own way (the North Vietnamese military forces) they were going through the same challenges that we are as well. And to meet them in more friendly circumstances all those years later is, you know, is interesting. And, you know, you can’t say there is any malice remaining in this day and age. And when you look at how the country is, in my view, going ahead, you know. It was great to meet him. I would have liked to have had a longer chat with him. Yes, we didn’t really have a chance for that (personal communication, Stewart, 2005).

There is also evidence of American Vietnam veterans returning to post-war Vietnam. Curtis’ (2003) PhD thesis investigated organized tours for American Vietnam Veterans who went to post-war Vietnam for either a 10 day or 2 week journeys based on a set itinerary and conducted by a tour company. The thesis findings were such that the primary interest of participants who went back to post-Vietnam was visiting war-related sites and locating sites where they served and fought. It was also noted that these tour groups functioned like reunions, as the war veterans were able to catch up with life.
happenings and reminisce about their time in the war (Curtis, 2003). “These return visits are the means through which veterans understand, locate and reify their places in Vietnam war history, essentially claiming them” (Curtis, 2003, p. iv). This assertion is supported by Schwenkel (2009) whose research on US Vietnam veterans’ journey to post-war Vietnam discovered that for “many US veterans, journeys to post-war Vietnam were linked in diverse ways to cathartic and memorial processes of healing, reconciliation, and at times historical understanding. Post-war travels to Vietnam disrupted many the cyclical repetition of images of violence, providing new sights of Vietnam, not as a war, but as a country with a rich cultural and historical legacy” (Schwenkel, 2009, p. 31).

4.7 Summary

The chapter has provided a broad overview of the tourism experience. A critique was included of Pettigrew and Tropps’ meta-analytic test that brought to attention the weaknesses of results in terms of the travel and tourism setting. The effectiveness of tourism in facilitating peace and reconciliation was examined. This examination revealed the contradictory results of tourism in peace-building and reconciliation. A review on previous research on Vietnam veterans returning to post-war Vietnam was included which highlighted their motivation to return and the impact of these visits on their healing and reconciliation. This review supports the theory that these post-war visits play an important role in war veterans reconciliation process with others and self.
Chapter 5  METHODOLOGY

5.1  Introduction

This chapter serves as guide to the reader on the overall approach and rationale for the chosen research methods utilized in this thesis. Discussing the aims of this thesis provides clearer insight on why certain methods were selected for the data collection and data analysis. Additionally this chapter provides a description of the inclusion of co-researchers and the methods employed in the data analysis. This chapter is organized into the following sections; epistemological, ontological and reasoning positions, rationale for research approach, examination of how positionality and ethics as well as the incorporation of a reflexive approach towards the thesis may have influenced the research process and a description of the methods used for data collection.

5.2  Epistemological, Ontological and Reasoning Positions

The theoretical framework, as distinct from a theory, is sometimes referred to as the paradigm (Mertens, 2005; Bogdan & Biklen, 1998) and influences the way knowledge is studied and interpreted. Epistemology is defined as the theory of knowledge (Carter & Little, 2007). The researcher's epistemological stance serves as justification to the knowledge that they actively accept (Gringeri, Barusch, and Cambron, 2013). One’s epistemological position is of import because it frames the research method, the participant-researcher relationship, appropriate measures for research quality and determines how the knowledge is reported (Carter & Little, 2007). The research that has been conducted in this thesis has been guided by the intersubjective epistemological perspective which “recognizes that both the researcher and the researched are engaged in continual reflexivity and mutual interpretation and are therefore, creating knowledge through dialogue and their relationship with each other” (Granek, 2011, p. 183). Intersubjective epistemology denotes an ontological category that acknowledges reality is socially constructed (Unger, 2005).

Ontology refers to one’s “assertions or assumptions about the nature of being and reality: about what ‘the real world’ is” (Chandler & Munday, 2011, p 193). The researcher’s ontological stance influences their interactions with the research and shapes their study’s methodological approach. By adopting a critical realist social
ontology, I recognize that the world is stratified into separate domains of reality in which knowledge can be fallible due to the complexity of the world (Roberts, 2014; Benton & Craib, 2001). The Transformational Model of Social Activity that stems from the critical realist approach outlines the connection between individuals and society as described by the following text (Archer, Bhaskar, Collier, Lawson, & Norrie, 1998, p 216).

People do not create society. For it always pre-exists them and is a necessary condition for their activity. Rather, society must be regarded as an ensemble of structures, practices and conventions which individuals reproduce or transform, but which would not exist unless they did so. Society does not exist independently of human activity (the error of reification). But it is not the product of it (the error of voluntarism). …Society, then, provides the necessary conditions for intentional human action, and intentional human action is a necessary condition for it. Society is only present in human action, but human action always expresses and utilizes some or other social form.

The critical realism approach influences methodology because it “contends objects and social relations have causal powers which may or may not produce regularities, and in which can be explained independently from them” (Sayer, 2010, p. 2). As a result, qualitative rather than quantitative methods are utilized to establish the characteristics of social objects and relationships that are dependent on the causal mechanisms (Sayer, 2010) An inductive approach is “a systemic procedure for analyzing qualitative data in which the analysis is likely guided by specific evaluation objectives” (Thomas, 2006, p. 238). In terms of using an inductive approach, research findings are discovered through the emergence of frequent, dominant or significant themes that are determined in the analysis of “the raw data without the restraints imposed by structural methodologies” (Thomas, 2006, p. 238). By adopting an inductive approach to the research, I was able to incorporate observations and apply subjective reasoning with the aid of real life experiences of the New Zealand Vietnam veterans to provide a conceptual understanding of their post-war reconciliation process (Ridenour & Newman 2008; Lodico, Spaulding, & Voegtle, 2010).
5.3 Rationales for research methods

The main objective of this thesis was to investigate the post-war reconciliation process of the New Zealand Vietnam veterans. This investigation included an exploration of the phenomenon of Vietnam veterans returning to post-war Vietnam as it relates to the reconciliation process. The decision to utilize a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach to this thesis was based on several factors. Research methods adhering to the quantitative approach involves the collection of numerical data or data that can be transposed into numerical form to be analyzed using mathematically based methods like statistics (Sogunro, 2002). As quantitative research usually removes the outlier(s) from statistical testing, the reported results often do not address the significance of these outliers or provide explanation on why these outliers deviated from the other samples. Quantitative research is apt at reducing data to comprehensible units, whereas qualitative research makes a conscious effort “to document the complexity and multiplicity of experience” (Whitley & Crawford, 2005, p. 109). Moreover, “qualitative research methods are suited to understanding the meanings, interpretations, and subjective experiences” of closed and private social groups (Daly, 1992, p. 3-4). Qualitative research methods provide greater opportunity for researchers to develop a personal relationship with their participant(s) that is likely to garner more meaningful information than through the usage of more remote methods of data collection (Daly, 1992).

5.4 Aim of the research

The initial aim of the thesis was to explore post-war reconciliation process between the Vietnam War veterans and the Vietnamese; however as the research progressed two additional components of the reconciliation process were quickly discovered. As a result the aim of the thesis grew to include the Vietnam veterans’ reconciliation process with their fellow countrymen and with self. I propose that intergroup contact plays an important role in the post-war reconciliation process of former combatants. A sub-aim was to determine the impact of veterans returning to post-war Vietnam on the reconciliation process. More specifically, there was investigation to determine if the intergroup contact that occurred during these post-war visits served as motivation for the returning Vietnam War Veterans to rethink war time relations with the Vietnamese.
5.5 Triangulation Approach

High investigator bias has been recognized as a risk that undermines the validity and reliability of findings gleaned from qualitative research (Mays & Pope, 1995; Payne & Williams, 2005; Whitley & Crawford, 2005). Triangulation was developed as a means to remove or lessen biases and increase the legitimacy of the research by corroborating findings across data sets through using a combination of multiple methodological practices, information, perspectives, and observers in a single study (Bowen, 2009; Denzin, 2012; Flick, 2002, 2008; Flick, Garms-Homolová, Herrmann, Kuck, & Röhnsch, 2012; Jonsen & Jehn, 2009; Patton, 1989). Denzin (1970) categorized four different types of triangulation as 1) data triangulation involves time, space, persons 2) theory triangulation uses multiple theoretical schemes to interpret the phenomena 3) investigator triangulation involves multiple perspectives to interpret the data and 4) methodological triangulation uses more than one method to gather data. Additionally, Thurmond (2001, p. 254) categorizes data-analysis triangulation as the usage of two or more methods in analyzing data.

Triangulation, because it draws upon a multitude of theories that are a product of diverse traditions, has the capability of producing a fuller picture with more range and depth (Fielding, 1986). The usage of triangulation has not been without criticism as scholars have argued that it does not necessarily produce more objective or accurate research findings than using a single research approach (Blaikie, 1991; Fielding, 1986; Turner & Turner, 2009). Furthermore, in order to claim a more valid measurement in adopting a triangulation approach, researchers must be able to interpret either convergence of results, “or the lack of such convergence which follows from the use of different methods or data sources” (Blaikie, 1991, p. 123). There is also the question with triangulation of how one can compare across and draw together potentially very different types of data and sets of data (Denzin, 2012). I employed the triangulation approach with the understanding by using this approach there is recognition that all perspectives hold biases and that there is the inability to establish one “truth”. Rather, the intent in adopting a triangulation approach to the research was to gain a richer, more comprehensive depiction of the reconciliation process of war veterans in a post-war environment.
5.6 Data Collection

I utilized a triangulated approach to the data collection by drawing on secondary and primary sources. By incorporating data triangulation, there is the advantage of collecting a larger amount of data that allows for a richer interpretation of the phenomenon (Banik, 1993). Although this approach can generate a wealth of data it is important for researchers to be aware of the possibility of drawing false interpretations of the phenomenon being researched (Porter, 1989). This section describes the procedures and challenges involved in utilizing the multiple sources for the data collection within this research.

Secondary documents were primarily retrieved by utilizing library and museum resources, using internet and blog search engines, and soliciting documents from participants, historians and other academic researchers. These research methods involved the collection and review of relevant documentation pertaining to the Vietnam War Veterans. As Merriam (1988) pointed out, “Documents of all types can help the researcher uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights relevant to the research problem” (p. 118). Furthermore, the utilization of diverse documentation provided me with a wider breadth of information to garner a more comprehensive understanding of the subject matter. The following is a list of the collected documents used for analyse purposes for this thesis:

- Film documentaries, radio and television broadcasts on the Vietnam War and Vietnam War Veterans travelling to Vietnam post-war.
- Previously conducted interviews with Vietnam War Veterans that have discussed their experiences as Vietnam Veterans before, during and after the war ended. Additionally interviews with Vietnam War Veterans that describe their experiences of travelling to Vietnam post-war.
- Diaries, journals, thesis dissertations, letters, blogs, discussion boards and published memoirs and books that describe Vietnam War Veterans experiences with the Vietnam War: before, during and after it ended with an emphasis on travelling to Vietnam post-war.
- Newspaper articles that include interviews with Vietnam War Veterans that discuss the Vietnam War and returning to Vietnam post-war.
Public speeches from Vietnam War Veterans and government officials that address the Vietnam War.

Published books on the Vietnam War.

Published and unpublished photographs that depict intergroup contact between the Vietnamese and Vietnam Veterans during and after the Vietnam War.

Websites associated with the New Zealand War and veterans.

Interviews are one of the most popular means to collect data for qualitative research (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). In-depth interviews are an open-ended, discovery-oriented research method that is suitable for describing processes and outcomes from the perspective of the target group (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; Morecroft, Cantrill, & Tully, 2004). A series of in-depth interviews were conducted with New Zealand Vietnam War Veterans who have visited or plan to visit post-war Vietnam and those who have not returned to post-war Vietnam. The interviews were semi-structured in which the existing literature helped form the standardized questions included in the interviews. The semi-structure interview format was selected as it provided the structure that addressed particular aspects of the research question while remaining flexible enough so “participants were able to offer new meanings to the topic of study” (Galletta, 2013, p.2).

Overall, the aim of the in-depth interviews was to explore the interviewees’ viewpoints, thoughts and perceptions as it related to the post-war reconciliation process with fellow countrymen, Vietnamese and with self. These interviews included questions that sought to understand the interviewees’ perception of the Vietnamese prior to, during and post Vietnam War. Moreover, effort was made during these interviews to uncover the Vietnam veterans reasoning in making the choice to return or not return to post-war and its affect on the reconciliation process.

I chose to administer in-depth interviews to provide an environment conducive to generating meaning from the information provided by the participants. Co-creation of meaning is of value to research because even though on an individual level there is the “ability to encode, consolidate and retrieve information, meaning can only exist within a social context” (Fivush, 2009, p. 11). Engaging in meaning-making with others,
especially when understanding stressful events “creates an evaluative framework for understanding the event in a larger life context” (Fivush, 2009, p 11). The focus of the co-creation of meaning in this thesis was to reconstruct the participants’ war-related experiences and their effect on the veterans’ choice in deciding to visit post-war Vietnam. Participants were encouraged throughout the interview process to share and reflect on their past experiences with me.

A focus group interview was planned as part of the data collection for this thesis. Focus group interviews involve in-depth interviews on a specific topic with groups of individuals who are “purposely, although not necessarily representative sampling of a specific population” (Rabiee, 2004, p. 655). Focus group interviews can either be the only method or used in conjunction with other data collection methods (Morgan, 1996). Negative aspects of focus group interviews are their ineffectiveness in exploring a wide array of subjects, going in-depth with an individual and exploration of sensitive topics (Kaplowitz, 2000; Subramony, Lindsay, Middlebrook, & Fosse, 2002). Conversely, positive aspects of focus group interviews are its cost efficiency and participants often share information with the focus group that would not have been disclosed during an individual interview (Kaplowitz, 2000; Subramony et al., 2002). Furthermore when there is an inclusion of both focus group and individual interviews within one research project, it can enrich the conceptualization of the phenomenon, increase the validity of the findings and strengthens the interpretation of the phenomenon (Lambert & Loiselle, 2008).

5.7 Method of recruitment

This study included New Zealand Vietnam War Veterans who served in different capacities during the Vietnam War (1964-1973). Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were implemented in order to recruit participants for in-depth interviews. The interviews were conducted until there was redundancy in the data collected and the information was deemed sufficient for discussing the phenomenon in question. Purposive sampling is a type of “non-probability sampling in which participants are selected based on the researcher’s judgment about who would be most useful or representative” (Babbie, 2007; Crookes & Davies, 2004; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). Snowball sampling, a sub-category of purposive sampling, is a technique that finds an
individual who has the “required characteristics and then uses the person’s social networks to recruit similar participants in a multistage process” (Sadler, Lee, Lim, & Fullerton, 2010, p. 370). Both sampling techniques are useful when recruiting participants who are members of a special population that is difficult to locate (Babbie, 2007). The individuals who were recommended as possible participants were contacted and invited to take part in an interview. Participants to be interviewed were recruited using the following methods:

1. Electronic discussion boards and blogs posted by Vietnam War Veterans. Bloggers and individuals who posted on discussion boards were contacted and asked if they would be willing to participate in the study.

2. Historical books on the Vietnam War.


4. Contact with New Zealand organizations affiliated with the Vietnam War including the Returned and Services’ Association (RSA) and the Ex Vietnam Services Association (EVSA).

5. An advertisement was included in the RSA’s Review publication in the Lost Trails section, the EVSA’s Contact publication and the Bulletin newsletter by the University of Otago for recruitment purposes.

6. Advertisements on various websites: Muzzle Flashes (Kiwi Gunners), Victor 5 and W3 RNZIR.

7. Community RSA’s (Otago-Southland, Invercargill, Dunedin and Manurewa) were contacted and asked to provide people who may be willing to participate in the study.

The interview phase of the study began in 2011 and was completed in 2013. During the pre-interview phase potential interviewees were contacted via phone, letter or by e-mail to discuss their eligibility and willingness to participate in the study. The information sheet (see Appendix A for information sheet) containing research details and the consent form was given to the participants via letter, by e-mail or in person to those who voiced a willingness to participate in the study. In order to increase participation, interviewees were given the option of answering the interview questions in-person, by telephone, via Skype or by correspondence either electronically or by mail. The
inclusion of remote interviews allowed interviews to take place that may not have occurred due to travel cost based on geographical distance or lack of willingness and/or inability of participants to meet for face-to-face interviews (King & Horrocks, 2010).

A follow-up call, letter or e-mail was sent to determine the preferred mode (video, face-to-face, telephone, e-mail or by letter), time and location of the interview. Those potential interviewees who were contacted but unwilling to be interviewed for the study were thanked for their time. During the interview phase the researcher interviewed the participant at the agreed place and time either in person or by video. Interviewees were briefed on the research project, given the opportunity to ask questions and given the assurance that they may opt out at any given point during the interview. As mandated by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee, interviewees were required to sign a consent form to signify that they understood the nature of the research and rights as a participant in the research (the consent for the interviews was made explicit in the information sheet and consent form). Interviewees were asked to have their interviews digitally recorded.

The collected interviews included 22 male New Zealand Vietnam veterans in which 13 have returned versus 9 who have not returned to post-war Vietnam. The interviews did not include any females, as New Zealand women did not serve militarily in the Vietnam War (McGibbon, 2010). Interviewees consisted of 21 veterans of European ethnicity and one of Maori ethnicity. Moreover there were two interviews with the children of New Zealand Vietnam veterans who accompanied their father on their post-war visit to Vietnam. The setting of the interviews varied and ranged from cafes, business office, and homes of veterans. Audio recording took place for all the interviews except for the e-mail interviews. The digital recorder failed to record during two interviews. Upon realizing that the digital recorder had stopped recording during one interview, the researcher took notes during the remainder of the interview. The second interview which failed to record the entire interview, a subsequent interview was scheduled and took place. The duration of these interviews ranged between one to four hours. The following is a breakdown of the interviews; 11 face-to-face interviews, 4 e-mail interviews and 9 Skype interviews. Table 2 is a detailed description of the interviewees’ name, military role in Vietnam War and whether they returned to post-war Vietnam.
Table 2: Interviewee Information.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Completed</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Return</th>
<th>Military Capacity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Donald</td>
<td>In-person</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>161st Battery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Clarence</td>
<td>Skype</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Infantry soldier in the 6 Platoon of Victor 2 Company. He was stationed at Nui Dat. His job was to man checkpoints around the Dat Do villages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ken</td>
<td>E-mail</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Medical Corpsman with rifle company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Vernon</td>
<td>E-mail</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Specialist communications operator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Edward</td>
<td>Skype</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Royal New Zealand Navy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Preston</td>
<td>Skype</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Artillery signaller working with infantry providing artillery support during his first tour of duty in 1966 to 1967 and a Gun detachment commander on the gun line at 161 Battery providing support during his second tour from 1970 to 1971.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Timothy</td>
<td>Skype</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Gunner/Artillery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Dennis</td>
<td>In-person</td>
<td>No, will return</td>
<td>Platoon sergeant in the first infantry company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Carl</td>
<td>Skype</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Infantryman and 2nd Signaller in Victor 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Christopher</td>
<td>E-mail</td>
<td>No, will return</td>
<td>Lead Scout Infantry Rifle Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Howard</td>
<td>Skype</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>161 Battery as Battery Steward, manager of the officer’s mess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Wayne</td>
<td>In-person</td>
<td>No *</td>
<td>161 Battery * En-route to Vietnam became too ill to complete trip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Brian</td>
<td>Skype</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>161 Battery RNZA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Alex</td>
<td>In-person</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Commander in Victor Company, the first New Zealand infantry company to deploy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Daron</td>
<td>In-person</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Victor 4 served as support to the 5 RR Australian battalion. Infantry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Iris</td>
<td>In-person</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Skype</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Engineers Company and Victor 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Completed</td>
<td>Mode</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Military Capacity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>In-person</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Replacement mortar platoon. He was a mortar NCO in which he worked on the mortar line and his job involved plotting as well as carrying the radio out in the field with the infantry to call in for mortar fire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Jake</td>
<td>In-person</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Joel</td>
<td>E-mail</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Logistics staff officer on the group headquarters tasked with contributing to the logistic support of the Australian and New Zealand forces deployed in the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>In-person</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Artillery but also had the job of carrying the radio with the infantry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>In-person</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Gunner/Artillery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Calvin</td>
<td>Skype</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>First New Zealand Royal Infantry Regiment. He was in the Whiskey Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Amanda</td>
<td>In-person</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Daughter, Vietnam veteran tour operator</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.8 Co-researchers

The interviewees were co-researchers on this project. Co-researchers are recognized as knowledgeable individuals who participate and contribute to the research process; that bring their motivations, intentions and ability to reflect upon their experiences (King & Horrocks, 2010). Ideally, this method aims to provide a more equal relationship between the researcher and the participants in order to empower the participants (Mishler, 1986). For example, the researcher makes a concerted effort to avoid becoming the dominate voice during the research process (Mishler, 1986). By encouraging a more involved relationship with the interviewees that is fostered with mutual respect and trustworthiness, it was expected this co-researcher approach would produce a more relevant and meaningful thesis (Bradbury & Reason, 2003). There can be issues in using this research method as it may conflict with the researcher(s) goal in completing their project(s) in a timely fashion and may not fulfil the requirements of academia (Miller, 2012).
Specifically, the research was designed to involve the Vietnam War Veterans in the following aspects; to explore the meaning of reconciliation, address any issues or include information that they felt was relevant to the research topic, to assist in analyzing the collected data, and to insure the accuracy and relevancy of the results. A constructionist research approach was adopted in which the individual contributions of both I as the researcher and the interviewee were acknowledged in the shared space of the interview (Gubrium & Koro-Ljungberg, 2005). Although I developed the main aim for this project, but the co-researchers were encouraged to provide input in constructing the sub-aims to help steer the study in a direction that was mutually agreeable. In doing so, the participants were empowered to choose what specific questions and issues they wanted to be addressed within the project’s framework (McLaughlin, 2005). Furthermore, the participants as co-researchers were considered equals in the construction of the knowledge and meanings garnered from their own interview. The participant’s accounts helped insure the accuracy of the project’s results by reducing the effect of the researcher’s biases and inexperience in fighting in the Vietnam War. During my interviews with the participants, I actively strove to avoid becoming the dominant voice. Moreover, the participants were provided opportunities during and after their interview to clarify points and correct inaccurate information.

5.9 Qualitative Data Analysis Methods

Qualitative data analysis involves the “non-numerical examination and interpretation of observations, for discovering underlying meanings and patterns of relationships” (Babbie, 2007, p. 378). Data analysis requires researchers to interpret the research they have collected in such a way that leads to the construction of a portrait of the phenomenon that is understandable to the reader. Data-analysis triangulation is defined as “the combination of two or more methods of analyzing data” (Thurmond, 2001, p. 254). Data triangulation was selected for this study’s data analysis because it can create a more complete study by “going beyond the knowledge made possible by one approach and thus contribute to promoting quality in research” (Flick, 2008, p. 41). The following section discusses the application of thematic and content analysis on the collected data.
Each interview was summarized rather than transcribed verbatim to create a cohesive document that served as my interpretation of the information the interviewees shared with me during the interview process. The justification for doing so was to create a document that could easily be revised by interviewees to more accurately reflect their thoughts, feelings and experiences. As Halcomb and Davidson (2006, p. 40) stress “the process of transcription should be more about interpretation and generation of meanings from the data rather than being a simple clerical task” of transcribing interviews verbatim. The process of summarizing the recorded interviews included the following actions; listening to the recorded interviews, writing down the information from the interview that was deemed relevant to the research, the information was then arranged into topics, and revised until the summary was comprehensible for the interviewee to review. E-mail interviews were incorporated into one document and organized according to topic. The e-mail interviews occurred over a number of days in which the respondents were initially given the standardized questions in one e-mail. After receiving the respondents’ answers to the standardized questions, follow-up questions were sent to the interviewees.

Systematic thematic analysis was applied to these semi-structured interviews in which themes and sub-themes were compared using the collected data to validate the findings. Thematic analysis is a method commonly utilized in the identification, analysis and reporting of common threads, or themes within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I followed Braun & Clarke’s (2006) 6 step guideline in conducting a thematic data analysis (see Table 3).

**Table 3: Thematic data analysis guideline (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Familiarize yourself with the data</td>
<td>Summarize data, scrutinize the data, take note of initial ideas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Generate preliminary codes</td>
<td>Code data systematically, collate data relevant to each code</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Search for themes</td>
<td>Collate codes into potential themes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Review themes</td>
<td>Check if themes relate to coded extracts and entire data set. Generate thematic map of analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Define and name themes</td>
<td>Refine themes and assign names for the themes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Produce report</td>
<td>Select extracts, final analysis of extracts, relate the analysis back to the research questions and literature. Write report</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I studied each summarized interview and identified the significant information deemed helpful in gaining an understanding of the participants’ views, experiences and perceptions as they related to the topics under investigation (Creswell, 1998; Smith & Firth, 2011). NVivo 10 software was used to aid the researcher in the organization and the retrieval of the collected primary data. Themes were then derived from sorting through the coded material. Moreover, a mind-map (see Figure 2) was created to serve as a visual representation to aid the researcher in the process of sorting the different codes into themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

**Figure 2:** Thematic Map (mind-map) of Analysis.
The first step in the analysis began during the post-interview phase which involved writing a summary from the recorded and e-mail interviews. Interviewees were then given a copy of their summarized interview and requested to make changes to correct any inaccurate information and/or provide additional information that they believed would more accurately reflect their thoughts and experiences as they related to the interview topics. There was an open dialogue during the post interview process in which the interviewee was encouraged to help construct the summary of their interview to avoid misinterpretations and bias by the researcher.

The analysis was partially driven by the examination of the gathered data that resulted in identification of themes and sub-themes. A detailed analysis was performed and written for each individualized theme. Part of this process included the identification of sub-themes as they provided structure to these themes and revealed the hierarchy of meaning within the collected data (Braun & Clark, 2006). The analysis consisted of fitting themes and sub-themes in a framework that focused on the sub-set of the data themes which includes reconciliation with fellow countrymen, Vietnamese and with self. In order to better understand the role of these return trips to Vietnam in regards to reconciliation, the collected data of the participants with no intent to return to Vietnam post-war was compared to the collected data of those who have or plan to return to post-war Vietnam. The researcher analyzed the interviews by looking for themes, commonalities and patterns to make sense of the collected information. Moreover, the co-researchers were asked to aid in the researcher’s analysis of the collected documents to eliminate misinterpretations that would adversely affect the accuracy of the project’s results.

In order to examine and interpret, garner meaning, gain understanding and develop knowledge of New Zealand Vietnam War Veterans, document analysis was selected to examine the secondary data in this research (Bowen, 2009; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Rapley, 2007). Implementation of content analysis resulted in the identification of themes and sub-themes from the collected data (Labuschagne, 2003). Thematic analysis guided the analysis of secondary data that followed Braun and Clarke’s (2006) thematic analysis guideline (see Table 3). NVivo 10 aided me in the organization and retrieval of the collected secondary data. Moreover, document analysis allowed me to have the
ability to track individual and social change of the New Zealand Vietnam War Veterans, corroborate with other research findings of the project, and provide the historical background of the studied phenomenon that insured more accurate results (Bowen, 2009).

Specifically, longitudinal document analysis was utilized with the objective of examining documents to determine and describe any attitudinal changes that occurred over time in Vietnam Veterans feelings toward the people who served in the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese Army, and the general Vietnamese population. Longitudinal qualitative research proved beneficial to draw upon because it seeks to “explore change over time through more than one episode of data collection” (Lewis, 2007, p. 545). The primary challenge in using secondary data was organizing it in such a way that a proper data analysis could be achieved. In order to resolve this issue, the researcher chose to use NVivo 10, as it provides a single storage location that provides an ease in access to the collected data and is proficient in aiding in the analysis with a consistent coding system (Bergin, 2011).

5.10 Positionality

Throughout the fieldwork, positionality played an important role in my interactions and experiences with the interviewees. Positionality, or “insider” and “outsider” status, helps frame the relationships that develop between the researcher and the participants which can impact the course and outcomes of the research (Chacko, 2004). Within the context of collecting data for research purposes, insiders are categorized as the individuals who are members of the social group being investigated whereas ‘outsiders’ are not members of this group (Moore, 2012). Scholars have examined the outsider or insider status and the potential issues that may affect the collection, analysis and dissemination of the research (Mullings, 1999). The advantages of being an insider are that there is “greater ease in establishing rapport with the research participants as well as increased reliability in the interpretation of data because of shared outlook or knowledge with the group” (O’Connor, 2004, p. 169). However, the familiarity associated with being an insider may lead to incorrect assumptions based on presumptions made by the researcher. In contrast to having an insider’s status, having an outsider status can lead to a less bias and more accurate findings (Chavez, 2008).
Additionally, the advantage of outsider status is such that there is a higher likelihood of gaining additional information as participants are more willing to share information with a stranger than with someone familiar (Naples, 1996).

Due to the overlaps in today’s society of “racial, socio-economic, ethnic and other characteristics the researcher is never simply an insider or an outsider (Dowling, 2000, p. 33). Rather, the self is composed of multiple identities which are both fluid and complex that results in a blurring of the insider and outsider status (Duku, 2007). As Herod (1999) asserts, it might be more appropriate to consider that there is a continuum of “outsiderness” that can change throughout the research process. During my own research for this thesis, I initially labelled myself as a complete outsider premised on my status as an American woman who did not serve in the Vietnam War. As my research progressed I believe my own positionality changed to which I moved closer to being considered an insider. As I continually gained inside knowledge during the fieldwork I was able to draw upon this information during my interviews with the war veterans. I believe sharing this information with the interviewees resulted in an environment that made it more conducive for them to open up to me about their own experiences. Conversely, I still maintained my status as an outsider because my relationship with the interviewees was limited to the role of interviewee and interviewer in that the dynamics of the relationship was set to the time and space in which we discussed a specific topic that had a beginning and an end. By retaining my outsider status, it enabled me access to information that I would not have been able to attain as an insider. I believe this to be the case because my interviewees were able to reveal information that they may not have been comfortable in sharing with their family and friends for fear it would adversely affect those relationships.

The positionality of the researcher can impact the process of recruiting participants in several ways. There can be issues that originate from positionality such as apprehensive participants unwillingness to disclose personal information, exploitation stemming from unequal power relations, and ethical concerns for the researcher (Bell, Caplan, & Karim, 2013; Chacko, 2004; Dyck, 1997). The reality is that there is little a researcher can do to change their positionality unless they are willing to take part in the ethically questionable act of deception. It is still important to raise awareness of the possible issues that stemmed from my American nationality and the fact that I had not served in
the Vietnam War. These attributes may have impacted the information I gathered, thus affecting my analysis of the data and research results. For instance, during my data collection I discovered a “guns for butter” mentality in New Zealand. There are New Zealanders who feel their country was wrongly coerced in fighting the Vietnam War by the United States for a promise of economic payoff in increased trade access. Aware of this possible tension, I made a conscious effort during the interviews to avoid discussing my American nationality. For the interviews I conducted in person or by Skype it was apparent by my accent that I was not native to New Zealand. Conversely, in the interviews conducted via e-mail my American identity was not revealed to those participants. When asked by the other interviewees or if I felt that it was appropriate during the interview process I did share my nationality with them. Overall, my interviewees spoke very kindly about the Americans. Although out of curiosity I did ask towards the end of one interview if it mattered that I was one. His response was not really, yet he hoped he did not say anything too damaging about my country (Jake, personal communication, 2012).

I was concerned about participants’ willingness to share their Vietnam War experience with me. The military’s culture is based on commonality of experience that results in many service members denying access to civilians (Danish & Antonides, 2009). This is so because the civilians are seen as outsiders, incapable of understanding their perspective (Danish & Antonides, 2009). Many war veterans speak very little about their combat experiences to outsiders and will draw a line in sharing certain war time experiences (Prescott, 1999). I acknowledge as a non-war veteran that the interviews I collected may have been affected by my status as an “outsider” in that the participants may have drawn a line in terms of the information they shared with me. On the other hand, if I had been an insider perhaps I would have been less empathetic to those participants who held opposing views from me (Letherby & Zdrodowski, 1995). Due to the sensitive nature of the research, interviewees may be disinclined to share more personal struggles and pain from serving in the war with fellow veterans because of their fear in appearing weak or less masculine (Hollander, 2004; Rubin, 2004).
5.11 Ethics

During the research process, researchers are inevitably confronted with ethical dilemmas (Wiles, 2012). When using a qualitative approach the researcher will be confronted by ethical issues caused by the interpretive nature of qualitative inquiry (Damianakis & Woodford, 2012). Although there are guidelines mapped out by governing ethical committees that the research must adhere to in order to receive formal ethical approval, still there are ethical dilemmas which occur during the research process that are not broached by these institutions. The following is a narrative of the procedures implemented in the study to insure that the research was carried out in an ethical manner. In addition, there is a reflection of the more subtle ethical issues that are arguably more important to the welfare of the study participants that were not addressed by the researcher’s Human Ethics Committee and the strategies employed to resolve them.

Permission to conduct this study was approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee (see Appendix B for ethics approval). The Ngai Tahu Research Consultation Committee was contacted to gain research recommendations due to the approximately 30% of those who served in Vietnam during the war identifying themselves as Maori (Vincent, Long, & Chamberlain, 1994). In accordance with the agreement between the University of Otago and the Ngai Tahu, it is a requirement to consult the Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee when proposed research involves Maori participation. I was strongly encouraged by this committee to collect ethnicity data of the interviewees and to disseminate the research findings to Ngai Tahu Tourism at Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu. Procedures used to protect the rights of the participants as human subjects included the request for interviewees to read an information sheet and sign a consent form that explained that the participant had the right to refuse or drop out of the study at any time without repercussion. The researcher insured the anonymity of the participants by not using any identifiable information that would lead to the discovery of the interviewee’s identity, stored any identifying data in a secured location, and destroyed all identifying information at the conclusion of the study.
Due to copyright and privacy issues in attaining interviews, personal diaries and letters there was a need in some cases to secure permission to use these documents. The protocol to obtain consent varied on a case by case basis and was dependent on the use of the document within the research, whether it was publically or privately available, and if the document was being held individually or by an organization. Blogs and discussion boards, film documentaries, newspapers, television and radio broadcasts, websites, published memoirs and books are part of the public domain thereby permission to use these materials for the study is not needed. Care was taken when using publicly available data to insure participants would not be identified. Similar to face-to-face interviews, surveys and diaries the use of blogs and discussion boards in research is presented with the issue of validity of the participant’s responses. According to Hookway (2008), the anonymity of the context of these blogs and discussion boards enables the authors to write more candidly and honestly which would then support their legitimacy. Conversely, individuals who post on-line because they know that their communication is being viewed by others may intentionally provide misleading or false information (Janetzko, 2008). The researcher contacted the authors of these blogs and discussion boards and invited them to take part in the research. In cases in which the author could not be contacted, the data source was considered indirectly obtained since the blog and discussion boards were publically displayed on the internet and the author of the blog or website may be unaware of the use of their narratives and quotes within the thesis. Primary data includes unpublished interviews and diaries that are not publicly available, a letter from the source(s) authorizing access to the data or, if the data were purchased commercially, a copy of the contract authorizing the use of the data was secured.

Within the research community, institutional ethical committees have accepted responsibility to insure that researchers do not commit physical and/or psychological harm to their participants (Sontag, 2012). Their approval addresses procedural ethics in conducting research but is weak in resolving the more subtle issues that stem from the nature of the interaction between researcher and participant that has the potential to cause harm (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). Institutions are tasked with the responsibility to oversee all ethical issues associated with the research process. However, even in ideal circumstances these organizations are unable to meet their own set of aims in terms of promoting socially beneficial research, protecting research participants, and
maintaining trust between the research community and society (Anderson, McDonald, Sawatzky-Girling, & Willison, 2011). Furthermore, there is a lack of institutional support in advising researchers when ethical issues not included in the human ethics application arise during the research. For researchers the challenge then becomes how to insure their actions throughout the research process follow the ethical standards of the wider research community and society. By discussing the ethical dilemmas that I faced, the actions I chose to resolve them, and the impact that these actions may have had on the research I will illustrate the challenges in carrying out, analyzing and reporting my research in an ethical manner.

I encountered situations where my decision making was influenced by my own personal ethics and comfort level. There were cases that I questioned the ethics of using the information garnered from interviews and personal documents which I believed would further stigmatize Vietnam War veterans. Similar to Finch’s (1985) worries with studying working mothers; my concern was the research findings of the thesis would reinforce adverse assumptions about the Vietnam veterans. I made the decision to report or not report potentially sensitive data on a case-by-case basis. The potentially sensitive information I did choose to include was justified by my concerted efforts to protect the anonymity of the participant(s) and the inclusion of a narrative throughout the thesis that exposed the complexities involved in the participants’ behaviour and actions before, during, and after serving in the Vietnam War.

Qualitative researchers are often confronted with the issue of providing detailed, accurate accounts of the social world while protecting the identities of the participants in their research (Kaiser, 2009). Even though I felt confident in my decision to insure the anonymity of my participants’ identity, I still grappled with the ramifications that resulted from this decision. For instance, after I had conducted a few interviews I wanted to ascertain if my participants felt or had similar experiences to each other. I had made the decision to share limited information that I had gained from previous interviews but was careful in not divulging any of the participants’ names. Still, I remained worried that with such a small community that the information I did share may inadvertently lead to their identification by other participants.
Moreover, in conducting research involving a small community that results in an accurate representation, there is greater the likelihood that others in the participant’s immediate social context could recognize reported details and thus breaches participant confidentiality (Damianakis & Woodford, 2012). This breach could negatively impact the participant’s relationships within that community (Damianakis & Woodford, 2012). Furthermore, when it came to the write-up of this thesis, I was confronted by the dilemma of deciding what information to exclude to insure confidentiality. Even without disclosing names there remain contextual data that could identify the participants that if removed or changed could alter and/or damage the original meaning of this information (Kaiser, 2009). I had purposely selected interviewees based on their published memoirs, ethnicity and their role in the Vietnam War all of which could lead to deductive disclosure (Tolich, 2004). I as the researcher ultimately had to take responsibility in making the decision for what aspects of the person’s life and stories needed to be changed to insure confidentiality (Kaiser, 2009).

In short, I never knew clearly how my “long line of adjectives” affected me in the field. My position was quite situational and variable (Identity) changes with context, some contexts draw out certain aspects of our “selves” and mute others. Because of this flexibility I found it difficult to locate myself socially in my work. It was nearly impossible to determine how these locations affected my analysis (Haney, 1996, p. 776).

5.12 Reflexivity

Like Haney, I struggled to identify how my positionality impacted the data analysis for this thesis. McCorkel and Myers (2003, p. 205) suggest that to retain strong objectivity requires the researcher to engage in a vigorous reflexivity process that “reflects the same level of scrutiny that she directs to her respondents.” The following section describes my perspective on the interview process.

5.12.1 Interviews

Harng (2010) believes that elaborating on the rejected interviews in presenting research may prove beneficial in revealing perspectives that were not re-presented because respondents were unwilling to be interviewed. The methods for recruiting interviewees
were successful in providing rich and meaningful data. Yet I recognize that additional interviews specifically from veterans of Maori ethnicity may have provided a deeper understanding of the studied phenomenon. This section provides a critical analysis that examines the possible implications of the lack of in-depth interviews from Maori participants.

I began my research with the intent to use the snow-ball method to recruit interviewees. I contacted organizations associated with New Zealand Vietnam War veterans and requested their assistance in helping me recruit participants. The vast majority posted on their website or included in their newsletter my recruitment advertisement. One organization provided contact information for specific Vietnam War veterans. Often interviewees would suggest names of Vietnam veterans that I should contact, but seldom did these provided contacts materialize in interviews. This occurred for a variety of reasons such as incorrect or lack of contact information, or unwillingness of these contacts to take part in the research after being contacted by me.

Included in the human ethics application, a separate Maori consultation took place. As a result of this consultation I was advised to include ethnicity as part of the interview. There was no advice given on the best ways to recruit from this population nor was there any warning that it may be challenging to recruit Maori participants for this research. Furthermore, because previous research by Challinor (1995) and interviews collected for the New Zealand Vietnam War Oral History Project included Maori participants, I felt confident that there would be little difficulty in gaining participation from this ethnic group. Unfortunately as the recruitment progressed it became apparent that this was not the case and additional effort was needed to insure their voice was included in the research. Through using the snowball sampling method, a multitude of individuals and organizations were contacted to assist in the recruitment of Maori Vietnam veterans. They were as follows: coordinator of New Zealand’s Vietnam War Oral History project, researchers who have conducted interviews with Maori veterans, and staff from the University of Otago Maori Centre. From these efforts, one Maori participant consented to an interview.

Butera (2006) addressed the challenge of recruiting participants for research by suggesting researchers identify a type (or types) of person absent from the research and
to then aggressively recruit at least one person who may represent that gap. By gaining the cooperation of at least one or two of these participants, the information garnered from these interviews could be viewed as a way to fill the gap (Butera, 2006). In these cases, the interviewee is representative of their specific group as he may hold similar views to those absent from the research. In keeping with this standpoint, I was able to identify and interview one Maori participant who then represented the missing type. Moreover, the triangulated approach towards the data collection afforded me with the opportunity to use additional data sources to fill in gaps of information. Through the use of visual and archival data as well as previous interviews with Maori Vietnam veterans, this study was able to include their perspective, albeit through secondary data.

Due to the sensitive nature of the research, the emotional welfare of the participants and myself played a significant part in the research process. I was aware that the interview could emotional traumatize the interviewees because “research questions often probe and bring up emotionally laden memories that have long since been pushed to the recesses of the participant’s mind” (Anderson & Hatton, 2000, p. 247). I was further cognizant that for some participants their interview may have been the first time that they spoke to someone about their thoughts and feelings on their Vietnam War experience. I was unsure if the interviewees felt anxious, fearful of being judged or saw the interview as an opportunity to have a cathartic, healing experience. In light of this, I strove to create an inviting environment in which they would feel comfortable and not judged by what they told me. Still as the researcher I found it can be difficult to decipher the internal emotions that are experienced by the participants during the interview.

The cancelled interview I mentioned earlier in this chapter involved a focus group. Focus groups can give voice to groups with less power and enables their participants to make new interpretations of their life circumstances (Lana, 2011; Morgan, 1996). The focus group interview would also serve as a means to cross-check my preliminary findings for accurateness and validity (Irwin et al., 1991; Lambert & Loiselle, 2008; Morgan, 1996). In retrospect, after interviewing from this population, the cancellation of the group interview should have come as no surprise. My own interviews have revealed that Vietnam veterans have difficulty in discussing with each other the more traumatic aspects of their war experiences. Rather during veterans’ gatherings they
reminisce about the more pleasant and humorous aspects of their war experience. My experience is corroborated by the findings of Burnell, Coleman, and Hunt (2010) who found that World War II veteran interviewees used humor to avoid communication about their war experience. The World War II veterans also expressed regret in not sharing more traumatic war memories with their fellow veterans. Moreover, veterans may be hesitant in participating in group interviews for fear of judgment by their peers.

Early on in my data collection, I was advised by a New Zealand Vietnam War veteran that recruitment would be more successful if I contacted the Vietnam veterans on an individual basis rather than through a recruiting advertisement (Alex, personal communication, 2012). In general I came to the realization that it was better if the participant contacted me voicing a willingness to participate in the research rather than my contacting potential participants provided by the interviewees. I feel that the war veterans were more empowered when they were given the choice to take part in the research without the burden of doing so out of peer pressure from their fellow veterans. Although I was grateful that these interviewees wanted to help me in my research by providing names of potential participants, the reality is that perhaps those who were named were not ready and/or willing to talk to a researcher about their experiences that stemmed from serving in the Vietnam War. Additionally, I had to come to a decision to how aggressively I would pursue the referred interviewees as well as those who responded to my advertisements. My follow-up varied on a case by case basis with the amount of effort made to continue communication in setting up an interview. In general, I followed a plan that if after a maximum of three attempts failed to gain any response from the potential participant, then I aborted any further attempts to contact them. The reason for using this protocol was to make certain that the potential participant did not feel harassed whilst also ensuring that my time and effort was spent productively in recruiting interviewees.

5.12.2 The usage of multiple interview modes

In today’s world, with the various options available to gather data, it seems rather restrictive to use just one type of means to conduct interviews. The reality is that there are positive and negatives in using each method to conduct interviews. Instead of limiting options, this thesis advocates for a more open approach of utilizing multiple
modes of conducting to expand the capability of collecting data from individuals. Success in generating data from an interview is not only reliant on the type of interview mode, but also comes down to the willingness of the participant to share their personal information. The multiple means of interviewing addressed the constraints of having limited time and funds in conducting the interviews. Additionally, there is the benefit of empowering the participants by giving them a choice in selecting their interview method.

I experienced a variety of technical issues that were contingent on the mode of interview. The recording of the interviews via Skype was seamless as there were no audio or visual indicators present during the interviews. Due to the fact that the participants who consented to undergo Skype and telephone interviews, there was also little interruption caused by noise. In contrast, the in-person interviews the audio recorder was a visible reminder that the interview was being taped. Moreover because I gave the participants the option to choose the site of the face-to-face interview, there were difficulties with noise levels and the lack of privacy in many of the locations. During one interview, I had to stop several times due to phone calls and background noise. A major drawback was the considerable amount of time I had to use in trying to decipher what was being said with all the background noise that could be heard during the interview. There were several face-to-face interviews that I experienced technological problems with the recorder that resulted in my taking notes during one interview and having to schedule another interview with a participant. There were also technological difficulties when I used Skype as well with several interviews that there was an inability to visually see each other. In these cases, the interviews were more similar to a telephone interview. One participant who experienced such difficulty voiced wishing to see what I looked like. Due the fact that I was communicating to him via e-mail I was able to quickly send him a picture of myself, which he told me was helpful.

There appears a bias towards in-person interviews being viewed as the gold standard to conduct interviews. Even though the interviews with the exception of one were conducted in New Zealand, there were still time and cost constraints that limited travel to conduct face-to-face interviews. Furthermore when long distance travel was involved in the face-to-face interviews, trust was an important component in scheduling
interviews with the participants. I and the potential participants had to trust each other in committing to meet at the interview site at the agreed time. Due to the limited travel funds, if the interview did not take place I would have less financial resources to conduct other interviews. This scenario happened to me in which I pre-paid for an airplane ticket and accommodations only to find out upon arrival that the interview was cancelled. Fortunately, this was the only occasion that an interview was cancelled and not re-scheduled. The overall experience did make me feel more vulnerable to factors that I could not control and the end I learned that there will always be elements beyond your control, but in research the important part to remember is that tenacity is the name of the game and not to give up. Although, I must admit that after the interview cancellation, I was more wary and anxious in scheduling interviews.

The inclusion of remote interviews allowed interviews to take place that may not have occurred due to travel cost based on geographical distance or lack of willingness and/or inability of participants to meet for face-to-face interviews (King & Horrocks, 2010). A positive of interviewing via Skype and e-mail is that there is less physical risk towards the safety of the researcher conducting the interviews (Sturges & Hanrahan, 2004). Due to the interview taking place at two separate sites, there is no physical contact that could lead to harm. Personally I never felt that my safety was put at risk during the face-to-face interviews, but can see the benefits of using Skype to mitigate potential safety risks. Skype interviews afforded the participants the comfort of being in a familiar setting. There were technical difficulties such as failure to record in both in-person and lack of visual contact during several interviews.

5.12.3 Emotional reflexivity

Ping-Chun (2008) emphasized the importance of reflexivity in which researchers undergo a process of examining how their research agenda and assumptions, personal beliefs and emotions impact the research. Wren (2004) asserted that good reflexive research is scepticism about the possibility of researching social and psychological realities from a value-free stance. “This lays the foundation for a reflexive stance towards emotions and how the researcher is both influenced by and influences the respondents in the research setting” (Munkejord, 2009, p. 155). My initial goal was to remain objective throughout the research process in order to deliver unbiased findings.
As I went through the process of data collection that included emotional exchanges with my interviewees I found it difficult to remain detached from the research. By identifying myself as a reflexive researcher, I acknowledge the resulting data that emerged from this study serves as one interpretation. The following is a discussion on how preconceptions and emotions played a significant role in the research process.

As an American woman, who was a small child when the Vietnam War ended, my own feelings and thoughts have been shaped by my nationality. What I know about the war was influenced by what I was taught at school and the way the media and Hollywood films depicted the war from an American perspective. As a result, I perceived the Vietnam War as a tumultuous time marked by civil unrest that produced war veterans unable to function in society in a positive way. I discovered that throughout the research process my own feelings were continually changing towards the Vietnam War veterans and the Vietnam War itself. At the beginning of the data collection I recognized that my image of the typical Vietnam veteran was of an American man who after being forced to serve in the war has not been able to function in society to the point that he is unable to work and is homeless. By acknowledging this picture I had of Vietnam veterans I was able to come to the realization that I had my own negative stereotypes and prejudices towards Vietnam War veterans.

These feelings changed as a result of the data collection phase of my research as I have developed a deeper appreciation of the circumstances that these veterans have had to endure from serving in the war. Moreover, by having direct contact with these veterans and immersing myself in learning the historical context of the war as well as the sociological and psychological fallout from this war my own image of them has changed to a more positive one. I was able to see that the majority of Vietnam veterans have been able to contribute to society in a meaningful way. For those who have had difficulty in adjusting to life after they came home from the war there were legitimate reasons from my perspective on why this occurred. Although it was never my intent to test contact theory on my prejudices towards the veterans, I do believe that my contact with members from this group all through the research process has reduced my own stereotypes and prejudices towards Vietnam War veterans.
Hoffman (2008) learned from her own experiences of the need to perform emotional labour during her research interviews. I, too as an interviewer had to perform the emotional labour of working to refocus my personal thoughts and feelings during the interviews to continue in my role of information gatherer (Hoffmann, 2008). Previous research (Glover-Graf, Miller, & Freeman, 2010; Graf, 2011) has discovered war veterans have difficulty in sharing their war experiences with family members. When these disclosures do occur they are often unexpected one off events in which family members face uncertainty in how to best respond to them. During the interviews I too experienced similar reactions including uncertainty, sadness and anxiety that I had to overcome.

Each mode of interview style presented its own emotional affect. Although e-mail has been shown to increase a more participatory process and reflective response from interviewees, my experience showed the challenges that are involved in using this means of interviewing participants (Egan, Chenoweth, & McAuliffe, 2006; Reid, Petocz, & Gordon, 2008; Seymour, 2001). For instance, I found it difficult to develop a rapport with the interviewees as I believe there was an inability to visually show my feelings towards them through my facial expressions and tone of voice. Instead I had to show my empathy with my choice of wording in which there was limited opportunities that seemed appropriate to do so during the interview process.

For those in person and Skype interviews there were different emotional issues that I encountered. Although it was easier to appear empathetic during these interviews, it was more challenging to keep my emotions in check to not show overt judgment or shock when they shared more troubling details of their lives. As King and Horrocks (2010) assert, interviewees should avoid giving judgemental responses during the interviews as they signify to the interviewee the sort of answer that is deemed appropriate as well as harms rapport as it puts the interviewee on the defensive. Conversely, there was still a need to show some emotion when these experiences were shared so as not to appear unfeeling and to help establish a connection with the interviewee.

The power dynamic between the participants and myself was an on-going issue during the research process for this thesis. Foucault’s (1980) “active model” of interviewing
encourages a more active role for the interviewees that support the notion that the ultimate goal of interviewing is not complete subjectivity. Rather, from adopting this approach to the interviews there is neither a “single truth” nor only one accurate account that can be produced by the interview (Foucault, 1980; Hoffmann, 2007). This ability to acknowledge that there can be more than one “truth” was challenging for me as the research progressed. For example, when participants shared information that was contradictory or conflicted with the information that I held, I had difficulty in restraining myself from correcting them. This occurred especially when I felt their responses were a result of self-denial and/or from my perspective based on misinformation. In the end I had to come to terms and accept that the information they shared with me was a legitimate version of their experiences.

5.13 Summary

This chapter justified the rationale for utilizing a qualitative approach in order to garner more in-depth data and analysis. The research aims were described and centred on the reconciliation process within a post-war context of former combatants that included an exploration of the phenomenon of post-war trips to Vietnam by Vietnam War veterans. The use of the triangulation approach was discussed in how it related to the data collection. Finally this chapter contained a section focused on positionality. As a researcher I was empowered by having the ability to choose from a wide array of means to recruit participants. Without that power of choice, there would have been difficulty garnering enough participants to make this research meaningful. In the end, all of the methods proved beneficial in gaining a better understanding of this segment of the population as it related to my topic. Even from those who rejected interviews with me provided insightful information on the challenges in conducting research with Vietnam War veterans.
Chapter 6  HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a broad historical overview of the Vietnam War, a summary of New Zealand’s government and military involvement in the war, and description of the New Zealand servicemen war-related experiences. The ability to attain historical truth or one “true” account of past happenings has been contested by scholars (Spence, 1991). One viewpoint on historical truth is that there are numerous and differing accounts of the past in which each version contains inherent biases (Spence, 1991). This perspective holds true for the re-telling of the Vietnam War as divergent narratives on the war and its societal ramifications have been shared by scholars, journalists, war veterans, as well as military and government officials (Moyar, 2008; Shoewalter, 2010). Nonetheless, it is important to keep in mind that even though the past cannot encompass one single, intact version does not mean that we leave claim to it (Spence, 1991). Rather, the drive to collect narrative truth should not be abandoned as these shared accounts have the power to enrich the historical record (Spence, 1991). Predicated on this belief of historical truth, I acknowledge this thesis contains biased accounts as the research predominately draws upon the Western perspective of the Vietnam War and personalized accounts of New Zealand Vietnam War veterans. However, it is my assertion that the information contained in this thesis will enhance the historical record.

6.2 Overview of the Vietnam War

New Zealand and her allies’ decision to fight in the Vietnam War was a gradual process that mirrored the larger conflict happening in the world between communist and anti-communist nations. On May 8, 1954, the day after Vietnamese forces under communist leadership overthrew the French government in Vietnam an international conference was convened in Geneva to end the political conflict between the French colonists and the indigenous people residing in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia (Asselin, 2007). The communist governments of the Soviet Union and China, wanting to improve international relations with the United States and France after the Korean War pressured the communist Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) delegates to accept
the temporary division of Vietnam (Asselin, 2007). Subsequently, the Geneva Peace Accords dictated a temporary division of Vietnam into two separate countries. The northern half was to house a communist government while the south was to be presided over by a democratic government. The Geneva Peace Accords required a nationwide election to be held within two years to re-unify Vietnam under one government, but the election never took place. Instead the country remained divided with communist rule by the Vietminh in the North whilst the anti-communist Bao Dai governed South Vietnam (McGibbon, 2010). Then in 1957, South Vietnam experienced a communist insurgency that was followed several years later by the infiltration of their border by North Vietnamese communist forces (Asia, 2013).

During the Cold War, the United States foreign policy prescribed the domino theory. This theory assumed when changes occurred in one country’s political institutions, a higher likelihood exists of neighbouring countries adopting similar political changes to their institutions, which would continually progress to neighbouring countries (Leeson & Dean, 2009). US President Eisenhower described this process as when ‘you have a row of dominoes set up, you knock the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly.’ Fearing communist domination on a global scale, the American government led the charge to provide South Vietnam political support to stave off a communist takeover from the north. This fear of communist expansion was not unfounded as the recent collapse of the European empires left countries like Vietnam vulnerable to political takeover (De Groot, 2000). The United States provided South Vietnam support with the understanding that communism could not be destroyed, but actions must be taken to stop its spread to other countries; to prevent the dominoes from falling so to speak (De Groot, 2000).

In 1961, US President Kennedy committed military support to South Vietnam as a necessary action to win the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese to fight against a communist takeover (De Groot, 2000). On August 7, 1964 the Tonkin Gulf Resolution was adopted by the US Congress in response to the North Vietnamese patrol boats attack on the American destroyer Maddox (in the Tonkin Gulf between North Vietnam and the Chinese Island of Hainan) (Moise, 2001; Tucker, 2011). The Tonkin Gulf Resolution authorized US President Johnson to take military action in Vietnam without the need to formally declare war against North Vietnam (Moise, 2001). The first
foreign combat troops to aid South Vietnam were sent by the United States in March of 1965 (Lawrence, 2008). As the war progressed, South Korea, New Zealand, Australia, Philippines, Thailand, Spain and Taiwan contributed medical and military support to help South Vietnam fight against the communist forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) (Lawrence, 2008). These allies known as the Free World Military Forces were motivated to join the war primarily to contain the spread of communism (Lawrence, 2008). Alternately, China and the Soviet Union provided support to the DRV to spread communism into South Vietnam (Lawrence, 2008).

In response to the unlikelihood of a clear military victory, President Nixon of the United States implemented the Vietnamization strategy of American troop withdrawal from Vietnam and returning combat responsibilities to the South Vietnamese government (Gartner, 1998; Huei, 2006). Following the United States lead, the remaining foreign allied countries began their troop removal from South Vietnam (Lee, 2009; McGibbon, 2010). In 1973, the Paris Peace Accords brokered a peace agreement that led to the United States removal of all their troops except for a small contingent of Marines at the American Embassy in Saigon (Lawrence, 2008). Still the conflict continued between North and South Vietnam until 1975 when the North Vietnamese took control of the whole country, and South Vietnamese President Duong Van Minh surrendered (Moise, 2001).

6.3 New Zealand’s Involvement in Vietnam War

New Zealand’s military involvement in the Vietnam War began when they entered into an ANZUS alliance with Australia and the United States on September 1, 1951 (Munro, 1953). New Zealand did so to insure that they had military support from the United States and Australia in case of a Japanese military resurgence (Heritage, 2013a). Furthermore this alliance was made with the mutual understanding that New Zealand and her fellow ANZUS allies would jointly counteract the spread of communism in the Asian-Pacific region (Heritage, 2013a; Munro, 1953). After the French government vacated Vietnam in 1954, New Zealand provided political support to the citizens of the struggling Republic of Vietnam by offering them the opportunity to study in New Zealand (McGibbon, 2010). It was not until 1961 that New Zealand began to feel
pressure from the United States to provide military support to the Republic of Vietnam to combat the North Vietnamese forces (McGibbon, 2010).

In 1963, medical assistance was provided by the New Zealand government to the Republic of Vietnam that eventually grew to include combat support in 1965 (Duggan, 2011; McGibbon, 2010). Approximately 3,500 New Zealand servicemen were deployed to Vietnam in whom the vast majority were drawn from the Army, and lesser numbers from the Royal New Zealand Air Force (61 airmen) and the Royal New Zealand Navy (28 navy men) (Challinor, 2009). The Vietnam War culminated in thirty-seven deaths and 187 wounded of New Zealand servicemen (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, retrieved 2013). New Zealand withdrew all their forces by 1972 (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012). For a more detailed timeline of New Zealand’s involvement in the Vietnam War please refer to Appendix C. The map of Vietnam (Figure 3) shows the locations where New Zealand provided medical and military support during the war ("Location Map: New Zealanders In Vietnam," 2013).
As it became evident that the Vietnam War would not be an easy victory for the Free World Forces, an anti-war sentiment developed in New Zealand (Lavelle, 2006; McAdam & Su, 2002; McGibbon, 2010). Public demonstrations were held against the war and returning servicemen from Vietnam were negatively targeted by war protesters.
The war propaganda perpetuated by the New Zealand government and media during the conflict was complex in nature due to the biases of those reporting information on the war. Dependent on the source there could be a call for support of New Zealand’s participation in the war or a call to end New Zealand’s military presence in Vietnam. Wayne (personal communication, 2012) believed the news media was grossly unfair in its negative portrayal of the servicemen’s actions in Vietnam and that the media backlash was not strongly counteracted by the New Zealand government.

6.4 Personal motivations to serve in Vietnam

Regardless of whether the New Zealand servicemen entered the military as conscripts or volunteers, they were given the option to decline deployment to Vietnam (McGibbon & Goldstone, 2000). Although Challinor (2009) argues it is a public myth that these servicemen volunteered to serve in the Vietnam War. The reality was once the men joined the military there were clear expectations by themselves and the military that when called to serve they would do so willingly despite any personal reservations. In addition, the servicemen viewed serving in Vietnam as an opportunity to further their military career. This resulted in an environment that was not conducive for servicemen to decline deployment to Vietnam (Challinor, 2009). This sentiment is supported by the following veteran’s account.

I didn’t have to go to Vietnam, but on the other hand I was still a regular soldier. People often would say that oh you guys were all volunteers and you went to Vietnam because you were volunteers. The answer to that is quite simple- you were volunteers only once and that was when you decided to join the army. Once you joined the army you did what you were told to do (Jake, personal communication, 2012)

The servicemen viewed Vietnam as an opportunity to utilize their military training, as well as the means to enhance and test their training and skills (Challinor, 2009). Some servicemen believed Vietnam was a ‘just’ war and that there was legitimacy to the domino theory and communist threat. Many servicemen saw going to Vietnam as a
chance to have an adventure and escape the boredom of home service (Challinor, 2009).

6.5 War propaganda and military training

From a broad perspective, war propaganda was utilized throughout the Vietnam War by the Free World Forces to demonize the enemy, win the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese and garner public support for their political and military actions taken during the war (Chandler, 1981). In regards to the servicemen who were trained and deployed to Vietnam, the process of dehumanization enabled them to kill their enemy by helping them view these people as non-human (Kelman & Hamilton, 1989). In general, war propaganda campaigns assign the enemy labels based on their ethnicity, nationality, religion, or politics that makes it easier to regard their demise as a means to the end (Kelman & Hamilton, 1989). In the case of the New Zealand servicemen, the war propaganda did affect their attitude towards the war and the Vietnamese people (Ben, 2006). As evident by who remembered watching films such as the Night of the Dragon that caste the Viet Cong as murderers and pillagers.

My attitude towards the Vietnamese prior to going to Vietnam was influenced by the Time magazine articles. For instance there was a very graphic sequence of photos in the magazine of the Tet offensive attack around Saigon. These images glorified my concept of war especially as an 18 year old youth. I really wanted to go to Vietnam to personally experience combat but had no idea of what that really meant (Christopher, personal communication, 2012).

There was a variance amongst the servicemen in the level of information received about the Vietnamese people and the conflict prior to their deployment to Vietnam. Duggan (2011) was unaware of the reason that New Zealand was going to join the Vietnam War and some including himself was unsure where Vietnam was located. For L.B. he was not taught the Vietnamese culture and language prior to his deployment to Vietnam (2008). L.B. (2008) believed that this type of training was not necessary as he would have had limited contact with the Vietnamese because the South Vietnamese soldiers were charged with confronting the locals.
Servicemen were exposed to varying degrees to war propaganda, political indoctrination and training that dehumanized their enemy. Howard (personal communication, 2012) voiced that being a young man at the time; he was more prone to believe in what was being taught during military training.

If you would like to call it indoctrination then you can. I bought into the domino theory. It was easy to point out on a map, how it was very possible that the domino theory could come to fruition. The domino effect was even more likely because we had just come out of the McCarthy era in which there were reds under every bed (Howard, personal communication, 2012).

The military training readied the servicemen to automatically react and kill their enemy. Paul (2008) asserted that "At that time, when you done the training you become a killer. You can kill anybody any time, yep”. Part of training involved the process of dehumanization of the enemy. Recruits were taught to commit actions without having to make a conscious effort to think about them. Clarence, an infantryman spoke about how the training impacted his feelings on the Vietnamese

It was very negative; the training was to turn us into machines which you sort of have to do to get people to be able to kill other people. We really regarded the Vietnamese enemy as non-people. This was the only way we could really function during the war (Clarence, personal communication, 2012).

Not all servicemen felt that they had succumbed to the indoctrination and dehumanization process of the enemy during their training as exemplified by the following…

I always saw them as other human beings with the same emotions and so on as myself, and I never believed the propaganda, the American propaganda, that… they were totally duped by the communists and therefore out of their brains. I believed that they were obviously highly motivated and believed in the cause they were fighting for, and I had a
great respect for them, both for that and their military ability (Challinor, 1998, p. 89)

6.6 Contact with the Vietnamese

As described in contact theory most intergroup interaction does not reduce prejudicial attitudes and can in fact heighten aversive feelings (Allport, 1954, 1979; Williams Jr., 1947). The context of the intergroup contact and the individual experiences of the servicemen during the war impacted their attitudes and treatment of the Vietnamese people. Furthermore, the servicemen’s experiences may drive their unconscious and conscious need to reconcile with self and the Vietnamese. The attitudes and behaviours of the New Zealand Vietnam veterans towards the Vietnamese during the war were both varied and complex and based primarily on the context of the intergroup contact (McGibbon, 2010). The veterans’ willingness to visit post-war Vietnam and motivation to reconcile with the Vietnamese people is based in part to the veterans’ intergroup contact with the Vietnamese during the war. This section examines how intergroup contact during the war influenced the New Zealand’s servicemen’s attitudes and behaviours towards the Vietnamese. A brief description is presented of the roles held by the New Zealand medical and military forces during the Vietnam War. Additionally, the intergroup contact between the New Zealand servicemen and the Vietnamese population, both ally and foe is described.

The medical team and the engineering corps experienced the most interpersonal contact with the Vietnamese out of the New Zealand military forces (McGibbon, 2010). A small civilian surgical team operated from the Binh Dinh province hospital in the city of Qui Nhon where they treated civilian casualties and trained the Vietnamese nursing staff (Heritage). Additionally, the 1st New Zealand Services Medical Team was based at Bong Son in Binh Dinh province from April 1967 until December 1971. The medical corps took care of the health needs of the local Vietnamese, the Viet Cong as well as their own allied forces. The cooperation between the New Zealand and Vietnamese medical staff was necessary in order for the medical centres to operate successfully. As Dr. Duncan Scott, who led the New Zealand Medical Services Team at Bon Song Hospital in 1971, stressed that “getting the best out of the local staff depended on taking the trouble to get to know the Vietnamese and treat them as friends and equals
rather than ignorant peasants (which they certainly are not)” (McGibbon, 2010, p. 337; Scott, 2006).

In general, the New Zealand and Vietnamese medical staff were able to work well together and overcome conflict caused by differences in customs and rules. Dr. Enright, made a concerted effort to learn to speak the Vietnamese language as well as learn their customs and culture. As result, one of his superiors complained “that after so long in Vietnam, Enright no longer thinks like an average New Zealander, but more like a South East Asian” (McGibbon, 2010, p. 321). Throughout the medical teams’ time in Vietnam, there was always a risk to their personal safety and for the most part their efforts were successful in avoiding physical harm. In order to insure their own safety the medical staff adopted the strategy of treating the enemy combatants.

We treated military causalities as well. It was really the only way we survived was the fact that a lot of people we were treating there were VC and so on but the point is you never turned anyone away, you treated everybody, and they left you alone. If we hadn’t done that we'd have involved the military in arresting people and so on we could have been in real trouble because we were out on our own there was no one else within close of us, other than the 173rd Airborne (Dalton, 1995).

In 1964, the Engineers arrived in South Vietnam as the first military contribution of New Zealand. Tasked as a non-combative team, the Engineers provided assistance with civilian reconstruction and development in and around the town of Thu Do Mut in the Phuoc Tuy Province. They worked alongside the local Vietnamese population on such projects as construction of bridges, civil guard building, guard posts, market place and rooms for school. The difference in work ethics caused friction as the Vietnamese preferred traditional methods to repair the roads and bridges whilst the New Zealander employed more modern techniques to their work. The detachment of Engineers departed Bien Hoa and ceased to exist at the end of June, 1965; one month after the 161 Battery was deployed to serve in a combat role (McGibbon, 2010).

Both the Royal New Zealand Air Force and Navy had small forces involved in the Vietnam War. The Air Force was assigned a variety of roles during the war that included transport support of supplies and troops as well as taking part in combat
operations (McGibbon, 2010). The Royal New Zealand Navy (RNZN) supplied medical personnel because of New Zealand’s government unwillingness to risk the destruction of their war ships (McGibbon, 2010). Edward (personal communication, 2012) served a short stint in the Vietnam War described his experience of fighting at sea as one in which there was no close contact with the enemy. The aircraft carrier he was stationed on was responsible for carrying out bombings in South Vietnam. When he was on the destroyer on the gulf of Tonkin he was in the vicinity of the North Vietnamese and was on high alert for airborne attacks and below surface attacks. The North Vietnamese ordered their divers to launch off small fishing boats and attack explosives to the hulls of the American ships. The contact with the enemy was different to what the ground troops experienced as explained by a navy man.

I was on the aircraft carrier that we were far away enough from the potential of enemy attack that we really did not feel like we were in a war situation. This was different from when I was serving on board the William H Stanley. I was very conscious to the possibility of attack at any time. One of things it did cause me to do was to be particular in carrying out the tasks that I was ordered to do. Because on a ship it was the ship that was the target rather than the individual soldiers, but if a ship goes down then we do as well. My greatest fear was not being killed or injured but it was in the possibility of being captured by the enemy (Edward, personal communication, 2012).

In 1965, the Gunner battery was stationed near the Bien Hoa airbase but was subsequently moved the following year to the Nui Dat base (Henderson, Green, & Cooke, 2008). Whilst based in Nui Dat, they spent the majority of their time on small duration deployments within the Phuoc Tuy province and providing their allies with artillery support (Henderson et al., 2008). The Gunner Battery had four of their members killed in action and one who committed suicide during their deployment in Vietnam (Henderson et al., 2008). While Michael (personal communication 2012) served, there were guns fired every day and that was combat. “Often times we would hear a call come in saying that our soldiers were in trouble and as Gunners it was our job to provide them artillery support.”
The infantry companies of Victor and Whiskey Company were deployed in 1967 and based out of Nui Dat (the Horseshoe). Victor Company was well prepared for deployment to Vietnam. In contrast, the Whiskey Company comprised of recent recruits required additional training and acclimation in Nui Dat before becoming operation ready (McGibbon, 2010). Both infantry companies spent the majority of their time out in the field conducting missions throughout the rural Phuoc Tuy Province (McGibbon, 2010). It was during these patrols that the servicemen had the highest chance to come into contact with their enemy. In these cases, contact was usually brief with shots being quickly exchanged until the enemy disengaged and carried off their dead and wounded (McGibbon, 2010).

The Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) was a South Vietnamese military force aided by the United States to fight against the North Vietnamese forces (Moise, 2001). The New Zealand soldiers had limited contact with the ARVN throughout the war. One sentiment voiced by the interviewees was how poorly trained the ARVN soldiers were and their reluctance in fighting the enemy. The servicemen distrusted the South Vietnamese military as they were known to change sides and fight with the enemy (Challinor, 1998). Moreover, there was a level of resentment towards the South Vietnamese amongst the servicemen as described by R.C. (1995).

But when we used to come out of the jungle having flogged our butts off anything up to 10 weeks and you know your clothes are falling off you, you get bloody insect bites and leech bites and what have you all over you, you're probably not feeling too good, you've lost, you know, your body weight's gone down, ah, maybe somebody's be killed or badly injured hurt and you get out onto the, to come out of the jungle and you're being taken back to your base, and particularly if its going by road convoy transport, and you saw all these Vietnamese soldiers pouncing around in clean fatigues and cleanly shaven and there's women hanging around them and that sort of thing. It begged the question what the bloody hell are we doing there? You know we were fighting the war for them ah they're not doing anything about it (R.C., 1995).
As Ben (2006) pointed out the Vietnamese soldiers had it more difficult because they had to remain in Vietnam and fight for the duration of the war while the servicemen could go back home to New Zealand within a year.

6.6.1 Contact with the enemy

The servicemen held a multi-spectral view of their enemy that was coloured by their individual experiences. J.M. (1995) felt Vietnam was a sobering, brutal experience that showed him the destructive side of humanity. He describes how contact with the enemy affected his psyche.

There’s a sort of mechanism in the human brain where you just switch off. You know you see things which are terrible. You see them but you don’t register them in a sort of a deliberate conscious manner but you file them away in your subconscious. You got to remember that a lot of most of these contacts took place after long, long hours of slow tedious nerve wracking patrolling in areas where at any stage it could have happened and for a lot of guys it was just relief (J.M., 1995).

War veterans have expressed a wide array of feelings including anger, empathy and respect towards their enemy. It is important to point out that the servicemen respected their enemy’s prowess in combat especially when it came to the North Vietnam’s professional army (NVA). In the eyes of the servicemen both were fighting for what they believed was right and that there was honour in doing so. “I actually felt considerable respect for the enemy. They took tremendous battering from our superior firepower and still came up fighting; in a manner I’m not sure I could have managed after the same punishment” (O.D., 1995). Moreover, because the servicemen chose this profession of soldiering, there was an acceptance of the possibility of being injured or killed in the line of duty. That being said did not mean that the servicemen were unaffected when their fellow servicemen were injured or killed by their enemy. As in case of B.P. (1995) who did not think much about the NVA and the VC until one of his mates got killed and after that he hated them because probably “he (the enemy) was doing what we were doing but he won that, won that little bit of a battle”. The remaining servicemen would use their feelings of grief and anger as motivation to seek out the enemy for retaliation.
Whilst fighting in Vietnam the servicemen, in order to kill the enemy, viewed their enemy as less than human. David’s (1995) likened combat to hunting as it was their job to stalk and kill them. For some soldiers there was a mixed feeling in killing the enemy as exemplified by Sisson (1993) who felt pleasure as well as shame in doing that to another human being. Other servicemen felt no sadness over the death of their enemy as it was a relief to have their enemy dead rather than themselves or a fellow serviceman. So even if they respected their enemy, these servicemen understood that it was their job to kill them. Front-line soldiers have reported that when they come across an enemy dead and examined their personal effects that the propaganda message fades and it becomes more difficult if impossible to kill again (Kelman & Hamilton, 1989).

I did feel sad taking all the documents off the dead VC and they, you know, there were photographs of wives and children and letters. A lot of VC its part of their national heritage I suppose they write poetry and I am a poet myself and it amazed me the amount of poetry that these guys used to write and carry around them and when you looked at them, you know in the final analysis you sort of realize that they were human beings. They looked different, they had different characteristics and their eyes were a different shape and everything else but they were still human beings. And eventually I think you appreciated that (J.M. 1995).

After experiencing the death of fellow servicemen, Anderson (1995) expressed feeling helpless and the need to repress his emotions.

We lost 7 guys out of the Company and experienced a large number wounded. I was able to handle my emotions by looking at it as a job in which there were always actions that needed to be taken. As your fellow soldiers were going through the same experiences you could support each other. There were times when people emotionally broke down but they had to be shaken ruthlessly to reality-to bury their emotion and move forward (B. Anderson, 1995)

David (1995), spoke about how being a Maori impacted how he dealt with his mates getting wounded or killed. He felt “that in a lot of ways being Maori probably helped too. The way we were brought up and the way we, our whanau (family) sort of living, everybody together, and you know you sort of shared everything”. In contrast he felt
that the Pakehas were brought up to keep their grief within themselves rather than sharing it with a group.

6.6.2 Contact with the Vietnamese locals

On the soil of Vietnam the propaganda campaign, spearheaded by the United States, was focused on winning the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese. The campaign comprised mostly of broadcasts and the distribution of pamphlets geared towards encouraging the North Vietnamese forces to surrender and join the Free Nations Alliance (Page, 1996). The servicemen were also part of the effort to win the hearts and minds of the civilian Vietnamese as they were instructed to show kindness towards the locals and encourage the enemy to join them. Dennis (personal communication, 2012) explained that “the campaign was to show the people that there was an alternative and that the New Zealand soldiers represented a lifestyle from another country. That it is possible that people can live together with all the different colours and faces.”

The attitudes of New Zealand soldiers towards the Vietnamese differed and were primarily based on the context of the contact (McGibbon, 2010). The servicemen most likely to have contact with the Vietnamese civilians was during village searches, at checkpoints or whilst on leave (Challinor, 2009). For the servicemen whose duties included searching villages the attitudes of the civilian Vietnamese was generally hostile towards their military presence. As evident when Sisson (1993, p. 12) stated “generally, the attitude of the local populace (at Dat Do) was not good to us. It was plain to see that they despised us regarding us as the oppressive enemy.” Duggan (2011) felt that instead of being treated like heroes, they were treated with indifference by the South Vietnamese. Some servicemen actively avoided contact with the South Vietnamese which according to Andrew B was “odd because I was supposed to be fighting a war for them... (but) I saw the bigger picture, if you like, of fighting communism. I didn’t see it as though I was fighting the war for the South Vietnamese” (Challinor, 2009, p. 81). Hotop asserted that the only time that they had close contact with the locals was while serving on “Gate Duty” at the Horseshoe and further observed that the villagers were reluctant to show any signs of friendship and instead appeared to disapprove of what he and his fellow servicemen were doing in Vietnam (Challinor, 2009). During cordon and search operations, Hotop described how the
Vietnamese displayed fear, which was more likely, attributed to fear of what the Vietnamese authorities would do to them if discovered supporting the Viet Cong (Challinor, 2009).

Due to security reasons there were few opportunities for the servicemen to socialize with the Vietnamese which was further challenged by language barriers. There were servicemen who viewed the locals with distaste and thought them unattractive (McGibben, 2010). Gordon complained that “(98%) of the people …stink and when you are buying or bargaining they get a hell of a whine in their voices and just about cry on your shoulder sometimes they make you so mad and sick at the same time” (McGibben, 2010, p 308). These feelings were intensified because close contact with the Vietnamese could be seen as dangerous.

Many of the Vietnamese that the New Zealanders encountered were showing signs of distress due to their impoverished state (McGibben, 2010). The servicemen observed the Vietnamese locals going through their trash searching for anything useful or thieving and fathers who pimped out their daughters for prostitution (McGibben, 2010). Due to the servicemen witnessing this behaviour, adversely affected their attitudes towards the locals.

Most (New Zealanders), if they were honest, would say they were ashamed of the way they treated the Vietnamese…I think we were pretty arrogant…I think we’d say now, if some other foreign troops came to New Zealand and treated our people like we treated them, we would get our backs up and probably would have been VC. I think we felt that they owed us something (F. Thomas, 1995).

Although there have been accounts of contact that occurred between the servicemen and the Vietnamese that created a more positive attitude of the servicemen towards the locals. For instance, Marriot (1996) liked the average Vietnamese as he saw them as very sincere, honest people. As a cook he had more opportunity to interact with the locals compared to the infantrymen as he would go to the village and buy food for the base. Overall he felt the experience that he had during the war was good and enriched his life.
The servicemen were given short R & R (rest and relaxation) leave either in Saigon or Vung Tau. This time was one in which they had more opportunity to interact with the local Vietnamese population. Although these sites were perceived as relatively safe, there was still the possibility of being harmed as evident when an American soldier was killed by a detonated bomb at the Vung Tau beach in 1966 (McGibbon, 2010). The main threat to their safety was not from the Viet Cong, but rather from the local youth (McGibbon, 2010). In order to insure the servicemen’s safety they were required to go out in groups of three (McGibbon, 2010). Even in towns negative attitudes were pervasive as demonstrated by Cornelius’ letters in 1969 (Cornelius, 1969-1970). “The Vietnamese here are starting to get a little Anti at the Yanks pulling out and we found there was quite a lot of hostility towards us on our visit to Vung Tau. They refused to take us anywhere in their Taxis and even while walking around the streets they were trying to rob us. We always move around in a group so this prevents any serious incidents” (Cornelius, 1969-1970). On leave, the servicemen behaved differently than they would have at home. New Zealanders perceptions of the Vietnamese women ranged from beautiful to looking like children to bloody sluts. Others had no concerns and were fine with having sex with them on leave or during operations.

Yeah, most definitely. I think most guys if they were being honest would say that they were ashamed of the way they treated the Vietnamese. I think we felt they owed us something and I think one of the problems was I don't think you were probably really um told enough or trained enough to sort of handle civilians an thoughts probably the other thing is you never really got to meet any, I mean, really the only Vietnamese you met were either, we got to talk to bar girls and that was it. You never got in a situation where you could meet a Vietnamese family or anything like that. And you know, most of the time they were trying to rip you off. So it was a two way thing I think (F. Thomas, 1995).

Although the New Zealand soldiers were allied with the South Vietnamese, there were trust issues that presented themselves with these actors as well as with the South Vietnam’s civilian population. For some, the perception that the Vietnamese people did not want them there could have been responsible for creating distrust towards the
Vietnamese. These feelings of mistrust were exasperated by local Vietnamese stealing from them whilst on leave.

The other issue that complicated the relationship between the servicemen and the Vietnamese was the difficulty in determining who was actually an enemy because even women and children civilians were known to have attempted and in some cases succeeded in causing injury and death to soldiers. Brent (1995) spoke about how you could have a 5 year old boy and an eighty year old woman try to kill you. The people back home couldn’t understand that in order to protect themselves that they had to shoot at these people. They were told to disassociate themselves from the Vietnamese. Anderson (1995) deliberately steered clear of them and did not put himself in a position that required their trust.

I saw the bigger picture if you like of fighting Communism and I was very patriotic about that. I didn't see it as though I was fighting the war for the South Vietnamese. They, the South Vietnamese were just people caught up in the war, a little more unfortunate then we were in the sense that they had to stay in the battle zone for their life while he was there only for a short duration (Anderson, 1995).

6.7 New Zealand’s Post-War Relationship with Vietnam

The Vietnam War officially ended in 1975, yet peace was not restored in Vietnam until the mid 1980’s. During the interim, Vietnam was engaged in conflict with the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia and with the Chinese. When peace was established, a renewed economic reform began to take place in 1986 which encouraged foreign investment with more open policies such as the tourism industry (Elliott, 2012; Hobson, Heung, & Chon, 1994). After the conclusion of the war, the relations between the New Zealand government and the new government of Vietnam underwent a metamorphous of change. Despite the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between New Zealand and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1975, it was not until 1995 that New Zealand set up an Embassy in Ha Noi (Trade, 2013). Driven primarily by economic reasons, both governments have reached out to forge bilateral agreements meant to strengthen their
relationship with each other. As a result, government partnerships have been formed and official government visits have taken place between these countries.

Post-war relations have been improved by actions by the New Zealand government in providing aid to Vietnam. For example, the New Zealand government has adopted an educational exchange with the Vietnamese in which they award a total of 30 postgraduate scholarships to Vietnamese students each year and for the past 15 years English language training has been provided to approximately 400 mid and senior level Vietnamese officials (Trade, 2013). In addition, the New Zealand government in 2008 provided $32,000 NZ as part of a grant to help fund the Vietnam Friendship Village (VFV) in Ha Noi. The Vietnam Friendship Village provides health and educational opportunities to Vietnamese veterans and their children ("Barker announces grant for Vietnam Friendship Village," 2008). The VFV was established in 1998 by an American Vietnam war veteran with the support of veterans from a number of different countries and is run by the Veterans’ Association of Vietnam. As one interviewee stated that just because economic agreements have been made by Vietnam and New Zealand does not mean that reconciliation has taken place.

6.8 Summary

This chapter provided a historical overview of the Vietnam War that was followed by a summary of New Zealand’s involvement in the war. The servicemen’s personal motivations and training was examined to determine their affect on their attitudes towards the Vietnamese people, both ally and foe. Included in this chapter was a description of the servicemen’s relationships with the Vietnamese military and locals during the war. The results from this examination indicated that motives of the servicemen in participating in the war, military role in the war, and intergroup contact with the Vietnamese people impacted their overall attitudes towards the Vietnamese military and local population. The chapter included a brief discussion of New Zealand’s post-war relationship with Vietnam. This discussion indicates that since the war ended there has been a gradual process that has led to changes in the travel policy of the Vietnamese government. These revised travel policies have been conducive to Vietnam War veterans in returning to post-war Vietnam. In presenting this information provides insight in the complexity involved in the multitude of factors that impact the war
veterans’ attitude towards the Vietnamese and willingness to engage in reconciliation with the Vietnamese people.
Chapter 7  POST-WAR RECONCILIATION WITH COUNTRYMEN

7.1  Introduction

The preliminary aim of this thesis was to explore how post-war travel impacted reconciliation, however it became apparent quickly that the reconciliation process of the New Zealand Vietnam veterans not only involved the Vietnamese but also included their fellow countrymen. The intent of this chapter is to explore the war veterans’ reconciliation process with their government, the Returned Serviceman Association (RSA) and the public including the anti-war protesters in New Zealand. The reasoning behind this chapter is to illustrate that the need to seek psycho-social healing and reconciliatory actions post-war does not only include the enemy, but in fact also involves in-group members.

7.2  New Zealand Government

There is acceptance among professional servicemen that they will serve wherever and whenever their government decides to sends them. For the servicemen the difficulty with this arrangement is that they are entrusting their lives to politicians who may be more interested in gaining votes than insuring their well-being (Dennis, personal communication, 2012). The servicemen’s mistrust towards their government developed from the maltreatment they experienced as a result of government’s decisions. The feelings of mistrust and resentment of the Vietnam veterans towards the New Zealand government took root during their deployment in Vietnam. The poor quality and lack of equipment provided to the servicemen in Vietnam and the perceived injustice of taxes taken out of their payroll during their deployment to Vietnam contributed to the servicemen’s ambivalence towards their government. The servicemen knowing that the military who served in the preceding Korean War were exempt from paying taxes expected the same treatment during their deployment in Vietnam. Instead, the New Zealand government decided against this measure and put in place an allowance in the form of tax-deferred pay that would be paid to the servicemen in a lump sum upon their return to New Zealand (McGibbon, 2010). The servicemen were unhappy in being treated differently from their American and Australian counterparts whose respective governments provided their own military personnel tax-free pay (McGibbon, 2010).
Michael, (personal communication, 2012) explained that the Americans early on had offered to pay for the wages of the New Zealand servicemen who went to Vietnam and whatever supplies they needed when they were negotiating with the New Zealand government to provide military support. He proceeded to say that the “New Zealand government told them that we will support our own so they did and did not do it very well. A lot of our stuff such as our field dressings was from India during the Second World” (Michael, personal communication, 2012).

The New Zealand serviceman was emotionally unprepared to handle their treatment by the government upon their return home from the war. These servicemen believed that they served with honour and looked forward to receiving similar treatment to the hero’s welcome home experienced by their World War I and II predecessors. Time and again veterans spoke about their plane ride home to New Zealand and how they looked forward to a warm welcome not only by their loved ones but also by their fellow countrymen. Instead they were shepherded in a plane that arrived in New Zealand during the night, in which there was often no one waiting for them at the other end. Once off the plane the servicemen were told to remove their military uniform and don civilian clothing, given an allotment of money, and told to leave the military base.

After a couple of hours over the Tasman sea we were told to take off our military clothes and put our civies on. We were told once we were on New Zealand soil not to tell people where we had been and that was it. We landed like one in the morning in New Zealand and by 2 am we were on the streets of Auckland. There was noone there to welcome you, but a truck driver (Daron, personal communication, 2012).

There was an abruptness to this homecoming process that caused servicemen to feel unacknowledged and unwelcomed. Rather than having feelings of pride on what they accomplished in Vietnam, there were strong feelings of rejection and shame. For example, Clarence (personal communication, 2012) felt that the Vietnam War veterans were viewed as an embarrassment to the New Zealand government in which they were seen as war criminals rather than war heroes. He wasn’t very happy with his actions during the war and like many other Vietnam War veterans was emotionally scarred by the war.
I was angry for the first 15 years at everybody. I was angry at my partner, at my children when they came along and at the whole world. This was a result of my suppression of my feelings. I was extremely unhappy, drank heavily and experienced bouts with depression. For the first 2 years after returning from Vietnam I experienced nightmares every night. This was a very difficult time. The first 10 years after Vietnam, my feelings towards the Vietnamese was that they were still the enemy. They had killed two of my friends and they nearly killed me several times (Clarence, personal communication, 2012).

Furthermore, after arriving home from Vietnam, Clarence (personal communication, 2012) was told by his own commanders that he and his fellow soldiers should be ashamed of their service in Vietnam He further believed that the lack of acknowledgement of the Vietnam veterans by the New Zealand government for the first 20 years after the war ended caused a lot of damage to all the NZ servicemen who served in the Vietnam War.

Additionally veterans felt disappointment that the New Zealand government was not more pro-active towards defending them against the hostile response from the media and the public during the progression of the war. Wayne (personal communication, 2012) felt that the there was a lack of public knowledge of the kind acts that the veterans did during the war such as building orphanages and hospitals. The veterans’ believed it was their government’s responsibility to protect them from negative public reaction and when the government failed to do so, a trust violation occurred between the servicemen and their government. The trust violation was such that the veterans were no longer confident that their government actions’ were being made in their best interest and caused them to question the very basis of the relationship (Lewis & Weigert, 1985; Tomlinson, Dineen, & Lewicki, 2004).

7.2.1 Denial of adverse health affects

From 1961 to 1971, the United States and its allies sprayed seventy three million litres of chemicals over Central and South Vietnam to defoliate the landscape and destroy enemy access to crops (Martini, 2013). More than forty-five million litres of the chemicals contained Agent Orange, an herbicide that by the mid-1960s was known to
contain often dangerous levels of dioxin, a potentially deadly poison (Martini, 2013). The New Zealand government denied that their servicemen in Vietnam were exposed to chemicals such as Agent Orange. In May 1998, the Reeves report was commissioned by the New Zealand government to ascertain if there was a link between the servicemen’s exposure to Agent Orange and the health problems experienced by their children born after their deployment in Vietnam (McGibbon, 2010). The Reeves report ruled against a connection between the father’s time in Vietnam and the adverse health issues experienced by their children. In addition, this report downplayed the level of direct chemical exposure that these servicemen experienced whilst in Vietnam (McGibbon, 2010). The Department of Veterans Affairs commissioned the University of Otago’s Wellington School of Medicine to conduct a literature review on research pertaining to this topic in New Zealand in 2001 and also found no links except for a slightly higher risk for the children to be born with spine bifida. The problem with this report is that like the Reeves report, it failed to recognize that New Zealand servicemen were in areas that received direct exposure from chemicals. In addition, the McLeod report (2001) claimed that only 70 kg of Agent Orange was sprayed in Vietnam which contradicted the 70 million litres that was actually sprayed during the war (Hume, 2004). This assertion of the servicemen not being directly exposed to pesticides was negated when battery commander John Masters produced a collection of maps. These maps clearly showed the areas defoliated by chemicals were in the same vicinity as the New Zealand servicemen (McGibbon, 2010).

Chadwick, a select committee chairwoman, believed lack of political will led to these studies being under-resourced, poorly designed and the government not actively questioning the legitimacy of these reports (Hume, 2004). Vietnam veteran Moller stated that “it was a cover-up, with political reluctance to admit defoliant exposure preventing any weight being accorded to the veterans’ accounts. A lot could have been solved if they had bothered to sit down with us” (Hume, 2004). Peter Smith, dean of medical and health sciences at Auckland University, agreed that the studies were flawed due to their overreliance on outdated evidence and failure to include more recent information that would have provided a different outcome (Hume, 2004). The chief researcher Dr. Deborah McLeod felt that the study was unduly criticized as the committee failed to understand the objectives and constraints of the critical review.
process that precluded additional investigation on the overall exposure of the chemicals experienced by the (Hume, 2004).

National MP Judith Collins was able to convince the Parliament’s Health Select Committee to hear testimony about pesticide usage during the Vietnam War from various witnesses including Vietnam veterans. Colonel Ray Seymour presented maps that corroborated areas that were sprayed. There was a general feeling by veterans that the government deliberately withheld information that would conclusively indicate that the veterans had been exposed to pesticide usage in Vietnam. For Dennis (personal communication, 2012) the only solace is that these people will have to live with their conscience and what they did to their fellow New Zealanders. Baldwin (2003), vice-president of the Ex-Vietnam Services Association stated that “the Parliamentary Health Committee hearings on Agent Orange gave the opportunity for veterans to voice their grievances with the government’s mishandling of their health issues and provides testimony that negates the validity of the Reeve and McLeod’s reports”. Baldwin (2003) called for decisive action to help those veterans and their families who have suffered ill health effects from their exposure to Agent Orange. In 2004, the Parliament health committee issued a report based on an 18 month inquiry that deemed New Zealand troops were exposed to toxic herbicides during the Vietnam War (Baldwin, 2004). The committee recommended that the Government should publicly acknowledge veterans were exposed to chemicals and address the health issues that stemmed from this exposure. The report did not recommend compensation or an apology to veterans (see Appendix D for summary and link to government report).

In 2005 the government established a group to examine the concerns of Vietnam veterans. This group consulted veterans and their families and made recommendations to the government about what action should be taken to address any problems identified. The major outcome from this group’s investigations was an agreement known as the Memorandum of Understanding (see Appendix E for MOU) that was signed by the government, the Ex-Vietnam Services Association (EVSA) and the Royal Returned and Services Association in December 2006 (Gof, 2007). In fulfilment to the MOU the government announced a $25 million package of measures that was agreed to by Vietnam veteran’s representatives and the RSA. Those who suffered debilitating
health conditions including those who died from exposure to the defoliant Agent Orange were entitled to one-off payments of $35,000, while their children were set to receive $25,000. The package of services and benefits also included a formal apology by the Prime Minister and the government organizing and sponsoring a welcome home parade ("NZ's Vietnam veterans to get compensation, recognition," 2006).

Trust is an integral part of the reconciliation process. Re-building trust after a perceived wrong-doing exposes the vulnerability of the wronged in believing that the wrong-doer will act in a manner that will not harm the wronged (Govier & Verwoerd, 2002). When extreme distrust is present, the actions and words of the other can be interpreted as insincere or exploitative, severely undermining the relationship (Govier & Verwoerd, 2002). Post-Vietnam the way that the New Zealand government and politicians handled the veterans’ concerns over their health as well as their children increased their mistrust in their government. This growing mistrust made it difficult for some veterans to reconcile with their government.

Currently, the public does not have access to the official count of Vietnam veterans who died post-war nor their cause of death. When contacted in 2013, the Veterans Affairs of New Zealand cited that in accordance with Section 18(f) of the Official Information Act 1982, they would be unable to share this information due to the substantial work that would be involved in collation of this research. However, a newspaper article published in 2008 offered unofficial numbers that nearly 20% (616) of the nearly 3,300 veterans who actively served in Vietnam have died. McKee Wright, who served with Victor 1 Company in 1967, stated that “of his group of 160 servicemen, 40 have died. Two had natural deaths - all the rest had cancer” (Anonymous, 2008b). The perception that the New Zealand government should have been more pro-active in addressing the veterans’ health issues has impacted the reconciliation process. Howard (personal communication, 2012) stated “the Government lied and cheated over the Vietnam Vets claims. This has been proved by the production of maps etc. which supported our claims. Many Vets have died before any compensation could be given. I don't need to reconcile with that!”

Since the passing of the MOU, Vietnam veterans and their organizations have continued to monitor the government follow through with their agreement to address
the health and well-being issues of the veterans. The government actions to pro-actively resolve the veterans’ issues have resulted in some veterans having a more positive view of their government. For example, according to Calvin (personal communication, 2012) it has helped that the disabilities of the veterans are now being accepted by the Veterans Affairs of New Zealand and they are now paying for the medical treatment from specialists and medication. “Before I got that 2/3 of my wages was going to doctors and pharmaceutical accounts. I am getting ready to have a second operation and that is all paid for by them” (Calvin, personal communication, 2012). Still there are those veterans who feel that they have had to continue to fight for their benefits that have further eroded their trust in government For instance; Carl (personal communication, 2012) acknowledged that his hobby has become to fight for his government benefits.

When I got rejected I would write a letter knowing that someone would have to respond. I had nothing to lose and everything to gain. This has since changed and now the government is rejecting their claims. Now the Vietnam veterans must prove their cases due to a political change in the New Zealand government. My enemy became New Zealand and you couldn’t go and kill your fellow countrymen (Carl, personal communication, 2012).

These feelings of mistrust are exasperated by the confusion and time delays caused by the bureaucracy involved in distributing benefits to the veterans. There are veterans who believe the government is wilfully making it difficult for the veterans and their families to receive their entitled benefits so that they can save money. Additionally, there is a belief that the government is trying to avoid paying out benefits by waiting for the veterans to die which has resulted in few veterans being pro-government (James, personal communication, 2012).

The veterans have questioned the intent and sincerity in passing policies that would benefit the veterans because former Vietnam War protesters have held prominent political roles within New Zealand government. As a result, the veterans have experienced difficulty in trusting their government’s willingness in pushing for better treatment of the veterans and following through with their agreements with the veterans. For example, Helen Clarke is a well known anti-Vietnam war protester who
served as Prime Minister of New Zealand from 1999-2008. Actions that caused scepticism of the government included a political movement led by PM Helen Clarke to change the name of a New Zealand trail to the Ho Chi Minh running trail (Brian, personal communication, 2012). James (personal communication, 2012) expressed disgust towards the infiltration of anti-war protesters in the government. “The nine years of Helen Clark’s bloody socialist experiment that didn’t work. Veteran Affairs is supposedly run by Defence but there are still Winston Peter’s people there. They have a different hat on but still have the same shit attitude that they don’t want to know you” (James, personal communication, 2012).

In a post-conflict environment, the reconciliation process has a higher likelihood to move forward when the immediate needs of the people are addressed (Ross, 2004). More recently governments have worked to resolve the veterans’ war-related issues. As a result there are veterans who attribute these actions to facilitating their healing and reconciliation process. For Vietnam veteran Clarence (personal communication, 2012) he was angry with the New Zealand government, at the Americans, at himself and generally angry at everybody. In recent years, Clarence believes that

The New Zealand government has bent over backwards in honouring and trying to correct the mistreatment of those who fought in Vietnam. These actions taken by the government has been part of my healing process and as a result I now have no problem with the New Zealand government. Even so the reconciliation process does not mean that continued work on the relationship between Veterans and Government should cease (Clarence, personal communication, 2012).

In the same vein, Joel (personal communication, 2012) proposes that even with the improved relationship that the veterans now have with the New Zealand Government and the RSA, vigilance is still necessary to ensure the changes to the Defence Act are enforced and the distribution of health benefits are followed through in a timely manner.

One barrier to the process of reconciliation between the veterans and the government has been the revolving door of those who have held government positions since the commencement of the Vietnam War. The issue is that those who hold positions of
power within the government may not have been responsible for the decisions that adversely affected the veterans. The quandary then becomes whether those who currently hold government positions are obligated to take ownership of wrong-doing committed by previous government officials, whether these government officials should apologize for these past wrongs and should these government officials be held responsible to rectify the decisions made by their predecessors.

### 7.3 The Royal New Zealand Returned and Services’ Associate (RSA)

The Returned Services Association (RSA) was established by the wounded New Zealand servicemen returning from service during World War One. The purpose of this organization initially was to provide support for service men and women serving overseas and rehabilitation of returned servicemen (McGibbon & Goldstone, 2000). Servicemen returning from Vietnam who wanted to join the RSA felt unwelcomed by this organization. Even those who personally did not come in contact with the RSA were wary of the organization after hearing stories of rejection from their fellow servicemen. The reasoning behind the unwelcoming attitude was that the RSA members from previous wars viewed the Vietnam veterans as servicemen who did not serve in a real “just” war and therefore should not be part of their organization. This was not the first time that returning servicemen felt unwelcomed by their predecessors as it also occurred with the WW II, Korean and the Malayan war veterans (Wayne, personal communication, 2012).

Dennis (personal communication, 2012) felt poorly treated by the RSA family when he returned home from Vietnam. He reasoned that the war veterans who had served in the previous World Wars had been so focused on developing New Zealand when they returned home that they had failed to take stock of what was happening on a more global level. As a result these war veterans did not understand that those who fought in Vietnam were in a legitimate war fighting for a valid cause. He also felt that these war veterans had forgotten what commonalities they all shared as individuals who had joined the military such as viewing military service as a way to have an adventure and escape the confines of the family. He was one of the first infantrymen who came home from Vietnam and spoke of an incident when he was visiting an RSA where he was invited to sit down and speak about his experiences in Vietnam. The members informed
him that the New Zealand servicemen should not be in Vietnam and should refuse to go there. Dennis responded to them “I was a soldier just like they were and it was my job to go where the government decided to send me” and then left the RSA (personal communication, 2012).

The following morning, the RSA president admitted on the phone to him that they were wrong in their lack of acceptance of him and acknowledged that he had served the people of New Zealand by going to Vietnam. When he went back to visit that RSA he chose to forgive them after they stood up and welcomed him home (Dennis, personal communication, 2012). The poor treatment by fellow RSA members was not the lone reason that Vietnam veterans did not want to join this organization. For example, Clarence’s (personal communication, 2012) decided to leave the RSA after a short space of time to help sever the connection and create distance from the Vietnam War. He was very much into avoidance and denial so he didn’t want anything to do with anything associated with violence. He stayed away from RSA because he thought of it as part of the New Zealand government, the part that represented war.

The rejection of Vietnam veterans from the RSA led to the formation of several groups that were comprised strictly of New Zealand Vietnam veterans.

The lack of welcome by the RSA led to my decision to join the Ex-Vietnam Services Association rather than the RSA. I believe that the need to establish the Ex-Vietnam Service Association (EVSA) and the now defunct Vietnam Veteran Association in New Zealand indicated the scale of the problem the Vietnam veterans experienced with the RSA (Joel, personal communication, 2012).

These Vietnam veterans groups were instrumental in various reconciliation efforts with the New Zealand government and the people. For instance, the EVSA provided support to the veteran initiated and organised Parade '98 that was conducted to publicly acknowledge the service of New Zealand Vietnam veterans. In addition, the EVSA has made submissions on behalf of veterans in respect of their exposure to Agent Orange and other chemicals during their Vietnam service by providing direct representations to the New Zealand government and official inquiries such as that held by the Parliamentary Health Select Committee in 2003-2004. The EVSA has been actively
monitoring the New Zealand government since October, 2004 to ensure that they followed through on the Health Select Committee’s recommendations.

### 7.4 War protesters and the public

As the Vietnam War progressed, it attracted expressions of public dissent and opposition to the war. Although there were numerous reasons that motivated individuals to take part in the anti-war movement, they were often based on political and moral grounds (Haas, 1968). The war protest movement as the war progressed increasingly used a moral framework in protesting the war. This usage of a moral framework resulted from the increasing evidence of the impact of the war’s violence on humanity and the environment (Linnell, 2011). Dennis (personal communication, 2012) concurred that it was difficult for the public to accept the fact that people committed atrocities during war. Secondly, by stressing the morality aspects of the war was proficient at increasing support for their anti-war cause (Linell, 2011). The debate over the “justness” of the war created conflict between individuals who believed that war was not just and those servicemen who felt morally and professionally justified in fighting against the communists in Vietnam.

The war protesters varied in their attitudes towards the war. For instance, those on the “far left ardently wanted the NLF to win, to those whose watchword was reconciliation, to those who thought even supporting one side was a kind of intervention, to those who rebelled at the way New Zealanders had been conned and bullied into joining an unjust attack on an emerging third-world nation” (Locke, 1992, p. 202-203). As a result, there was not one cohesive movement, but rather the emergence of a multitude of groups such as the Progress Youth Movement and Committees on Vietnam (Linell, 2011). Subsequently dependent on the group, tactics adopted to end the war included teach-ins, poster parades that called for the removal of troops, hunger strikes and more “theatrical kind of upheaval by a small minority” (Linell, 2011, p. 27; Locke, 1992). Although there were people within “the protest movement that were keen to be able to work with Vietnam Vets to see if they would protest the war and wear their uniforms when doing so” (Clements, personal communication, 2013).
The rift in the relationship between the anti-war protesters and the servicemen can be attributed to each group being negatively targeted by the opposing group. There were “soldiers and sailors on leave who were inclined to take the anti-war movement personally and to react accordingly” by becoming violent towards the anti-war protesters (Locke, 1992, p. 224). Conversely, there were servicemen who felt that they were unfairly marked and adversely treated by the war protesters (see figure 4). Michael (personal communication, 2012) recalled that when he was in the Queens Street Parade that he was called a baby killer and a rapist which was difficult to handle. Although it is important to note that not all returning servicemen received a negative reception from the public. Furthermore, the veterans overall felt that the war protesters had a right to publically protest the war, but believed that they should not be their targets. The following is a photo of New Zealand troops being targeted by anti-war protesters.

**Figure 4**: “New Zealand Troops Murder in Our Name.”
headquarters who reported being spat on and suffering negative comments from war protesters on their way to work. Prior to the outbreak of anti war protests there was the requirement for servicemen while travelling to work to wear their military uniforms. He explained that as the war progressed, the military changed protocol by having their personnel wear uniforms to work twice a week as a way for servicemen to avoid being adversely targeted by anti-war protesters. Even when there was not direct contact with the vocal anti-war protesters, did not negate the servicemen’s feelings of rejection and resentment towards them. The end result of this treatment was a contentious relationship between the Vietnam veterans and the public. Some veterans have moved on and others are still resentful of the treatment that they received from the war protesters. The veterans believed that the protesters’ anger should not have been directed at the servicemen but rather at the government who made the decision to send them to Vietnam.

The returning servicemen from Vietnam came home to a hostile environment in which they were criticized for fighting in Vietnam. Veterans believe that the rejection by the public has led to death of their fellow veterans. Daron (personal communication, 2012) would hear about veterans hanging themselves, killing themselves after they came back to New Zealand. These Vietnam veterans wouldn’t talk to anyone. The emotional damage caused by this rejection by the public has had deep and lasting effect on the veterans. Sisson (1993) attributed the lack of homecoming as one of the biggest causes of the mental damage that was inflicted on the Vietnam War veterans. Instead of being greeted with a hero’s welcome, they were met by a lack of acknowledgement from their government and the public (Sisson, 1993). Carl (personal communication, 2012) felt that the problems he faced in New Zealand were from the public sentiment that what he did was shameful and wrong. Carl’s (personal communication, 2012) opinion was that because he and his fellow servicemen were “trained to kill on behalf of New Zealand that the people should not have sent them if they were not prepared for the results.” For him he had to forgive the New Zealand government and people in order for him to move on from the past.
7.5 Reconciliation Events

Due to the increased amount of contact between individuals within a group there is more potential for a higher amount of conflict that could put the very existence of the group at risk (Jones & Yarn, 2009). Reconciliation is one means by which the relationships damaged by these in-group conflicts can be repaired to insure the survival of the group (Jones & Yarn, 2009). One way to facilitate the reconciliation process is to host reconciliation events. Post-Vietnam War, there have been a number of events that have been planned in New Zealand with the aim of reconciling the relationship between the Vietnam veterans and their fellow countrymen that have met with varying degrees of success. An examination of these events will help us understand the strengths and weaknesses of utilizing events to aid in the reconciliation process.

The first attempt to welcome the Vietnam veterans, home occurred when the city of Auckland made a decision to hold a civic reception on 12 May, 1971 for the returned 161 Battery and 4 Troop NZSAS from Vietnam. During the parade, anti-war protesters threw red paint bombs and firecrackers onto the road. The protesters also used red paint to symbolize the bloodshed in Vietnam and caused a momentary disruption when several of them sat on the road attempting to block the parade until the police removed them. A Vietnam veteran participant in the parade observed that the military band members in the parade took “great delight” in walking on, kicking and shoving the protesters until the police came and removed the protesters (see Figure 5) [Young] [not in references]. This event not only failed to heal the relationship between the veterans and their countrymen, it created more ill will between these two groups. The following photograph depicts the clash between the war veterans and police with the protesters during the parade.
7.5.1 Parade of ‘98

The Parade of ’98 occurred on the Queen’s Birthday weekend in 1998. It was sponsored by veteran associations, the Internal Affairs Department’s ceremonial unit, the RSA, defence chiefs and the Wellington government (Samson, 1997). The origins of Parade ’98 began when Vietnam veteran Paddy started organizing a reunion for the Vietnam veterans. As plans progressed, the scale of the event grew to the point that the event organizers sought the support of the Returned Services Association. The veterans met with the RSA with the expectation that they would not receive any support but were pleased when the RSA agreed to donate money towards the event. This gesture marked the first time that the Vietnam Veterans received major acknowledgment from the RSA. The reconciliation process does not only aim to restore and heal relationships, but also includes the acknowledgement and taking actions to resolve the past (Clark, 2009). The RSA through supporting the Vietnam veterans’ initiative to hold this public event is evidence of their taking action meant to rectify the past by acknowledging the Vietnam veterans’ service during the Vietnam War.

The parade was not to be construed as a political event that honoured war, but rather as a public acknowledgement of the veterans’ role in Vietnam and as a way to “lay the war to rest” for veterans and their families (Samson, 1997). The New Zealand government refused to officially sanction this event. In fact there was internal effort in the government to prevent the occurrence of this event to which the veterans responded by
deciding to host the event without their support (Houlahan, 2007). The aim of the organizers, a veterans group called Parade '98, was to bring about a cultural reconciliation between those who served in Vietnam and wider New Zealand (D. Cohen, 1998). The Parade '98 was according to Paddy about fostering “healing and bringing the veterans issues out into the open so they could be dealt with” (Houlahan, 2007).

To that aim of fostering healing, Maori rituals were incorporated into the event. A welcoming ritual of powhiri was performed at the Wellington waterfront that included the bringing home the dead, stripping the War God of Tumatauenga from the veterans and rendering them noa or free of tapu. Himona believed that the spiritual and psychological symbolism of these rituals allowed the tears and the mamae (hurt) to flow out and for many of the veterans. It allowed them to finally put the past to rest and served as a catalyst for them to begin the long overdue healing process (Himona, 1998).

Organizer John Dow stated that there were those detractors who believed that the parade would glorify the war and feared offending the Vietnamese government (Samson, 1997). This sentiment is exemplified when King (1998) a Second World War veteran called for the cancellation of the event and asked for the allotted money for the event to be sent to help the Vietnamese people re-build their country. He viewed the parade as an event that would do nothing to commemorate the controversial nature of the war but instead would serve as an ill-advised attempt to stir patriotic emotion in a public demonstration of validation and celebration of war (King, 1998).

Although, there was opposition to holding this event, there were those in the public arena that saw this as an opportunity to recognize the servicemen who served in Vietnam. ("Time for NZ to grow up over Vietnam," 1998) an anti-Vietnam War protester looked at this event not as a celebration of war, but rather as a gathering of veterans who should be acknowledged for their willingness to do the bidding of the government."Far from being a protester, I will be proud to march in support of my family member. I ask that the people of Wellington show their support too. This solemn and special occasion must not be demeaned by unjust protest” ("Shadow of Vietnam," 1995). In addition local commentators urged New Zealanders to let their veterans finally live in peace (Cohen, 1998).
Tim Shadbolt, a prominent anti-Vietnam war protester offered to address the Vietnam veterans at the event “in the spirit of reconciliation”. He was aware that his appearance may upset the veterans and understood if his offer was declined. Colonel Monks believed that the offer was sincere, but felt that “people might not yet be ready for that sort of thing” (Hawkins, 1998). Subsequently, the programme did not allow Mr Shadbolt to make a formal speech, but instead gave him the master of ceremonies job (Hawkins, 1998). "Tim's offer was accepted in the spirit in which he made it," Colonel Monks said. "We think he will send all the right signals to the public and the veterans." Mr Shadbolt was thrilled to be able to take part in the reunion and looked forward to making a few comments at the event because he believed that he could “help with the healing and reconciliation they want to be part of this weekend” (Hawkins, 1998).

Duggan said

The first recognition of the war was in 1998 when the Vietnam veterans organised their own event, Parade 98, and marched through the streets of Wellington but it was without any Government help or formal acknowledgement -- although then Prime Minister Jenny Shipley was on the dais when they marched past, it wasn't an official welcome home (Stuart, 2011).

The veterans’ perception that the government’s involvement in the event was minimal to non-existent may have increased their negative feelings towards their government. “There wasn’t a single NZ politician at the church parade which was a bit silly and was noted by the veterans in attendance” (Brian, personal communication, 2012). Wayne (personal communication, 2012) believed that because the event was not organized by the government but paid for and organized by the Vietnam Veterans meant that the government still did not recognize their ill treatment towards the Vietnam Veterans. If the government did not admit wrong-doing and try to rectify their wrong-doing by supporting the veterans in holding this public event then there was more difficulty in the veterans reconciling with their government. Robert, (personal communication, 2012) who attended the ‘98 parade, spoke about some war protesters being physically attacked by the veterans at the event.
It was the plan to march through the streets of Wellington and there were people who were protesting there as well. One or two of those protesters were attacked by the veterans who were angry from the treatment they received after they had come home (especially the 161st field regiment). The police turned a bit of a blind eye when those incidents occurred during the parade (Robert, personal communication, 2012).

Mr. Mander had his stilts kicked out from under him during the parade while carrying a sign saying "sorry Vietnam" (Berry, 1998). A veteran admonished the war protester for insulting the bravery of the men who fought in Vietnam by which Mr. Mander responded that his protesting the Vietnam War was courageous (Berry, 1998). This verbal exchange illustrates the difficulty in moving the reconciliation forward when both actors believe their actions to be just and assert they have committed no wrongdoing.

For veteran attendees, the primary motivation to attend was to reconnect with their fellow servicemen rather than seeking out reconciliation. The timing of the event was at a stage that there was still a lot of ill feeling of the Vietnam veterans towards the New Zealand government in regards to their treatment. Donald (personal communication, 2012) felt this event was not part of the healing process because the public and politicians still held a negative view of New Zealand’s involvement in Vietnam and failed to show acceptance toward the veterans of this conflict. This negative view is evident in the call of Peace Movement Aotearoa (Aotearoa, 1998) for peace groups to send letters of concern to Wellington newspapers about Parade '98. This organization believed that parade organisers failed to seek participation by all groups affected by the war debate including the Vietnamese people and their government. Additionally this organization believed the parade failed to acknowledge the controversy and negative effect on the New Zealand civilians that were associated with the Vietnam War resulting in an inaccurate and biased representation of New Zealand’s experience of the Vietnam War (Aotearoa, 1998). They believed that “healing and reconciliation required participation by all groups affected by the war, in a process of honest exchange of views and reasoned debate” (Aotearoa, 1998). Staub et al. (2005) supports this belief in stating that witnesses and supporters of violent act(s) although emotionally affected to a
lesser degree than the perpetrators and victims, still need to undergo healing for reconciliation to become possible.

The negative reaction by members of the public resulted in a number of veterans continuing to keep their war experiences to themselves and in doing so became quite insular and in-ward looking. On the other hand, there are veterans who feel this event was part of the reconciliation process between the people and the Vietnam veterans (Dennis, personal communication, 2012). Joe Faulkner who came home in the dead of night to avoid protesters upon his return from Vietnam was brought to tears by the crowd clapping for the veterans during the parade (Berry, 1998). Public recognition did help some veterans in feeling recognized and accepted for their service in Vietnam.

Mullane ("Radio interview with Chris Mullane," 2008) spoke during a radio interview about how the Vietnam veterans themselves were in denial and unaware of the adverse impact that the Vietnam War had upon the veterans until they met with each other during the Parade ‘98 event (often for the first time since serving with one another in Vietnam) and realised how many of their fellow servicemen had adverse health effects and had died since the war.

Quite a lot of mental, emotional and social problems came to the surface. So for the first time after coming together in some numbers this started a ripple effect and it has taken another ten years because the denial was heavily embedded in the officialdom and political circles (Mullane, 2008).

Mullane (2008) explained that the bills introduced in parliament aimed at addressing the problems experienced by the veterans and their families met with resistance. This resistance he attributed to the unwillingness of people to acknowledge the ill effects caused by the war, assigning fault to the servicemen for volunteering for the war and the media in perpetuating untruths about the Vietnam War ("Radio interview with Chris Mullane," 2008).
7.5.2 Tribute ‘08

The origins of Tribute ’08 began when Vietnam veteran Chris Mullane promised to honour his fellow veteran’s deathbed request to help the veterans and their families. As a result he became a member of EVSA and volunteered to be on their National Executive where he actively lobbied the government to recognize and increase benefits to the veterans and their families. Through his actions, the government agreed to support Tribute ’08 in which he was chairman of the event. As a result of negotiations between the RSA and Vietnam Veterans’ organizations, the New Zealand government agreed to host a Welcome Home Tribute for the Vietnam veterans in 2008 (“Vietnam War Tribute 08,” 2012). Mr. Mullane stated that

> While not every veteran was pleased with the response of various Governments, Tribute 08 would help ease the pain many men still felt. There will always be some who are never satisfied, and some of the suffering can never be fully addressed. It's just not possible or reasonable to expect that, because it's beyond the capability of humankind to make it right. What we are hoping is that a healing process which began with many of the veterans with Parade 98 - not all, but many - Tribute 08 will further develop and move on that healing process for many more (Houlahan, 2007).

Supported by the RNZRSA, the EVSA initiated dialogue with the Government led to the establishment of the Joint Working Group (JWG) on the concerns of Vietnam Veterans in which they carried out a series of consultation meetings with veterans and their families. The JWG Report & Recommendations were received by the Government in April 2006, and led to the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the Government and EVSA and RNZRSA representatives (Gof, 2007). As part of the MOU the New Zealand government agreed to hold a reconciliation event in 2008 as well as pay restitution to the veterans who had experience adverse health and mental effects from serving in the war. Restitution is often part of political reconciliation and serves as admission of wrongdoing (Amstutz, 2005). This event was held in Wellington on the Queen’s Birthday weekend (Friday 30 May to Sunday 1 June 2008). It included an opening ceremony and the Maori spiritual cleansing ceremony of Whakanoa that
removes the warrior spirit from a fighter returning from battle (Force, 2008). Additionally there was a Memorial Service as well as a rededication of the Vietnam Honour in the National War Memorial and an exhibition of New Zealand's military heritage with special focus on Vietnam ("Vietnam War Tribute 08," 2012).

As in the Parade '98 veterans were primarily motivated to attend to reconnect with their fellow veterans. This event garnered a mixed reception by the Vietnam veterans. Calvin (personal communication, 2012) believes the need to forgive involves the war veterans forgiving the New Zealand government, the war protesters and the RSA. When asked if he has reconciled with these people he answered “that it is long forgotten. Helen Clarke the ex-Prime Minister had been a Vietnam War protester but at least she had the guts in the end with Mateparae’s help to organize the Tribute Parade” (Calvin, personal communication, 2012). Jake (personal communication, 2012) spoke that in a political move; some of the Senior Army people e-mailed groups of retired officers like himself that they needed to attend the event because numbers were down. For him, the pressure to attend by military officials served as a deterrent to attend. He also felt that there was no need for this event as the government had already apologized for the Agent Orange and the public showed acceptance of the veterans during the '98 Parade. For other veterans like Joel (personal communication, 2012) it was an opportunity to hear the apologies in person by the government. He “accepted the Tributes as an appropriate and acceptable means for recognition of the contribution made by veterans, acknowledgement of the Government’s failure to do so previously and for the Government to extend its apology for past wrongs”. Wayne viewed the event as an act of apology from the government that has helped him reach reconciliation with the New Zealand government.

The event itself could be seen as a marker in the psycho-social healing process as in the case of Carl. He had been able to work through things to the point when Tribute '08 occurred and he was ready to participate in the event (personal communication, 2012). Marching with his fellow veterans and smiling at the protesters he felt was a healing experience. For other veterans the timing of the event was too late in facilitating reconciliation with their government.
I will never be reconciled with a government that has kept what was just dessert from those who served in the Vietnam War. I feel that the lies and culpability perpetuated by the New Zealand government cannot be forgiven by me therefore reconciliation is not possible (Howard, personal communication, 2012).

Jake (personal communication, 2012) believed that if the New Zealand Vietnam veterans had any reconciliation problems it would have been towards government officials. The veterans’ issues were recognized finally by the government and acknowledged when they had the reconciliation parade. He thinks that the bulk of the Vietnam veterans did move on after this event.

As part of the event there were several key speakers who publically apologized for the poor treatment of the veterans. The timing and perceived authenticity of the apology as well as follow up action have all played a role in the reconciliation process. Robert (personal communication, 2012) felt that “the government’s apologies after the Vietnam War were offered so late that they really were not genuine.”

Those who attended these events all probably went in with the idea that they were finally getting the recognition they deserved and would feel good about that until they came to the realization that it was just a bloody smoke screen by the politicians and that nothing really had changed. The government has not fulfilled their promises and their apologies didn’t matter as they failed to follow through with action. The veterans who have accepted the apology do so because they were on a wee bit of a high after having had years of the door being shut in their face (James, personal communication, 2012).

One objective in offering an apology is to re-build trust lost after a wrong-doing has been committed (Thompson, 2012). When the offended has cause to distrust the genuineness of their fellow citizens’ intent in following through with their commitment to just behaviour, the apology is less likely to be successful (Thompson, 2012, p. 219). The apologies offered by the government were seen by some veterans as being insincere in taking ownership of the damage that they had done to them. The apologies
seemed forced from the pressure and demand brought on by Veterans Affairs or veterans in general.

The only honest and true apology came from army Lieutenant General Jerry Mataparae who apologized for the poor treatment that the veterans received from the military. I hadn’t thought about the poor treatment we had received from the military until Jerry mentioned that during his speech. The military failed to understand that the veterans felt discarded by the military when they returned home from Vietnam. The apology from the New Zealand government was too late. It is not so much a distrust of government but rather that they didn’t do the job they were supposed to do. To welcome them back 28 years later. That is a long time to wait to be welcomed home. They were home for 28 years and had gone on with their lives. I have moved on. I have worked with people within the government like Helen Clarke and John Key and politicians in Timaru and Ashburton. The people in the government now had nothing to do with what happened during and right after the Vietnam War. It is not their baby anymore (Daron, personal communication, 2012).

7.6 Political Apology

In 2004, ACT leader Rodney Hide called for Prime Minister Helen Clark during a Parliament session to apologize to the veterans on the behalf of the government. The PM responded by remaining seated and failed to take the opportunity to offer an apology on behalf of the government to the veterans (Hide, 2004). In 2005, the government apologized to the Vietnam veterans in a two-page statement delivered by Veterans Affairs Minister George Hawkins. RSA President John Campbell believed that the apology was not well received by the Veterans and their families because Prime Minister Helen Clark failed to deliver it (Taylor, 24 January 2005). The veterans pointed out that in 2002 Helen Clark personally apologised for the governments past mistreatment of other groups such as Chinese immigrant workers, Samoans and gays and should have been willing to publically apologize for the mistreatment of the veterans on behalf of the government (Taylor, 2005).
It was not until May 28th, a few days prior to the commencement of Tribute ’08, that Prime Minister Helen Clark and all the other party leaders apologized in parliament for the mistreatment and denial of veterans claims of adverse health effects caused by chemical exposure whilst serving in Vietnam. This apology fulfilled one of the stipulations agreed upon in the MOU between the government and the veterans. Veterans were invited into the public gallery at Parliament to watch the apology and attend a function afterwards (Government, 2008). On behalf the Vietnam War veterans and their families, Chris Mullane (2008) accepted the government’s welcome home and apology. Even though there were veterans who responded positively to finally attaining an apology from their government, this did not mean that the apology had resolved all their issues. EVSA president Terry Culley felt that the apology was significant for the veterans but that it was just a start in repairing the relationship between the veterans and their government. Chris Mullane, a Vietnam veteran who served as a Tribute 08 chairman also believe that the apology covered everything the veterans expected, but that there were still unresolved issues related to Agent Orange that still needed to be resolved with the government (Schouten, Dominion Post, 2008).

Since the end of the war the reconciliation process has been impacted by the veterans’ demand for a government’s apology and the failure of successive governments in providing the veterans with an apology. The negative reaction by the veterans when the government did offer a public apology in 2008 can be attributed in part to the late timing of the apology as well as the veterans’ scepticism of the sincerity of the government officials in genuinely accepting ownership and remorse for the government’s wrongdoing towards the veterans. Moreover, the timing of the public apology from the government in 2008 was during an election year that created cynicism among some veterans in questioning the officials making the apology as doing so out of political pressure rather than sincerely accepting on behalf of the government wrongdoing. Vietnam veteran Mudrunner (Farrar, 2008) felt the apologies made by the politicians were opportunistic and for that reason did not attend Tribute ’08. Bitterly disappointed by the two reports on Agent Orange, he believed that John Masters deserved an apology for the abuse he received after providing evidence of veteran exposure to Agent Orange in Vietnam (Farrar, 2008).
“Humanitarian political apologies are those that seek to correct an injustice inflicted upon a group of citizens of a country by past actions of its government or other political leaders with the hope for reconciliation” (Hook, 2008, p 2). Various officials have given public speeches that aimed to apologize to the Vietnam veterans on behalf of their organization or government. (Scher & Darley, 1997) emphasize that the strategy of offering an apology rather than withholding an apology provides the greatest improvement in the offended perceptions of the offender. The veterans’ reception of these speeches can be attributed to the wording of the apology, their feelings towards the person giving the speech and whether the apology was solicited by them. The wording of the apology can have clear and independent effects on the judgements made about their transgressor (Scher & Darley, 1997).

By comparing the public speeches by Prime Minister Helen Clark (see Appendix F for speech) and Lieutenant General Jerry Mateparae (see Appendix G for speech) demonstrates the issues that impact whether an apology is well received and accepted by the offended. There was an irony in having Helen Clark give the apology address to the veterans as she was a member of the anti-war movement that the war veterans blamed for their ill treatment when they returned home from Vietnam. The lack of buy-in by the veterans of Helen Clark’s apology was that she did not say she was sorry and took no ownership on how her own behaviour towards the veterans negatively affected the returning Vietnam veterans. Furthermore, because it was a national election year there was a belief that the apology was given only to earn political votes which weakened it.

My own party, the New Zealand Labour Party opposed New Zealand involvement in the war, and acted immediately to withdraw the troops on election to office in 1972.

The wording that she used was that the Crown apologized which distanced herself from assuming any personal responsibility for the mistreatment towards the veterans.

The Crown extends to New Zealand Viet Nam Veterans and their families an apology for the manner in which their loyal service in the name of New Zealand was not recognised as it should have been, when it
should have been, and for inadequate support extended to them and their families after their return home from the conflict.

There was also cynicism about the sincerity of the apology as she failed to include the word ‘sorry’ in the speech.

It's curious why the PM didn't say the word 'sorry'. I think it's sad to be cynical about the sincerity of her apology, but it's the natural conclusion; she said it through gritted teeth. I also suspect that her decision to apologise was out a political necessity (Stock, 2008).

Conversely, the apology given by Lieutenant General Jerry Mateparae received a positive reception by the veterans. The following is an excerpt from his apology speech.

On behalf of the New Zealand Defence Force, I would simply ask for your forgiveness for our shortcomings in the past, and I apologise for the impact these shortcomings have had on you and on your families. Thank you for your service. Thank you for your sacrifices. Thank you for your contribution to New Zealand. I know it is long overdue, but to our New Zealand Vietnam veterans - welcome home.

This positive reaction may stem from the fact his apology incorporated the four apology strategies; expression of remorse, expression of responsibility, promise of forbearance, and an offer of repair (Scher & Darley, 1997). The four apology strategies each have something to offer apologizers in their attempts to remedy the social relationships that have been threatened by their transgressions (Scher and Darley, 1997). His apology was unsolicited by the veterans and used the personal pronoun of I which denoted personal ownership. Moreover, Jerry was not involved in the denial of veterans’ testimony of pesticide exposure.

The reconciliation process between the veterans and their fellow countrymen has taken a grass-roots or bottoms-up approach primarily driven by the veterans themselves. The dilemma becomes if there is demand by one group for the other group to accept wrong-doing that results in final acceptance and remorse for the wrong-doing there is less likelihood that those who demanded the apology will accept the sincerity of that apology especially when it is coupled with perceived belief that there is a continuation
of wrong-doing by the offenders. When apologies are expected on a collective level after a perceived wrong-doing, there is an assumption that one group assumes the role of the offended and the opposing group assumes the role of offender. When members within these opposing groups do not subscribe to the role assigned to them can impede the reconciliation process.

7.6.1 Public support for government apology

Just as the veterans differed in their expectation and reception of apologies so did the public and anti-Vietnam war protesters. Bomber (2008) explained even though the troops deserved the protesters’ contempt did not negate the government’s responsibility of taking ownership and care of those veterans who experienced health and mental problems from serving in the war. As time wore on, more of the anti-Vietnam war protesters called for the government to apology to the Vietnam veterans. Former Vietnam War protester Tim Shadbolt said:

What’s been so painful for those servicemen is that they did their duty for the country and they’ve really been treated extremely badly by successive Governments in terms of the sickness that they picked up while serving there. The Government’s apology was a good thing for New Zealand and will help heal the wounds. It will recognise the terrible ecological tragedy that so many went through that, at the time, neither the protesters or the servicemen were aware of (Gay, 2008).

There also existed the opinion that the Vietnam veterans did not deserve an apology because of the harm they inflicted on the Vietnamese people. This sentiment is expressed by the following post.

If you run with dogs you catch fleas. No New Zealand soldier deserves an apology, what they did in Vietnam was and remains unforgivable in my opinion. The people of Vietnam deserve the apology. South Vietnam was run by an evil despot and North Vietnam was communist and the war was terrible but it was made much longer and much much worse through US, Australia and New Zealand involvement. It was not our fight to begin with and that is why Vietnam veterans have been treated the way they
have. It is tough but that is life when you volunteer to get mixed up in the shady business of killing people who are fighting for the right to run their own country (Anonymous, 2008a).

Chris Mullane ("Radio interview with Chris Mullane," 2008) spoke that most veterans would not expect or want an apology from the government in sending them to serve in the Vietnam War or the consequences of serving in the war. The apology is for the denial for the 35 years from the official, political and public that have resulted in the death of there were consequences that if they had received treatment earlier that they would have survived. He goes onto to say that it has been interesting because former protesters Helen Clark and Phil Goff have become their biggest champions in the cause to help the Vietnam veterans.

### 7.7 Summary

The intent of this chapter is to explore the war veterans’ reconciliation process with their government, the Returned Serviceman Association (RSA) and the public including the anti-war protesters in New Zealand. The reasoning behind this chapter is to illustrate that the need to seek psycho-social healing and reconciliatory actions post-war does not only include the enemy, but in fact also involves in-group members. The call for intragroup reconciliation stemmed from the broken trust that arose from the veterans’ treatment by their government and fellow countrymen. The action and inaction of the veterans and their countrymen demonstrates the difficulty in re-building trust which is a key component in the reconciliation process (Govier & Verwoerd, 2002). The staged events by both the veterans and the government indicate the complexity in using public events as a part of the reconciliation process. The top level and grass roots approaches in holding reconciliation events have resulted in a mixed result in veterans reconciling.
Chapter 8 Results: Post-War Reconciliation with the Vietnamese

8.1 Introduction

The emotional and physical trauma caused by acts of injustice and war is often a very deep spur for people to seek reconciliation with others. Since the Vietnam War ended, there has been a phenomenon of Vietnam War veterans who have chosen to return to Vietnam. These trips represent a decision, whether conscious or unconscious, to re-engage with those Vietnamese they fought for and against. This chapter first examines the barriers and motivating factors that pull and push New Zealand Vietnam War veterans in choosing to travel to post-war Vietnam. Secondly, there is a qualitative analysis of the role of intergroup contact within the context of post-war visits on the reconciliation process. This analysis focuses on the reconciliation measures of intergroup contact and political tolerance. Within this analysis is a discussion of post-war visits as they relate to the progress and thickness of reconciliation achieved. This chapter concludes with a summary of its findings of reconciliation between the New Zealand Vietnam veterans and the Vietnamese people.

8.2 Tourism in a post-war environment

Like the traditional tourist whose travel is motivated in choosing their destinations by a multitude of push and pull factors (Uysal & Jurowski, 1994) so too are the war veterans in choosing to return to post-war Vietnam. This section compares the interviews from the veterans who have returned to those who have not to determine the reasons for and against choosing to return to Vietnam. Additionally there is an examination of the methods employed by veterans to mitigate the barriers associated with travelling to post-war Vietnam.

8.2.1 Barriers to post-war tourism

War veterans wishing to return to where they served during the war may be obstructed by political violence, travel restrictions and psycho-social barriers. Tourism can be adversely impacted by political violence that occurs when governmental or anti-governmental groups are politically motivated to execute force through the commitment
of violent acts (Neumayer, 2004). Political violence reduces tourism because people are pulled away from travelling to places in which recent conflict has taken place out of fear for their lives, anticipation of becoming involved in stressful situations, and the inability to visit sites due to travel restrictions by the host government (Neumayer, 2004). Although the Vietnam War ended in 1975, Vietnam continued to experience political violence intermittently with China and Cambodia until 1990 (Frost, 1991; Jencks, 1979). Throughout that time Vietnam enforced stringent travel restrictions for international visitors. As a result, it was unlikely that war veterans would be motivated to return to Vietnam until the conflicts were resolved and a more open travel policy was established by the Vietnamese government.

It was not until after the Vietnamese government adopted the open door or Doi Moi policy in 1986 that Vietnam began the process of building infrastructure and opening up their travel policies to attract international travellers (Elliott, 2012; Hobson et al., 1994). All of the interviewees who returned to Vietnam did so after the Doi Moi policy was put in place and peace agreements reached with China and Cambodia. Clarence (personal communication, 2012) travelled to Vietnam in 1993 and described his experience of being one of the first war veterans to go back to Vietnam after the war ended.

My travel agent told me to hide the fact that I was a Vietnam War veteran when I was in Vietnam. Back in those days, the Vietnamese government had passed a law that anyone that fought in the Vietnam War against them would be considered a war criminal and therefore subjected to being arrested. There was a tension filled moment when I was going through customs upon my arrival in Vietnam. I had planned to bury my old uniform and was terrified that they were going to search my bags. Fortunately they didn’t (Clarence, personal communication, 2012).

Clarence’s experience signifies the anxiety and fear that the initial wave of war veterans experienced in travelling back to post-war Vietnam. Although fears for physical safety may no longer deter war veterans from travelling to Vietnam, there has been and still are travel restrictions that may impede some veterans from returning to Vietnam. For Hunt (2009) the inability to travel to certain sites has prevented his return to Vietnam.
I haven't been back to Vietnam although …several opportunities to do so. I should and will at some stage. Part of the reason after speaking with friends that need permission from Vietnamese government to go to places on group tour. Difficult to have a chance to go where you want to go. Not interested in listening to the propaganda on Vietnam. In some ways don't regret that. I want to go at a time when I can go to some places that I want to go. I can't go back to old troop lines it is now a military area and there are no visitors allowed (Hunt, 2009).

Even though travel restrictions may hinder some war veterans from returning to Vietnam, this constraint was neither a strong or prevalent factor in the twenty two interviewees’ decision to return or not to return to post-war Vietnam.

Financial constraints were identified by several interviewees as a deterrent to travelling back to post-war Vietnam. Amanda, a tourism operator that specializes in post-Vietnam trips for New Zealand Vietnam war veterans spoke that in planning group tours that there are veterans who would like to travel to Vietnam, but are unable to do so because they cannot afford the trip cost.

I am finding it more difficult to keep the costs down and trying hard to keep it under the NZ $4,000 mark. It is increasingly more difficult to get into good motels and maintain that price. I think that the government should pay for the whole lot for the vets. I know that some have had to say no because of the price and that makes me feel very disappointed that they can’t do it (Amanda, personal communication, 2012).

Financial constraints appeared to be a weaker rationale for veterans’ decision to not return to post-war Vietnam as the majority of non-returnees cited other reasons. Furthermore, the New Zealand government provides travel allowances to assist war veterans who wish to attend commemorations and, or revisit battlefield sites. This weak reasoning was evident when Carl (personal communication, 2012) stated his inability to return to post-war Vietnam was based on a lack of monetary means. When I provided him information about the travel allowance he then revealed that a stronger reason for him not returning to Vietnam was the realization that he “had spent enough of my life
living in the past and wanted to focus my life on living in the present” (Carl, personal communication, 2012).

Psycho-social issues stemming from war can serve as a major obstacle for veterans in returning to post-war Vietnam. Several interviewees acknowledged having a negative perspective of their time in Vietnam that has resulted in suppression of that part of their life history. Returning to post-war Vietnam would resurrect painful memories that the veterans want to remain in the past. For Vernon, he would have to face his feelings of guilt in leaving the Vietnamese people in grim circumstances. When asked if he was willing to return to post-war Vietnam, he responded with the following:

No. Simply put to many bad memories that I have no wish to revisit. Also I may meet some former South Vietnamese person I once knew and would have to explain my hurried exit in 1972. I was ordered out before my tour was to end because unknown to me we were running (Vernon, personal communication, 2012).

Additionally, veterans may not be psychologically ready to return to Vietnam. For example, Howard (personal communication, 2012) who has had many opportunities to go to Vietnam after the war recognized that he is not emotionally ready. Moreover, because he had a negative experience during the Vietnam War, it is apparent that he does not want to re-connect to that part of his past.

Although I have friends who have gone back and say how beautiful the country is now; this has not been the catalyst for me to return to Vietnam. I have been able to justify to myself that there are other places that I want to experience. During my time serving in the Vietnam War, I didn’t have a marvellous or happy time. I have nothing to go back for. I don’t have a need to go back there. My time in Vietnam was just a piece of my life (Howard, personal communication, 2012).

Furthermore, war veterans may not be motivated to go back to Vietnam because they feel shame and guilt at their actions during the Vietnam War. Specifically, they may feel their treatment of the Vietnamese people was unkind and unjust. For example,
Daron does not want to go back because he views himself as an invader of Vietnam that has caused harm to the Vietnamese people (personal communication, 2012).

The people were so poor and while you were searching their house all you would find is an egg. The whole family would be hiding in a hole in the floor. It was like a bomb shelter. That is the only reason why I wouldn’t want to go back because I am ashamed of having been there. It was a waste of time. We were really mean because we were invading their space. We would just enter their houses and look around. It was horrible to search people’s houses. We would just bolt in their houses without any kind of greeting. It wasn’t nice seeing people scared (Daron, personal communication, 2012).

Additionally, because Vietnam was eventually taken over by the communist forces despite their efforts, some war veterans may view the Vietnam War as a pointless military exercise that did not merit the loss of their fellow servicemen. Returning to Vietnam would bring up emotions that they are not ready or willing to experience. For example, Cory has decided not to return to Vietnam because “too many good people died for a cause that was eventually abandoned and so they died for nothing. So to revisit would stir up bad memories” (personal communication, 2012).

War veterans may be less inclined to take steps to reconcile with the Vietnamese as there is no need to engage with them on a daily basis. In contrast, there is a stronger need for the war veterans to reconcile with their fellow countrymen because of their shared co-existence on a day-to-day basis. This perception creates a barrier in the war veterans reconciling with the Vietnamese as their first priority is to reconcile with their own countrymen first. This sentiment was expressed by Ex-Vietnam Services Association president Chris Mullane.

There are some things to put right for our Vietnam veterans and families in New Zealand first and once they are put right then I think it would be good to establish some sort of reconciliation process with the Vietnamese from a veteran's perspective (NZPA, 2007).
Subsequently, some veterans may choose not to travel back to Vietnam until reconciliation has first taken place with their own countrymen. For example, Howard (personal communication, 2012) felt that there was a need to reconcile with New Zealand before being able to engage in the reconciliation process with the Vietnamese. When asked if reconciliation with New Zealand was holding him back from returning to Vietnam, Howard responded "Yeah probably right in that question maybe I am not reconciled with the government, the war and my part in the war… that is getting a bit deep " (personal communication, 2012). As a result, Howard’s inability to reconcile with the New Zealand government and his part in the war serve as barriers that have deterred him from travelling to post-war Vietnam and seeking reconciliation with the Vietnamese people.

8.2.2 Motivational factors and mitigating barriers

As addressed in the tourism experience chapter of this thesis (see Chapter 4), individuals who engage in travel can be categorized as either travellers or tourists. For the purposes of this thesis, the returning veterans to post-war Vietnam have been classified as tourists. The reasoning for doing so was due to the small sample size and the majority of participants engaging in mass tourism such as travelling with a tour and visiting museums, memorials and battlefield sites.

The primary motivation of the majority of war veterans in returning to post-war Vietnam was not based on wanting to reconcile with their former enemies. Rather, their motivation was influenced by the passage of time, nostalgia and curiosity, financial support by the government as well as positive word of mouth recommendations from fellow war veterans. Additionally, war veterans were motivated to travel back to Vietnam as they viewed the trip as an opportunity to address and resolve their psycho-social issues that stemmed from their war-related experiences. This section examines several mechanisms that enabled war veterans to mitigate the barrier of anxiety to enable them to be psychologically ready to return to Vietnam.

Time may be needed until the veterans move into a family-life cycle and occupation stage in which overseas travel becomes more feasible and psychologically tolerable; usually occurring approximately 20 years after the war has ended (Weaver, 2000).
During the post-war process there comes a point in which war-related attractions and the return of the former combatants account for an increased growth in tourism (Weaver, 2000). This thesis supports Leopold’s (2003) conclusions that the majority of New Zealand Vietnam veterans’ who have returned to post-war Vietnam have chosen to do so after 1995. A few interviewees of this thesis, who had not returned, based their delay on being occupied with family and work obligations. Dennis explained that he had not returned to Vietnam yet because he has been busy working and caring for his family although he plans to in the future when he has the time (personal communication, 2012). Time also factors in pushing veterans to return before they reach the point that engaging in long distance travel is too difficult because of health and mobility issues related to old age.

The notion of nostalgia to “revisit and remember the days of their youth” is a major motivating factor for veterans to travel back to war sites (Cameron & Gatewood, 2000; Garton, 2013; Smith, 1996, p. 10; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Serving in the war proved to be a stressful time, however war veterans still retain fond memories of the shared camaraderie and the more pleasant and humorous aspects of serving in Vietnam. Vietnam veterans are drawn to visit post-war Vietnam out of nostalgia and curiosity to see how the country has changed since the war ended. Jake (personal communication, 2012) was motivated to go back to Vietnam out of curiosity.

The reason why I felt motivated to go back to Vietnam was based on a need to see what had happened after they left. It is a bit inquisitive-this wanting to know. It is a bit like going back to a school reunion. You know that it is not going to be like it was back then (Jake, personal communication, 2012).

Additionally, these veterans in choosing to go back are actively trying to re-connect with their past. Joel (personal communication, 2012) also based his decision to return to Vietnam on nostalgia and curiosity.

My decision to go was influenced by the recommendations of some fellow veterans and some other friends who had holidayed there, plus of course my personal desire to go back to reminisce and remember and to
see what changes had occurred in the many years since I had first been there (Joel, personal communication, 2012).

This nostalgia motivation is supported by Leopold’s (2003) study which also reported that a major motivation for New Zealand Vietnam veterans returning to Southeast Asia was to see how the place had changed since they had served in the Vietnam War.

Financial support, the encouragement of others, and positive word of mouth have all served as motivation for veterans to travel back to Vietnam. The Minister of Veterans’ Affairs Commissions Discretionary Fund was established in 2001 to provide a one-off grant for eligible veterans who wish to attend commemorations and/or revisit the battlefield sites overseas where they served. The objective of this fund was to provide war veterans with an opportunity to travel back to where they served with the intention that they may achieve a sense of reconciliation with their experience (“VANZ News,” 2011). James (personal communication, 2012) went back to Vietnam because he had the time available and was able to use government funds to finance the trip. “It was a big help and I don’t know if I would have gone if I did not get the NZ$1800. I certainly would not have gone for as long as I did which was 6 weeks” (James, personal communication, 2012).

Positive word of mouth has been shown to increase the probable purchase of tourism products (Jalilvand & Samiei, 2012). Additionally, positive word of mouth by other veterans who travelled to Vietnam has pulled veterans to go back to Vietnam. The positive word of mouth recommendations may reduce the anxiety experienced by the veteran to a point that they are able to travel back to Vietnam. Since returning from a post-war trip to Vietnam, James has taken the initiative to convince his fellow veterans to travel to Vietnam (personal communication, 2012). By listening to his description of the beauty of the country and the friendliness of the Vietnamese people, four veterans decided to return to post-war Vietnam (James, personal communication, 2012. Brian (personal communication, 2012) felt an important factor in his decision to return to Vietnam was listening to his friends’ positive experiences when they returned to visit Vietnam.
When war veterans emphasize the friendliness of the Vietnamese people this may reduce the anxiety level associated with worries of how they will be treated in post-war Vietnam. As a result more war veterans may be willing to return to post-war Vietnam. Furthermore, positive word of mouth recommendations by veterans who have travelled back to Vietnam has, according to Timothy, increased good will towards Vietnam which “I feel is evident by people travelling to Vietnam and conducting business with them” (personal communication, 2012). Conversely, James has encountered resistance from his fellow veterans when encouraging them to travel to Vietnam.

There are a lot of the guys that I have spoken with think that I am nuts for even going back for a visit. They couldn’t be bothered. I had a huge argument with a guy the other week who said why the fuck would he want to go back there for-are you nuts! I tell them forget about the war- that is not why you go back. There is a country out there that is beautiful, economical, the people are friendly and the government is giving you NZ$1800 to go and visit it. What are you sitting here for? They are absolutely mad for not wanting to go (James, personal communication, 2012).

Pull factors such as financial support and positive word of mouth recommendations may not be enough to motivate some veterans to decide to return. The support of family members and fellow veterans also served as motivation for the veterans to return to post-war Vietnam. For example, Wayne made the decision to return to post-war Vietnam because of the encouragement he received from his daughter and agreement by his family to join him on the trip (personal communication, 2012). One theme that emerged from the data collection was that family members of the war veterans were motivated to travel with the war veterans to post-war Vietnam. Family members may be motivated to travel with the war veterans as they view the trip as an opportunity to learn more about them, wanting to serve as emotional support during the visit and feel that the trip is an opportunity for the war veterans to heal from the trauma of their war-related experiences. Iris (personal communication, 2012) a daughter of a Vietnam veterans explained her reasoning for accompanying her father to post-war Vietnam.
I wanted to support my dad. I thought the experience would be quite intense and emotional experience for him. I also wanted to go to gain a better understanding of my dad and what he had gone through in Vietnam. I felt that the trip might be healing for me as well but that mostly the trip was to be a healing experience for my dad. The trip would bring my family closer together because we would be facing something difficult together (Iris, personal communication, 2012).

It is important to investigate the role of anxiety in acting as a barrier to war veterans returning to post-war Vietnam and the ways in which it can be mitigated so war veterans are able to travel to post-war Vietnam. Many of the war veterans who have chosen to go back to post-war Vietnam saw the trip as an opportunity to address and work through their anxiety related to their war-related experiences. Anxiety has been identified as a barrier to intergroup contact reducing prejudice (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Previous research supports the premise that travellers experience anxiety from perceived physical threat or maladaptive psychological issues associated with the risk of the mode of travel (Cheng, 2010; de Jongh, Holmshaw, Carswell, & van Wijk, 2011; McIntosh, Swanson, Power, Raeside, & Dempster, 1998; Reisinger & Mavondo, 2006). This thesis purports that war veterans too experience anxiety when contemplating visiting the country they once served at during the war. This anxiety stems from the traumatic experiences and deployment to a war zone. A recurrent theme of the interviews was war veterans being motivated to travel to post-war Vietnam to rid themselves of their “ghosts from the past” or feelings of fear and anxiety that stems from their war experience.

Often in research literature, there is a negative bias against tourist bubbles. This study discovered that returning war veterans to post-war Vietnam received positive benefits by travelling in a tourist bubble. In order to reduce psycho-social risks whilst travelling in post-war environment veterans may seek to travel within a group. Previous research has shown that tourists who are risk-averse are more likely to adopt a less risky strategy by choosing to travel in large groups as opposed to travelling alone (Money & Crotts, 2003). The accompaniment of supportive family and fellow war veterans may mitigate the psycho-social risk of experiencing anxiety and group threat associated with returning to post-war Vietnam.
The majority of interviewees who returned to Vietnam travelled within a group tour of fellow veterans, family members and in some cases both. Donald (personal communication, 2012) decided to return to Vietnam with a group of fellow war veterans in order to mitigate the anxiety and apprehension he felt in returning to Vietnam. “I needed to go with tight group of Vietnam veterans who would understand what it was like during the war” (Donald, personal communication, 2012). There is to a great extent acknowledgement by the veterans that having the support of others was helpful in easing their anxiety in returning to Vietnam. Furthermore, by having conversations with their fellow veterans and family members served as part of the healing process. For example, Robert acknowledged that it was helpful to have his family members and veterans on the trip because “it enabled me to have a couple of moving conversations with my son and a few from Victor 5. We had the opportunity to draw on a bit as they say and that was all part of the cleansing process” (personal communication, 2012).

8.3 Post-war intergroup contact: a measure of reconciliation

The occurrence of intergroup contact has been shown to facilitate the reconciliation process between individuals belonging to different groups (Ellison, 1994; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Sigelman, Bledsoe, Welch, & Combs, 1996; Sigelman & Welch, 1993). On the basis of contact theory, it is hypothesized that these post war tourist exchanges will reduce hostility, increase understanding and move the reconciliation process forward between the war veterans and their Vietnamese hosts. This section examines intergroup contact via tourism that serves as a measure to determine the thickness of reconciliation achieved between New Zealand Vietnam veterans and the Vietnamese people. Moreover, political tolerance was utilized as a measure of reconciliation to determine the progress of reconciliation. Specifically political tolerance was examined in relation to the post-war travel by veterans to Vietnam and its war-related sites.

The passage of time plays an important role during the reconciliation process between former war adversaries and allies. There is debate about whether the passage of time results in forgetfulness of the wrong that helps in the reconciliation process and whether the best approach to reconciliation is to do nothing in taking action to address the
wrong (Gloppen, 2005). The counter-argument to this approach of letting time heal the wounds from the wrongdoing is that it is uncertain whether forgetting the wrongdoing results in reconciliation (Gloppen, 2005). Furthermore, there is a belief that there is a need to remember to prevent reoccurrences of the wrongdoing and that remembering is needed for long term reconciliation (Gloppen, 2005).

The passage of time may be a necessity in creating travel conditions for intergroup contact to occur between former adversaries within a post-conflict environment. This holds especially true for conflicts that involved military forces from foreign countries. Time may be required to re-build infrastructure damaged from the conflict to accommodate travellers and tourists. Additionally, time may be needed to convince tourists that there is a stable peace that will not risk their safety by visiting the location. Still the passage of time has shielded the New Zealand war veteran from witnessing first-hand the trials and tribulations that Vietnam endured to re-build their country after the war. By the time the veterans returned to visit Vietnam, the physical damage caused by the war was repaired and the Vietnamese people appeared to be doing well economically. As a result veterans may feel that there is no need for reconciliation with the Vietnamese based on the belief that the Vietnamese have recovered to the point that they no longer suffer from the adverse effects of the war.

The Vietnamese government has spun the political rhetoric that the Vietnamese do not seek to dwell on the past but instead want to move forward from the past. “This political rhetoric has been crafted strategically for the purpose of creating friendly ties with outsiders” (Kim, 2001, p. 627). This strategy appears to be working as a multitude of interviewees from this research expressed how it appeared that Vietnam has moved forward. For example, New Zealand Vietnam veteran (Michael, personal communication, 2012) expressed that there is no need to reconcile with Vietnam because Vietnam has moved on and is doing well.

In order for post-war travel to occur, governments must put in place policies that enable post-war travel to occur between former combatants. The growth of Vietnam’s tourism can be attributed to thawing of post-war relations between Vietnam and the United States that occurred after the United States lifted the Vietnam trade embargo in January 1994 (Jansen-Verbeke & Go, 1995). The lifting of the trade embargo opened the door
for Vietnam to build infrastructure to better accommodate the influx of international tourists including returning Vietnam War veterans.

War veterans engaged in more intimate contact during the post-war visit with the Vietnamese people resulted in their gaining a greater understanding of post-war life for the Vietnamese people.

One of the things that you got to remember is when the North conquered the South, the people who had been fighting for South Vietnam during the war and/or abetting with the US, New Zealand and Australian coalition forces were treated very badly after the war. They were re-educated by the North Vietnamese and find it very hard to talk about it in public. If you have the opportunity to speak with them in private they will talk about it with you, but yes they were treated very, very badly (Calvin, personal communication, 2012).

Reconciliation between former enemies was considered a goal with high priority within the context of psychosocial rehabilitation and social reconstruction (Sveaass, 2000). There are indicators that demonstrate the thickness of achieved reconciliation based on tourism. War veterans who have chosen not to travel to post-war Vietnam signify a thin reconciliation. Although they are not engaged in violence, the lack of intergroup contact indicates that there is a broken or un-connected relationship. Limited contact between war veterans and locals is a barrier in the tourism environment in facilitating positive attitudinal change and reconciliation. The lack of intergroup contact is a result of the relatively brief time spent by war veterans in Vietnam and the limited contact with the local Vietnamese. Subsequently, there are diminished opportunities to engage in intergroup contact with the Vietnamese that would lead to greater understanding. For example, similar to other interviewee’s experiences, Robert’s (personal communication, 2012) contact with the locals was minimal as he was on a group tour. He did not engage in any significant conversation with the locals as the majority of his contact occurred through his interpreters and hotel staff. As a result, the limited contact with the Vietnamese offers less opportunity for the war veterans to gain a better understanding of the Vietnamese, thereby reducing the potential to reduce prejudice and produce thicker reconciliation.
Due to premise that reconciliation with other focuses on re-connecting a relationship between two or more individuals, it is important to point out the impact of the host and guest power dynamic on the reconciliation process. Within the travel environment there is the presence of an unequal relationship of power between hosts and guests that could affect the veterans’ perspective of their host (Bruner, 1991; Tucker, 2001). There is also uncertainty if the positive attitude displayed by the Vietnamese hosts towards the veterans is genuinely based on their willingness to reconcile with them or is based on their host role of pleasing their guests. For example, Michael stated that “I found that the people were so nice. There were kids in Saigon that we spoke with that were very, very helpful. They could see that we were tourists and wanting to spend money (personal communication, 2012). Moreover, the relatively superficial nature of host and guest relations may hinder the probability of engaging in more meaningful dialogue that would lead to a reduction of prejudice by promoting greater understanding of the other and facilitate the reconciliation process.

In addition, the message that the Vietnamese have forgotten the war was negated when Luke (personal communication, 2012) spoke with his tour guide:

The tour guide had been a student and we had gotten on the subject on how people might feel and how we were received in Vietnam. The tour guide said that the Vietnamese look at it as they can forgive but they can never forget (Luke, personal communication, 2012).

The significance of this conversation is that it indicates that even though it appears on the surface level that the Vietnamese have moved forward from the war does not necessarily mean that they have resolved their issues with foreign Vietnam War veterans. Moreover, the tour guide’s statement indicates that forgiveness of the foreign servicemen who fought with the Free World Forces may be a part of the reconciliation process, at least from the Vietnamese perspective implying that they believe wrong-doing has been committed by the war veterans.

Several interviewees reported having negative encounters with their Vietnamese host. These encounters suggest that not all Vietnamese are accepting of the returning war
veterans. Amanda (personal communication, 2012) shares her experience of being a tour operator who has been on multiple trips to Vietnam with New Zealand veterans.

There have been the odd times when the veterans have encountered going into some shops and not being served by the Vietnamese workers. I explain to them beforehand that they look on the whole 99% of the time they will have an okay experience, but there may be one time that they walk into a shop and have problems. On my first trip to Vietnam that a woman wouldn’t serve me at a shop and actually chased me out of the shop. Although the Vietnamese have never been physically aggressive towards the veterans I do warn them that it is possible they will encounter a Vietnamese who exhibits negative behaviour towards them. I advise them that they won’t be aggressive towards them but to just walk away from the situation... walk two doors down to a different shop or whatever else they want to do. You might not be able to figure out why they don’t want to serve you, but that they just need to move on (Amanda, personal communication, 2012).

The weakness of travelling in a large tour group is that there may be fewer opportunities to interact with the Vietnamese. One reason for less contact is that the majority of time the veterans are travelling with their own group members visiting war-related sites rather than spending time actively engaged with the Vietnamese people. For example, Donald stated that “I did not have much contact and conversations with the locals because we were too busy touring” (personal communication, 2012). The barrier of limited contact with the Vietnamese may be mitigated when war veterans choose to travel individually or in small groups. For instance, Brian (personal communication, 2012) made the decision to travel with his partner and daughter rather than with a large tour group. As a result he was able to engage in more intimate contact with the Vietnamese because he visited and stayed in places catering to the local population rather than to foreign tourists.

The positive hospitality experienced by the returning veterans can reduce anxiety and serve as encouragement to engage in intergroup contact with the Vietnamese. The Vietnam veterans who have travelled to post-war Vietnam have experienced warmth and little resentment by the Vietnamese people (“Vietnam visit puts ghosts to rest,"
For instance, Jake, who has been to Vietnam multiple times, expressed how much he enjoys travelling to Vietnam because the Vietnamese people are so pleased to see him and his fellow war veterans come back (personal communication, 2012). Due to the curiosity of the Vietnamese people about the war, he has been able to speak to them about his experiences and perspective of the war (Jake, personal communication, 2012).

The willingness to engage and seek out intergroup contact with the other may be a measure of a thicker reconciliation. Thicker reconciliation can be measured by non-violent intergroup contact between former adversaries that results in a more intimate relationship. That is not to negate the potential of chance encounters between former adversaries in moving the reconciliation process forward. Rather, these chance encounters may have less likelihood to occur, thereby reducing the possibility of (re)building relationships damaged by conflict. The attainment of thicker reconciliation may be supported by the conditions of contact theory that increase the likelihood that positive attitudinal change will occur toward the other, thereby increasing the possibility that a stronger relationship will occur between those engaged in intergroup contact. The importance of these trips is that they are a means of engaging in intergroup contact that has the capability of improving intergroup relations through better understanding between the veterans and the Vietnamese thereby creating a thicker reconciliation. By recognizing the commonality of their war experience, former combatants may be able to recognize the humanity of one another that can be used to help build post-war relations with one another. For example, Ken explained that “the experience of meeting a former protagonist has been for me like meeting a long lost brother” (personal communication, 2012).

8:3:2 Reconciliation events

There has been a lack of formal reconciliation events between New Zealand and Vietnam. Preston (personal communication, 2012) stated that he would love to attend a remembrance ceremony with the former enemy if it were possible. He felt that such an emotional event for all who participated in the Vietnam War would play a huge part in the healing process. “We killed a hell of a lot of them and they reciprocated whenever they could, but that is what occurs in war. The ceremony would allow both sides as a
sign of respect to come together to acknowledge that those who participated in the war were doing the job they were trained to do” (Preston, personal communication, 2012).

Although there has not been a formal apology by either government, there was a push by some Vietnam War protesters in New Zealand in 2008 requesting their government to apologize for their involvement in the Vietnam War (Gay, 2008). The willingness of New Zealand Vietnam veterans in supporting their government to take action to reconcile with the Vietnamese government is mixed with some encouraging it while others do not.

After the Second World War, Germany and Japan have gotten an okay with allied forces without reconciliation. The New Zealand government can do what they like because they are elected officials and if they believe it is the right thing to do to reconcile with Vietnam then they should do it. He stated that certainly now he can accept the government making moves to reconcile with Vietnam (Donald, personal communication, 2012).

Since the Vietnam War ended, there has been one official reconciliation event in which an official delegation of six New Zealand veterans travelled to Vietnam for the purpose of engaging in dialogue with their Vietnamese veteran counterparts. New Zealand Veterans' Affairs Minister Rick Barker as part of this official delegation said that the exploring of connections between veterans’ groups in New Zealand and Vietnam builds on the recent visit in 2007 to New Zealand by Vietnamese President, Nguyen Minh Triet and that “the links being made between veterans is an important step in broadening the people-to-people relationship between Vietnam and New Zealand” (“New Zealand war vets to visit Vietnam,” 2008). Baldwin, a Vietnam veteran who was part of the official delegation, stated that “we were able to talk frankly openly and honestly about the war with the Vietnamese contingent. This trip was all about reconciliation and I felt it did in a small way help restore relations between New Zealand and the Vietnamese” (personal communication, 2012). Furthermore, he believes that if the New Zealand government would treat Vietnam as an equal partner and cooperate with them then that good will “would trickle down to the attitudes of the individual who would become willing to visit Vietnam” (Timothy, personal communication, 2012).
Mr. Klitscher, another Vietnam War veteran who was part of this delegation stated that the point with their Vietnamese counterpart was to reach an agreement to share information, build relationships, and “cooperate with the aim of encouraging peaceful relations worldwide” (Schouten, 2008). Mr. Klitscher went on to explain that one aim was to ensure support for the Vietnam War veterans returning to post-war Vietnam.

‘It wasn't to trawl over old battlefields; it was to make contact with a sister veterans’ organisation at a senior level to see what could be done.’ He hoped the Veterans Association of Vietnam would help facilitate visits by Kiwis who had served there. 'We can't just bowl in there and say we want to hold memorial services, we have to do it by permission’ (Schouten, 2008).

Due to the challenges of unstructured encounters with the former enemies, it is questionable if veterans would be willing to participate in more formalized events with the intent to reconcile with their former enemies. Although Luke (personal communication, 2012) believed that there would not be a problem if a more formal meeting between the war veterans and their former enemies was organized. He recommends that it might be better to have these events “a few days into the trip to ease any apprehension that the veterans may have” in returning to Vietnam (Luke, personal communication, 2012). One way to increase intergroup contact with the intent to create greater mutual understanding would be to stage formal events that encouraged dialogue between the veterans and Vietnamese people.

8.4 Measuring reconciliation

On a thick level, reconciliation implies there is a willingness and ability to co-exist peacefully with the former adversary. The number of visits to Vietnam by veterans’ can serve as an indicator of the thickness of reconciliation achieved and the point reached in the reconciliation process. Veterans who are not willing to visit post-war Vietnam signify a thinner form of reconciliation than is the case with those who visit often. Even though these veterans are no longer engaged in physical violence towards the Vietnamese, they still harbour feelings of shame, guilt and hostility towards the Vietnamese that prevent them from taking actions to move the reconciliation process...
Intergroup contact is a necessary component for any sort of working relationship to emerge, to re-connect and heal the relationship so that a thicker reconciliation can be reached and for the reconciliation process to progress. A thicker reconciliation occurs when veterans choose to return to Vietnam as it shows a willingness to re-connect with the Vietnamese people. There were several interviewees from this study who have engaged in numerous visits back to Vietnam including one veteran who recently re-located to Vietnam. After the Vietnam War, Timothy (personal communication, 2012) first travelled to Vietnam in 1994 for business purposes. At that time the Vietnamese government was just beginning to open up the country to outsiders and the United States had recently lifted their restrictions for their citizens to travel to Vietnam. Timothy initially felt anxiety when he travelled to Vietnam.

I felt there was an oppressive feeling in the air. The immigration officials at the airport were stiff and austere. I didn’t feel very happy to be there because of this cold reception. My following business trips became easier and this anxiety receded over time as a result of becoming more familiar with the country” (Timothy, personal communication, 2012).

The reduction of anxiety and increased tolerance of the ‘other’ over time may be attributed to cooperation and the intergroup contact with the Vietnamese on a more intensive level in order to attain economic gain from the relationship. In 1999, Timothy travelled to South Vietnam to see how the country had changed since he had served there during the war. After that trip he has been to Vietnam numerous times on vacation and considers it a lovely place to go. Timothy felt that travelling back to Vietnam after the war can be seen as a step in the reconciliation process and feels that he is reconciled with them.

8.4.1 Understanding the other

A better understanding of the other, an awareness of the commonality they share as servicemen and willingness to move the reconciliation forward may result from the intergroup contact between war veterans and their former Vietnamese enemy. For example, while Jake was having a frank discussion with his Vietnamese tour guide about Ho Chi Min, several war veterans from the Northern Vietnamese Army joined
their conversation (personal communication, 2012). He felt that it was a friendly exchange about where they had all served during the war (Jake, personal communication, 2012). “It was no great leap of faith it was just that we all had been to the same war that so happened we were on different sides. That didn’t matter. I could care less that they were from the other side. Frankly, I was delighted to meet them and have some discussion with them” (Jake, personal communication, 2012). Preston also had a positive interaction when he met with a former Viet Cong officer during his 2008 trip (personal communication, 2012).

In short during one of the NZ operations the enemy had been on one side of the wire and I on the other and neither one of us knew it at the time. This meeting was very cordial and we met as old enemies and parted as new friends with a new respect for each other (Preston, personal communication, 2012).

Conversely, Robert’s conversation with the former enemy indicates that there may be encounters that have hostile overtones (personal communication, 2012). By conversing with the man through an interpreter, he was able to discover that he had served with the D445 Company.

I then reached out to shake hands with the man who was a bit slow in shaking his hand. The man said that if we had crossed paths during the Vietnam War he would have cut my throat (Robert, personal communication, 2012).

By having post-war contact with the Vietnamese there can be opportunities for the war veterans to witness the commonality that they as former combatants and allies share as groups who have both suffered from the adverse affects of the war. This increased sense of commonality can help re-humanize former adversaries and allies which can facilitate the reconciliation process. Robert viewed the unplanned encounter with the Vietnamese war veteran from the D445 Company as a cathartic experience and understood the man’s hostile reaction to him.

I didn’t feel any angst towards him after hearing that the man would have cut my throat during the war. It is understandable what the man said. He
most likely would have had members of his family killed during that time. Possibly friends and soldier mates killed as well. I could have responded sod you and the way that you feel, but it is important to endeavour to make amends. I wasn’t there to fight in Vietnam because I wanted to kill people; I was there for quite different reasons. If the conversation had continued I believe that part of it would have been to explain my reasons for being there. I felt that the handshake was the thing to do after a valiant fight or joust that at the end a handshake is quite appropriate because it is a signoff out of the battle and signals that its time to move on. If I was able to in any way to help the man see that we were not the kind of people that he might have of thought of in Long Hai — that we were as human as him that would be good (Robert, personal communication, 2012).

There are veterans who seek out contact with their former enemy during their post-war visits to Vietnam. For instance, Calvin sought a meeting with former Viet Cong soldiers to try to make the peace with his former enemy. During the meeting he felt respected by them and “a couple of them had a good old cry over why they ever did this-fought in the war” (Calvin, personal communication, 2012). As a result of this meeting, Calvin was able to understand that the Viet Cong soldiers respected the New Zealand soldiers for their fair treatment towards the Vietnamese during the war.

8.4.2 Trust

The war veterans’ view of the Vietnamese has been impacted by their military training and the war setting in which first contact occurred between the two groups. For the majority of war veterans there was a lack of trust towards the Vietnamese people during their deployment in Vietnam as discussed in the historical chapter of this thesis. The return visit can provide experiences that support the re-building of trust of the war veterans towards the Vietnamese people. For example, during Calvin’s visit he had made a purchase in which he did not receive the correct change. “The shop girl who served me ran about a quarter of a mile trying to find me to give me my money back. So that is the sort of people they are. The Vietnamese people now I would say I would trust them all” (Calvin, personal communication, 2012). This exchange between Calvin and the Vietnamese woman is significant because it exemplifies a marked change in
how war veterans who returned to Vietnam now perceive the Vietnamese people. The change in attitude is such that during the war, they viewed the Vietnamese through a lens of mistrust and fear that has shifted to viewing the Vietnamese as trustworthy people. The interchanges between the war veterans and the Vietnamese during these post-war trips can build trust, an integral component in producing a thicker reconciliation.

8.5 Tolerance and the role of war-related sites

In the case of the Vietnam War, reconciliation can be measured by the veterans’ willingness to travel to Vietnam and engage in contact with the Vietnamese people. These actions may signify their acceptance of the Vietnamese political right to interpret the war from their perspective to the public. The measurement of political reconciliation can be attained through determining the level of objection held towards ideas and groups (Gibson, 2007). Moreover, the researcher investigated if these war-related sites located in Vietnam caused veterans’ adverse feelings towards the Vietnamese that impeded the reconciliation process.

The veterans simply by travelling to Vietnam indicate a level of political tolerance towards Vietnam’s communist governance. Those veterans who have returned recognize the legitimacy of the communist Vietnam political institutions and accept their right to govern as they see fit. Conversely for some veterans, Carl who does not plan on going back to Vietnam stated that if the Vietnamese government was not communist and they had won the war he would possibly go back and share in their victory.

This thesis explores if veterans viewing war related sites that present the official Vietnamese political perspective of the war is an indicator of political tolerance. Veterans who have travelled to post-war Vietnam share a commonality in choosing to visit government sponsored war museums, former battlefield sites, and base camps. There was a general consensus from the interviewees who returned to Vietnam that the war museum sites were very biased against the Free World Forces in their portrayal of the Vietnam War. For example, the Cu Chi Tunnel War Memorial in Vietnam boasts
of the heroism displayed by the Vietnamese people and the incompetence of the American military during the Vietnam War (Edmundson, 2008). In addition, The War Remnants Museum, once called The Museum of American and Chinese Atrocities focuses not on the actions of the Chinese but rather puts a spotlight on the American war crimes during the Vietnam War that shows pictures of the massacre at My Lai, Americans torturing Vietnamese, and the human damage caused by the defoliation campaign waged by the Americans to clear the jungle during the war (Edmundson, 2008).

Most of the interviewees who returned to Vietnam stated they were not offended by the Vietnamese portrayal of the war and voiced a desire to understand the perspective of their opponents. Furthermore, there was an acceptance of the Vietnamese right to share their side of the conflict with the public. For example, Timothy explained when he visited the war museum that “I was more amused than offended. It is their country, and they won the war so I guess they are in a position to represent their history any way they like” (personal communication, 2012). By visiting these war-related sites, it is an indicator that the war veterans are willing to expose themselves to their former enemies’ perspective of the war and it’s after affects through gaining understanding of the other. Alternatively, it might just indicate that veterans are curious to explore sites that were denied them during the war, thus having nothing to do with tolerance at all.

Former battlefield sites, war memorials, and camp bases may serve as emotionally charged places that bring out the veteran’s subliminal feelings that stemmed from fighting during the Vietnam War. It is my argument that this feeling of good will can support the ability to work through past conflict and reconcile with former enemies. Duggan (2011) went to the war remnants museum where he described a sculpture of an anguished human figure made out of shrapnel. The photograph and Agent Orange section was emotional and put him back in the killing zone. The acceptance of the Vietnamese government’s right to portray the Vietnam War as they saw fit is indicative that political reconciliation has moved forward.

Long Tan is a significant war memorial site in Vietnam for New Zealand veterans to visit and commemorate ANZAC day. ANZAC Day is a holiday that commemorates the 1915 landing of the Australia and New Zealand Army Corps on the Gallipoli
Peninsula during World War I. On this holiday, parades, religious services, and ceremonies take place that commemorate the Australian and New Zealand war veterans (Hunter, 2007). Long Tan was the site of a significant battle during the Vietnam War that involved the Australian forces supported by New Zealand against the Vietcong. The Vietnam veterans’ community has conducted Anzac Day dawn services at Long Tan to remember the servicemen killed on August 18, 1966 (Simalis, 2007). Major-General Horrie Howard stated that “the Battle of Long Tan had become a symbol for Vietnam Veterans, as Gallipoli was for all veterans” (Dunlevy, 2006). Preston (personal communication, 2012) appreciated the efforts by the local villagers in taking such good care of the Long Tan war memorial site. He felt that hosting a remembrance ceremony with the former enemy would play an integral part in the healing process.

We killed a hell of a lot of them and they reciprocated whenever they could, but that is what occurs in war. The ceremony would allow both sides as a sign of respect to come together to acknowledge that those who participated in the war were doing the job they were trained to do (Preston, personal communication, 2012).

Moreover, the majority of the New Zealand Vietnam veterans in Leopold’s (2003) study indicated that they wanted to participate to a greater degree in the commemoration and interpretation of Vietnam war heritage sites located in Vietnam. Ken attended an ANZAC day commemoration service at the Long Tan memorial site (personal communication, 2012). For him this was a moving experience because the existence of commemorations and memorials sanctioned by the Vietnamese exemplified how the relationship has progressed since the war ended. For him, this is what reconciliation means—the ability to move forward with your former enemy. The results from this indicated that veterans were not adversely affected by these sites. Robert’s interaction with the Vietnamese at Long Tan was a positive experience.

I found people to be generally friendly, open and willing to talk on a wide range of subjects. At the individual level I did not experience any negativity because I had served in their country. Indeed our guide went the extra mile by presenting my wife and I a red rose to lay at the Long Tan memorial; his gesture made a moving experience at the memorial
extremely emotional for me, as was the knowledge that the local people who came to tend the memorial at that time did so voluntarily. This of course contrasted with the anti US propaganda evidenced in many of the government managed memorials we visited, something I saw as their right as the victor (Robert, personal communication, 2012).

For Robert he felt that “the memorial site was very controlled in that we needed authorization to visit the site, gaining permission for the type of service and that there is a police person on site. The Vietnamese gave each of the people in my group a yellow chrysanthemum (personal communication, 2012). Not all were interested in spending the majority of their time at these war-related sites that was the and thereby opted to travel alone or with family.

I didn’t want to be part of a tour group. I wanted to do my own thing. I had looked at a couple tours but every tour had the atrocities museum and a trip through the tunnels and I thought to myself why do I want to take at a look at a bloody tunnel? I know what they were like and they were magnificent from an engineering perspective how they were able to build them. It was impressive some of the things the Vietnamese accomplished (James, personal communication, 2012).

8.6 Summary

This research has discovered that the barriers that hinder travel for some veterans, for others serves as their motivation to return to Vietnam. Veterans who have yet to or indicated an unwillingness to return to post-war Vietnam cited financial and time constraints as well as psycho-social issues in their choosing not to return to Vietnam. In these cases, positive word of mouth may not be enough to motivate some veterans to return to post-war Vietnam. Psycho-social issues may need to be resolved in order for some veterans to make the conscious decision to return. Moreover, the veterans who have returned to Vietnam indicate that there are coping mechanisms that they employ in order to mitigate the barriers hindering their return. Through the utilization of Gibson’s (2007) criteria for measuring reconciliation, it is evident that reconciliation at least on a thin level has taken place for veterans who have returned to visit post-war Vietnam. This chapter has brought to attention issues that revolve around conducting research on
reconciliation. The examination of New Zealand Vietnam War veterans who have gone back to Vietnam post-war brings to the forefront the complexities of providing a clearer understanding of the impact of these post-war visits on reconciliation between former enemies. New Zealand Vietnam War veterans may need to have the willingness to accept their former enemies’ right to interpret the war as they see fit in order to achieve reconciliation with the Vietnamese people.
Chapter 9  RECONCILIATION WITH SELF

9.1 Introduction

This chapter builds upon the previous analysis chapters concerned with reconciliation with others. Servicemen coming home from a war zone may need to reconcile with self in regards to their own participation in the war, the way they view the world and their transformed concept of self. This chapter proposes self-reconciliation as a nuanced approach to understanding the reconciliation process by which individuals come to terms with their war-related experiences within a post-conflict environment. Self-reconciliation is discussed with the intent of providing a more defined meaning of this concept. Moreover, the factors that obstruct or facilitate the process of self-reconciliation are investigated. Examining the impact of these factors provides insight into the complexity and challenges in navigating through the process of self-reconciliation.

9.2 The concept of self

As self is the primary actor in the self-reconciliation process, it is helpful to define this concept within the context of this thesis. The concept of self has become a multifaceted term since its first introduction by William James in 1890 and has generated a multitude of definitions and theories that have endeavoured to break down and delineate its characteristics (Devos & Banaji, 2003; Erikson, 1968; James, 1981). Universally, people have an intrinsic need to define ones’ self as well as distinguish their self from other individuals (Oyserman & Markus, 1993). The development of self involves a life-long process of differentiation of self knowledge (Erikson, 1968; Oyserman & Markus, 1993). Furthermore, the process of defining self for individuals entails intertwining self-schemas “based on personal attributes with those rooted in social identity to create a separate, bounded, unique self” (Oyserman & Markus, 1993, p. 206).

The structure of self has been described as dynamic in which it is continually changing in accordance to the “constant interplay between the world of the past, the perception of people and things in the present and through accommodation to new experiences”
Theorists have characterized self as multidimensional, which falls into the following categories of individual, relational and collective self (Sedikides & Brewer, 2001; Sedikides & Gaertner, 2001; Triandis, 1989). The individual self encompasses intrinsic knowledge of one’s own state, traits, and behaviour in self (Triandis, 1989). The relational self contains the aspects of self-concept which reflect the individual’s significant interpersonal relationships and defines the role of self within these relationships (Sedikides & Brewer, 2001; Tanti, Stukas, Halloran, & Foddy, 2008). The collective self contains one’s representation in terms of their in-group membership and is concerned with the generalized other’s\(^5\) view of the self (Sedikides & Brewer, 2001; Triandis, 1989). For the purposes of this research, the individual self is defined as an active agent “containing those aspects of the self-concept\(^6\) that differentiate the person from other persons as a unique constellation of traits and characteristics that distinguishes the individual within his or her social context” (Sedikides & Brewer, 2001, p. 1).

### 9.3 Identity Crisis

The individual’s sense of identity is composed of one’s perception of their past, present and future self (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Throughout one’s lifetime, periods of identity crisis and re-examination of self identity can cause changes in an individual’s self concept ( Sharma & Sharma, 2010). The connotation of identity crisis as Erikson (1968) points out is not one of impending catastrophe, but rather signifies a “crucial moment when development must move one way or another, marshalling resources of growth, recovery, and further differentiation” (p 16). Traumatic experiences have the power to damage individual identities by threatening one’s ideal self as well as their concept of self within social and personal contexts (Charmaz, 1999; Pennebaker & Keough, 1999). In turn, this damaged concept of self can cause psychological distress and diminish psychological and physical health ( Sharma & Sharma, 2010). The juncture in which reconciliation with self comes into play is when trauma causes an individual to experience an identity crisis which calls into question their very concept of self (Pennebaker & Keough, 1999).

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\(^5\) “The organized community or social group which gives to the individual his unity of self” (Mead, 1934) p. 154).

\(^6\) “Self concept is a cognitive schema that organizes abstract and concrete memories about the self and controls the processing of self-relevant information” (Campbell, 1990 p. 539).
Servicemen who participate in war may develop an identity crisis by witnessing violence and/or committing harmful acts towards other humans (Erikson, 1968). Members of the defeated military force often carry feelings of shame and guilt that damages their self concept and in turn produces an identity crisis (Lu, 2008). These feelings of shame and guilt may create an environment conducive to post-war reconciliation as “suffering defeat in a major war inevitably bruises and destabilizes collective senses of self, creating the need and opportunity for changes in political narratives of the collective self and its moral relation to others in the world” (Lu, 2008, p. 370).

The New Zealand Vietnam veterans’ self concept was premised on their military profession as described in chapter 6 of this thesis. The self concept of these servicemen was in a state of transformation as a result of their military service. These servicemen participated in military training, took part in the war, and bore witness to violence and degradation of their fellow man that caused changes in how they perceived themselves and the world around them. For example, Michael’s (personal communication, 1995) perspective of self and others changed as a result of his own actions and what he witnessed during his deployment in Vietnam.

No, it was a complete shock. When I got down to the Battery that was all a new experience, you know that was OK, it was still in the military circles. I think that on my very first trip or two out where I met local people, ah, everything I believed was thrown out. Ah, you literally buy a person's life with a cake of toilet soap. And to me, you know that just, that almost freaked me at the point because you know that's no price on human life. There's no value. From there, you know, I did a lot of things I'd never considered doing back here (New Zealand) but life in general you know, I don't know, I just drank ah womanized with the locals.

The interaction between the individual, relational and collective self may either complement or oppose each other (Higgins & May, 2001). Circumstances can arise that result in conflict between the components of self. As a result, the individuals self concept can reach a state of crisis in which the self-reconciliation process may serve as the means to reintegrate the parts of self into a cohesive state.
9.4 The self-reconciliation process

The vast majority of researchers have approached self-reconciliation as part of the process of resolving wrongdoing (Crigger & Meek, 2007; Enright, 1996; Hall & Fincham, 2005; Szablowinski, 2012). In accordance with this approach, the primary objective to self-reconciliation is aimed at resolving one’s own adverse feelings towards self after committing the wrongdoing (Crigger & Meek, 2007; Enright, 1996). I propose an alternate approach to self-reconciliation in which the aim of this process is focused on individual acceptance of the emerging new identity of self after experiencing a trauma or life changing event.

Participants of war may not accept blame/or responsibility for wrong-doing as they believe their actions are justified by being officially sanctioned by a government or anti-government groups. For example, professional soldiers may justify killing the enemy as part of their job in protecting themselves, fellow soldiers and countrymen as opposed to committing the wrongfull act of murder. Even with this feeling of justification there can be a conscious or unconscious awareness by veterans of the physical and psycho-social damage that they inadvertently inflicted upon the land, the people and themselves as willing participants in the war. Individuals who engage in intense violence are deeply affected by their actions and if they kill are likely to be psychologically and spiritually wounded by their actions (Staub, 2005). The trauma generated by war related violence may severely threaten an individual's sense of identity and their assumptions about the world around them (Hernandez, 2002; McCann & Pearlman, 1990). Furthermore, in the aftermath of trauma individuals are at risk of becoming past-oriented which can lead to higher levels of psychological distress (Holman, 1998).

In a post-trauma context, the concept of self-reconciliation can be adapted to address the process by which individuals are able to come to terms with their changing view of self that also enables them to reconstruct their own concept of self (Pennebaker & Keough, 1999). The exploration of self-reconciliation within this thesis has resulted in the following conceptual framework; see the following table (4) for self-reconciliation within a post-conflict environment.
Table 4: Post-conflict: Self-reconciliation conceptual framework.

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<tr>
<td>• Moves forward individuals affected by trauma/life changing event</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Admittance of wrong-doing is not integral to attain self-reconciliation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The role of perpetrator and victim is not designated</td>
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<tr>
<td>• On-going process that may involve self-forgiveness and healing</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Acceptance of transformed identity of self and own humanity</td>
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The goal of this framework is for individuals to accept their own humanity and transformed identity. Moreover, self-reconciliation aims for individuals to claim their new sense of self in order to move forward from a traumatic experience or a life changing event.

9.5 The role of self-forgiveness

There has been extensive research on collective and individual reconciliation, (Dwyer, 1999; Dwyer cited in Prager & Govier, 2003; Gloppen, 2005) but limited study of the process of self-reconciliation (Crigger & Meek, 2007; Enright, 1996; Hall & Fincham, 2005; Szablowinski, 2012). Moreover the research on self-reconciliation either fails to define the meaning of self-reconciliation or differentiate it clearly from self-forgiveness and healing. This section puts forward a more extensive conceptual framework of self-reconciliation which highlights the roles of self concept, self-forgiveness and healing in moving forward the reconciliation process with self.

Reconciliation with self has been theorized to be linked and incapable of being separated from self-forgiveness (Enright, 1996; Szablowinski, 2012). The process of self-forgiveness aims at and results in reconciliation with the self (Hall & Fincham, 2005; Szablowinski, 2012). Additionally, as in the process of self-reconciliation there is a lack of consensus on the very meaning of self-forgiveness (See Enright, 1996; Ingersoll-Dayton & Krause, 2005; Jacinto & Edwards, 2011; Luskin, 2002; Rutledge, 1997; Szablowinski, 2012). Within the context of this study self-forgiveness has been defined as:
individuals taking responsibility for their part in a situation that resulted in hurt feelings, physical harm to other people, harbouring negative feelings about another, and self-blame. Self-forgiveness is accomplished when individuals are able to recognize that they are imperfect and due to the imperfection they sometimes fall short of their image of their ideal self (Jacinto & Edwards, 2011, p 428).

Self-forgiveness may be necessary when one is responsible for causing harm to others or to self. Self-forgiveness allows one to push past self-blame, guilt and shame so that the offence can be resolved in an effective manner (Szablowinski, 2012). When self-forgiveness occurs, the individual is no longer controlled by the wrong-doing and is able to move on with their life (Szablowinski, 2012).

Enright (1996) introduced reconciliation with self as a process tied to self-forgiveness by which the wrong-doer makes a conscious decision to commit change in order to avoid future wrongdoing. A subsequent study by Crigger and Meek (2007) examined self-reconciliation or ‘reconciling one’s sense of self’ that nurses undergo after committing a medical error. Similar to self-forgiveness, Crigger and Meek (2007) framed self-reconciliation in terms of wrong-doing and the internal process by which individuals reconcile their feelings of guilt, shame and blame for committing a mistake. Their finding was that reconciling the self with self was accomplished through the social means of disclosure and taking responsibility for the mistake or conversely by denial, non-disclosure and rationalization of the mistake. From Crigger and Meek’s (2007) perspective, reconciliation with self was not fully reached if the individual still had thoughts of inadequacy, regret, anxiety and/or uncertainty of their role in causing harm to others. Self-forgiveness may play a part in reconciliation of self with self; however this act is not integral to the process of self-reconciliation. In the case of individuals who believe that they have committed a wrong, self-forgiveness may prove helpful in their acceptance of their self, as in the case of Daron.

My elder told me before going to Vietnam that I was going to another man’s country and that I needed to respect the Vietnamese because it is their country and it is their land. He told me that when you go to his land he will look after you. After I killed the man my first thought went to
what he said. I looked at the photos of his family and thought god what have I done now? I didn’t sleep that night and volunteered to do sentry all that night. I told the other soldiers in the group that I wanted to do sentry that night and they understood why I was upset. That experience didn’t sit well with me because I didn’t expect to kill anyone. I had gone to Vietnam to look around, have fun and saw going there as part of an adventure but not to kill anyone (Daron, personal communication, 2012).

In order to reconcile his wounded self with his higher self-image, Daron may need to forgive himself for what he perceives as committing a wrongful act. Self-forgiveness serves as the mechanism by which he can process and come to terms with the actions that created the conditions that led to his taking another person’s life. Furthermore, by making the conscious decision to not commit the same wrongdoing in the future there is greater likelihood that he will be able to come to terms with his new identity and reconcile with self.

On the other hand, war veterans may feel that self-forgiveness is not needed because they have not committed a wrong-doing, but were simply serving their country and trying to help the South Vietnamese.

We endeavoured to do the best we possibly could for the South Vietnamese. We tried to show them that we were there to stabilize the area and give them the opportunity to live as best they could. There was a tolerance to give them a way of life and give the opportunity to make decisions for their selves (Dennis, personal communication, 2012).

Therefore, self-forgiveness may not be necessary for individuals to move forward the self-reconciliation process.

9.6 Psycho-social factors

Actively working towards achieving a healthy self throughout one’s life may lead to individual psychological well-being (Gilhotra, 1995). Scholars (Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2010; Gayer, Landman, Halperin, & Bar-Tal, 2009; Parent, 2011; and Staub, 2006) have stressed the importance of healing for individuals who have experienced
psychosocial damage in order for reconciliation to occur with others within the post-conflict environment. Still, there is a lack of research which investigates the connection between self-reconciliation and the psycho-social healing process within a post-war context. This section examines a multitude of psychosocial factors that can encumber or move forward the process of self-reconciliation for individuals who have experienced trauma stemming from conflict. These psychosocial factors include the veterans’ military role during the war, post-traumatic stress disorder, social support, finding voice, and post-war travel. Throughout this section the impact of these factors on New Zealand Vietnam War veterans own self reconciliation processes is woven into the discussion. In doing so, the New Zealand Vietnam War veterans’ experiences illustrate the complexities involved in self-reconciliation within a post-war environment.

War generates adverse social conditions such as poverty, violence and on-going injustice which negatively impact the psychological well-being of individuals and communities (King, 2011). Individuals exposed to war trauma may need to undergo psychosocial healing to regain their psychological and social health (Gutlove & Thompson, 2006). The goal in psycho-social healing is for individuals to recover psychological health, ability to function in interpersonal relationships and improve relationships with society (Gutlove & Thompson, 2006). The healing process requires a safe environment in which there is an acknowledgement and integration of the traumatic experience; time to mourn the former self that the trauma destroyed and re-definition of self-identity (Herman, 1997). The positive outcomes of healing include a “decrease of loneliness, mood improvement, a sense of inner peace, a decrease in isolation, anger and bitterness, and a decrease in feelings of animosity and hatred toward others” (Gutlove & Thompson, 2006, p 142).

The servicemen’s ability to heal and reconcile with self may be attributed to their military role during the Vietnam War. For example, the medical and engineer units were charged with giving humanitarian aid to the South Vietnamese. As a result, these servicemen had an easier time in accepting their actions undertaken in the war that made for an easier transition when they returned home.

There is a hell of a difference between those who were engineers and doctors. They don’t feel badly about the Vietnam War I don’t think. For
them they might have even found the experience stimulating and it was a job for which they were well trained to perform (Jake, personal communication, 2012).

Conversely, servicemen who held combat roles had to grapple with the harm that they inflicted on the Vietnamese people. For example Clarence, (personal communication, 2012) an infantryman, spoke about coming to terms with his combat experiences.

I did some terrible things there as every soldier does under the stress of combat. When you kill another human being it does really scar...rip your guts out. Something becomes damaged in your psyche. The biggest healing had to do with healing myself (Clarence, personal communication, 2012).

The healing and self-reconciliation process is impacted by the passage of time. In recent years, the war veterans have begun to enter into a life stage marked by retirement and grown children which allows them to have time to reflect on their past. This thesis suggests there may be a growing willingness amongst New Zealand Vietnam veterans to seek out treatment for their PTSD symptoms from the mental health community. For example, Calvin reported suffering from PTSD for 43 years before he sought out professional treatment (personal communication, 2012). In the case of the servicemen who remained in the military, retirement afforded them the opportunity to address the psycho-social issues stemming from war without the risk of it adversely impacting their military careers. Robert (personal communication, 2012) explained that it was only in the last year that he sought counselling support from Veteran’s Affairs.

I found that counselling has been very helpful. Again it was very much about laying ghosts to rest. The reason that I sought help was that there was a collection of issues that I had been dealing with throughout my life including Vietnam. Again in terms of hiding stuff from the system, in terms of keeping things well hidden or otherwise I knew that I would be seen as a weak wimp, inappropriate as a leader so that stuff had to be hidden and remain hidden as long as I was in uniform (Robert, personal communication, 2012).
The road to reconciling self with self may be obstructed when individuals develop PTSD. This hinders their ability to heal from the trauma which in turn negatively impacts the individual’s ability to move forward in the process of self-reconciliation. There have been several studies (MacDonald et al., 1997; MacDonald, Chamberlain, Long, & Flett, 1999) that have examined PTSD in relation to New Zealand Vietnam veterans. McDonald’s et al. (1997) study employed the Mississippi Scale to assess PTSD symptomatology and determined that 42% of their 756 participants were classified as PTSD cases. A prominent theme that emerged from the data collection with the New Zealand Vietnam veterans was the prevalence of veterans who have struggled with PTSD.

New Zealand Vietnam War veterans have shown a reluctance to acknowledge the adverse symptoms they suffered as a result of their service in Vietnam. The inability to reconcile with self can be attributed to the premise that individuals who are inundated with intrusions from their past “may get drawn into a negative cycle in which the intrusions of the past rekindle negative effect, which intensifies the tendency to focus predominantly on the past” (Holman, 1998, p. 1147). For example, Wayne’s (personal communication, 2012) narrative supports this idea that it may take time before veterans are able and willing to seek help for their PTSD.

When I came back I avoided reading the newspaper and watching TV. I didn’t talk about my Vietnam War experience with anyone. I found that I needed to leave and go somewhere to be by myself. It really hit about 20 years after I left and began experiencing flashbacks. I still see a psychiatrist once a month because things have gone wrong in my life. Over the years, I have been asked why I can’t let it go. My response is that I just can’t. It seemed to me that a lot of Vietnam veterans have come out of the war with emotional scars. 40 plus years after the Vietnam War more war veterans are beginning to discuss their Vietnam War experience (Wayne, personal communication, 2012).

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7 Mississippi Scale is a 35-item self-report measure that assesses combat-related PTSD in veteran populations (Keane, 1988).
8 PTSD can induce the affected individual to experience the symptoms of “jumpiness, flashbacks, irritability, insomnia, nightmares, guilt and panic” caused by neurological changes in the brain as a result of trauma (Goleman & Bokram, 1992, p. 62).
The impetuous for some interviewees to seek treatment for their PTSD was through the urging from their friends and fellow family members who witnessed their maladaptive behaviour. In these cases, the war veterans did not recognize or want to acknowledge that they were experiencing issues stemming from their war-related experiences. For example, Daron lived for 26 years with PTSD before he was officially diagnosed in 1995 (personal communication, 2012).

Prior to the diagnosis, I would think to myself that I wasn’t that bad, but obviously I was. I didn’t want others to know that I was getting help. I would say that I was okay. Punch a few holes in the wall. I was okay. Go and get drunk. My friend told me that he thought I had PTSD. I went to see a psychologist where I was officially diagnosed with PTSD (Daron, personal communication, 2012).

When a “highly stressful event seriously invalidates or challenges an individual’s assumptive world, growth may be triggered. However, the presence of growth does not necessarily alleviate grief, emotional distress, or suffering” (Anderson, 2010, p. 14). Growth used in this context refers to expansion of world-view perspective, discovery of personal and social resources and acquisition of new coping mechanisms (Anderson, 2010). If the individual is unable to come to terms with a traumatic experience, it can result in negative emotions that become the catalyst for change (Kunnen & Bosma, 2000). This catalyst for change can either generate a continuation of the traumatic effects or spur further development of the self (Kunnen & Bosma, 2000). This is evident in the case of Clarence (personal communication, 2012) who experienced sadness and anger but also personal growth from serving in the Vietnam War.

With any extreme situation it did bring me to face myself as I never faced myself before. In hindsight I am actually glad that I went because now I am happy, healthy and my life is very different. Even though Vietnam has left me with many scars it has also made me the person I am today. I no longer regret my experience of fighting in the Vietnam War (Clarence, personal communication, 2012).
9.7 Social acceptance

The genesis of self comes not only from the social encounters individuals experience with others but also from the accumulation of reactions received during these exchanges (Forgas & Williams, 2002; Mead, 1934). One of the most basic and powerful human motivations is the need to belong. When individuals experience rejection or exclusion by others they experience higher rates of mortality, mental illness and suicide (Baumeister, Twenge, & Ciarocco, 2002). Reconciliation with self was impacted by the veterans’ expectation of being treated like war heroes upon their return home. Instead, these veterans experienced hostility and pressure to hide their service in Vietnam from their fellow countrymen as discussed in chapter 7 and 8 of this thesis. This lack of public acceptance caused veterans difficulty in accepting their role in the war, thereby fueling their identity crisis in terms of how they viewed themselves and how others viewed them.

Social support plays an important role in mitigating the adverse impacts of trauma experienced by individuals and plays a significant role in the self reconciliation process. One’s self concept may be adversely influenced by the negative reactions of others who provide the viewpoint by which the individual defines their own performances and attributes accordingly; otherwise known as Cooley’s (1902) looking glass theory. People exposed to trauma often experience a strong feeling of alienation from other individuals and society that may make their ability to re-integrate back into society especially problematic post-trauma (McCann & Pearlman, 1990).

Moreover, as in the case of the Vietnam War, returning servicemen may have experienced a secondary victimization from the perceived lack of support and public hostility from their fellow countrymen after they arrived home from the war. Secondary victimization encompasses “stress that exasperates the victim’s reactions following an initial victimization or any new injury occurring within the post-conflict period” (Parent, 2011, p. 386). As discussed in chapter 7: Reconciliation with countrymen, the Vietnam veterans were exposed to war protesters, government denial of pesticide use during the war, and limited support in re-entering society after serving in the war. These factors serve as external challenges that can negatively impact the internal issues the war veterans faced when they returned home from the war. The secondary
traumatisation experienced by some veterans may have had more adverse affects on their well-being than the initial traumatisation of being in a war. For example, the following newspaper excerpt illustrates the impact of the rejection that the war veterans felt when they returned home from Vietnam.

Do not tell people where you have been, do not wear your army uniform in public, he was told by defence officials as he and other Vietnam veterans struggled to cope with the emotional aftermath, not only of the war, but also from the public damnation and derision New Zealand troops faced for going to a war that was highly unpopular. For decades they were ignored. For nearly 40 years there was no official acknowledgement of their service or welcome home and that hit the soldiers very hard emotionally. Many veterans very nearly went over the edge, said Duggan. Before the tribute march, the years of rejection affected him tremendously (Stuart, 2011).

A dominant theme of my thesis was the veterans’ perception of a hostile environment within New Zealand that made it difficult for them to share their war-related problems with others. The following is the reflection of the complexity and difficulty experienced by war veterans in discussing their war-related experiences with others:

... A soldier or warrior the unique defining feature, the primary role of the soldier is to kill and destroy the enemy. They go to war and that is what they do for their job. Once they go back to society and killing is the antithesis of society. Number one rule in bible is not to kill anyone. Doesn't know how soldiers grapple with that moral dilemma. A society in which killing is abhorrent and does everything to stop it to the point of killing people. Society says well done, but does not want to understand it as it is so different from their framework. Soldier comes back and the society eyes glaze over and don’t want to delve into it (M.H., 2008).

On the other hand research has indicated that “the nonjudgmental acceptance of another person (i.e., a friend, family member, therapist, or priest) often helps these individuals diminish their self-critical thoughts” in the process of self-forgiveness (Ingersoll-Dayton & Krause, 2005, p 271). For example, Mr. Southon has suffered from issues
from the war, but attributes the support he received from his family and church as being instrumental in his healing process and acceptance of his service in Vietnam (Shanks, 2006).

I struggled to hold down a job. It would be okay for a while and then I would have a fight with my boss and get fired," Mr Southon said. But the years have mellowed the veteran, who attributes his sanity to his wife and family. He says returning to the church fold has also helped with forgiveness - both for himself and for Vietnam protesters." My granddaughter was born prematurely last year, and while I was standing there holding her and wanting to protect her, I realised I should be proud of my time served (Shanks, 2006).

Furthermore, it may prove helpful for the servicemen returning home from war to stay in the military. Maintaining the same professional and social network may help these individuals receive the necessary support to accept their changing identity. As expressed by Joel, he felt well supported by his military friends which helped him adjust to re-entering his homeland (personal communication, 2012).

I remained in the military after the Vietnam War and completed 38 years service. For me there was a short period of getting used again to the New Zealand environment including coming to terms with the anti Vietnam sentiment that existed in the country at the time. I considered that I was well supported by my family and friends during my time in Vietnam and after my return. Many of my friends were military as you would appreciate (Joel, personal communication, 2012).

In terms of finding support, many servicemen turned to their fellow Vietnam veterans for support. Daron felt that they still had to rely on their fellow servicemen when they came home from the war because they were not welcomed back by their countrymen (personal communication, 2012).

After I came back to New Zealand, I would meet some of my mates and we would comfort each other, share our stories with each other as a way to relive the war with each other. I wasn’t able to share my war
experiences with anyone outside the military not even to my wife. It got better just being with Vietnam veterans the EVSA. So we stuck with our mates and still are like that to this day. The friendships has continued to grow stronger and closer as the number of Vietnam veterans still alive have grown smaller and smaller over the years (Daron, personal communication, 2012).

There can also be challenges for war veterans who choose to stay in the military environment.

Back in those days compared to now, anyone who showed signs of anything that might be taken or misconstrued as a weakness could indeed become a target for slowing them down on promotion. There was a hell of a lot that people used to hide. So if we were suffering in any way from our time in Vietnam, most of us did everything we could to hide it. We didn’t have much information at all, if any about the kind of support Veteran’s Affairs could provide. So that did nothing for us in helping us step forward to say that we were having issues and needed help for it. As I went up through the promotion levels I had responsibilities that I had to tend to because I was in a leadership role. I had to get on with it direct my energies on my leadership role. It wasn’t until I left the army that I got my support sorted (Robert, personal communication, 2012).

Public events such as Parade ’98, Welcome Home Tribute and the growing acceptance of Vietnam veterans in participating in commemoration events such as ANZAC day may help veterans reconcile with self. For example, Carl shared how being accepted at an event was a cathartic experience.

The greatest thing was when my wife asked me to go to a concert brought by In the Mood in which they would sing old war songs. I was in a good mental state and felt ready to go so I bought a new suit, a RSA tie and badge and wore them to the concert. We went to the concert and at the end they did a tribute to all the forces. I was petrified because they said if you belonged to this group stand up and be recognized. They went through the Maori battalion and they said any other forces so suddenly I
stood up. My age...peer group didn’t know I was a Vietnam veteran and they applauded me. Tears came to my eyes and great joy in being recognized by my peer group for my service as a soldier. This event was very healing for me (Carl, personal communication, 2012).

9.8 Shared testimony and political activism

Often the first step in healing distress caused by trauma is by speaking to others about the experience (Jeffreys, Leibowitz, Finley, & Arar, 2010). Moreover the re-telling of the trauma can empower, affirm and enable those individuals to redefine their sense of identity (Fuertes, 2012). Much of peace building literature and political rhetoric has stressed the significant role of truth telling in advancing reconciliation (Asmal, Asmal, & Roberts, 1997; Biggar, 2001; Commission, 1999). Since the war ended, New Zealand veterans have shared their wartime experiences with the public by writing blogs and memoirs, participating in research projects, providing testimony, and speaking to various media and community outlets. To date, there has been a dearth of research conducted on the effect of acts of public sharing on New Zealand Vietnam war veterans. This section examines veterans sharing their war-related experiences and its impact on the process of reconciling with self.

There is debate on the affect that shared testimony and political activism has on healing individuals from trauma. DeVries believes that a shared meaning of traumatic events can serve as a preventative measure and the means by which the escalation of post-traumatic stress can be stalled in individuals (DeVries, 1996; Summerfield, 1995).

Wilson, Leary, Mitchell, and Ritchie (2009) explored the usage of storytelling as a “pathway to healing” for war veterans who publicly shared their personal war-related experiences. Conversely, they cautioned that there can be negative effects such as veterans feeling mentally and physically drained, mentally unprepared to deal with certain topics, as well as anger and frustration when they perceive that the audience is inattentive and/or not understanding what they are trying to say about their wartime experience (Wilson et al., 2009). Brounéus’s (2010) findings have thrown doubt on the usage of truth telling in improving healing for those who bore witness within a public forum of their traumatic experience(s). Witnesses reported higher levels of depression
and PTSD than non-witnesses which can be attributed to the re-traumatization that takes place when individuals provide public testimony (Brounéus, 2010).

The interview process for this research gave war veterans the opportunity to discuss their war-related experiences that may prove to be a cathartic or healing experience for them. Michael (personal communication, 2012) felt that it was helpful to speak with someone who did not have or show their preconceived ideas about the Vietnam War. In speaking with a researcher, it was easier to talk about his experiences with a neutral party as he experienced less pressure to impress, hold back his emotions, or to apologize for his experiences and feelings related to the Vietnam War.

The reasons why I didn’t share the more difficult parts of Vietnam were probably because I didn’t want to cry in front of them. When I was talking about my mate’s death during the interview I could tell my eyes were getting a bit wet. Early on I used to cry during the night. I didn’t want to appear weak and when I had children I wanted them to think of me as a strong father. It is very hard to share this with others-I can with you because I know that you have done some research and know where I am coming from (Michael, personal communication, 2012).

Even though Donald (personal communication, 2012) found it difficult to re-visit and share his Vietnam War experiences with a class of Army Cadets, he was happy that he did. The acceptance of the audience in listening to his narrative served as part of the catalyst that pushed him forward to travel back to Vietnam to address the “ghosts of the past”.

Research has indicated that individuals subjected to political violence can regain power over their lives and re-integrate back into society if they develop an understanding of the connection between their individual problems and the sociopolitical context within which it originated (Sveaass & Castillo, 2000). Laplante (2007) has indicated that healing after being exposed to political violence can be an outcome of becoming politically active. Martín-Baró (1996) viewed having “a political commitment to a cause” as a form of psychic resistance (Laplante, 2007; Martín-Baró, 1996, p. 128). After the New Zealand veterans returned home from the war there were several actions that served to empower and give voice to this group. These actions included the
creation of their own Vietnam veteran groups such as the EVSA and Veterans Association, participation in a grassroots political movement that sought accountability by their government, providing support to fellow veterans and their family members as well as sharing their personal war-related experiences with the public. Iris, a child of a Vietnam veteran (personal communication, 2012) discussed how her father’s increased political activism with Agent Orange health issues and support towards families suffering from Agent Orange related illnesses was the catalyst for his return to post-war Vietnam.

He spoke in Parliament and got involved in the RSA. He got a little more empowered because he was able to utilize his good business and management skills as well as his ability to work well with authority figures in helping those families who were suffering. He was able to use his skills to contribute to the wellbeing of the families who were experiencing adverse health effects from serving in the Vietnam War which helped him reach a step towards being able to go back to Vietnam (Iris, personal communication, 2012).

9.9 Post-war tourism

Travel has the power to create opportunities in which individuals can discover and transform self (Neumann, 1992). Moreover, tourism experiences that include interactions with people from different cultures can challenge individual’s concept of self (Cohen, 2010). Indeed, many individuals are motivated to travel in order to learn about self, get to know self and develop self (Cohen, 2010; Goeldner & Ritchie, 2008). War veterans share a commonality in travelling to places they experienced during the war in order to commemorate, re-experience and reconcile with their past (Walsh, 1994). Nelson (1990) noted New Zealand Vietnam War veterans and their families had as part of their healing process travelled back to Vietnam to donate medical supplies, visit orphanages and to meet up with their former enemy. Examining the phenomenon of New Zealand veterans returning to post-war Vietnam in terms of intergroup contact demonstrates the impact that travel has in facilitating the self-reconciliation process.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, social acceptance from in-group members plays an important role in reconciling with self. This section suggests that out-group acceptance
in reference to the former enemy also play an important part in facilitating the self-reconciliation process of former combatants. In terms of the New Zealand Vietnam veterans this encompasses social acceptance from the Vietnamese people. The research for this thesis indicates that the majority of interchanges have been positive between the New Zealand war veterans and the Vietnamese people during these post-war visits to Vietnam. For example, Donald (personal communication, 2012) spoke about the positive reception he received from the Vietnamese

The Vietnamese I met were quite accepting of the Vietnam War Veterans. I felt accepted by the Vietnamese because “they greeted us openly and in a friendly manner and were very interested in us and where we were from. A young waitress in a restaurant in Vung Tau wanted to know why we were in Vung Tau, when we had been in Vietnam originally and what we had done there. She spent about 10 minutes talking with the 6 of us there that day.

Although contact was often limited within the tourism experience offered by the tourism industry, there were veterans who sought more intimate interactions with the Vietnamese. This was true in the case of Brian (personal communication, 2012) who sought out the people who lived in a small, isolated village they helped during the war.

This was a nice time and there weren’t many nice times during the Vietnam War. The villagers had remembered that the soldiers provided them with rice, fixed the pumps and helped with other stuff. We met up with a kid who would have been five at the time who still remembered the songs taught to them by the Maori gunners. When I e-mailed some of my friends who had also been there about my experience of meeting one of the kids in the photo, my friends told me that the time spent at that village was one of the happier times of being in Vietnam. The pleasing thing too was the kid that I found all grown up also remembered it as a happy time.

Brian had good memories about that village because the children were happy and would engage with him and the other veterans. Through remembering how he helped
these villagers and re-connecting with them made it easier to reconcile with his past self.

After taking part in inflicting damage on the Vietnamese people and the land, the veterans experienced feelings of shame and guilt. These post-war visits by veterans can be helpful to the self-reconciliation process as the veterans are able to witness the recovery of Vietnam and its people from the war. Moreover, the acceptance by the Vietnamese makes it easier for the war veterans to accept and reconcile with self. Preston (personal communication, 2012) believed his post-war visit to Vietnam helped him find inner peace “because I had been carrying around all those memories for years. The ability to go back to where those memories started tended to calm me”.

9.10 Summary

Throughout this chapter there has been a concerted effort to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between psychosocial healing, reconciliation, self-reconciliation, and self-forgiveness. War veterans may need to mourn the loss of their identity of self, accept that the new self is becoming, in order to move forward with the new identity. The new identity has the potential to be stronger as a result of surviving and learning new skills in relationship to the trauma. Self forgiveness may include acceptance of responsibility for committing wrongdoing and willingness to change behaviour to not commit future wrongdoing. Psychosocial healing is part of the self reconciliation process that deals with the anxiety, distrust of self and others, shame and guilt stemmed from the trauma and secondary trauma. Post-war travel may facilitate the process of self-reconciliation in terms of out-group acceptance.
Chapter 10 CONCLUSION

10.1 Introduction

The thesis investigated post-war reconciliation of New Zealand Vietnam veterans and identified three components that play a vital role in the reconciliation process. These components include reconciliation with fellow countrymen, the Vietnamese people and with self. The study also sought to determine the impact of post-war tourism in facilitating the reconciliation process with others and self. Previous theoretical literature on this topic has been conflicted and has left gaps in providing a comprehensive understanding of the reconciliation process of former combatants. The study addressed these gaps by investigating the reconciliation process of war veterans in a post-war context. The aim of this chapter is to assess the research objectives and demonstrate how these objectives were met within this study. The contributions and implications of this research to academic and social knowledge are discussed. The research findings illuminate the complexity of the reconciliation process of war veterans. The chapter concludes by offering recommendations for future research.

10.2 Empirical and theoretical findings

Post-war reconciliation from the perspective of the New Zealand Vietnam War veterans was investigated to determine the role of contact in facilitating reconciliation. Reconciliation with fellow countrymen, the Vietnamese people and with self were identified as significant elements of the reconciliation process of the New Zealand Vietnam War veterans. Moreover the phenomenon of New Zealand Vietnam War veterans who have returned to post-war Vietnam was explored to build upon previous research on the role of tourism in facilitating reconciliation. The aims of this thesis were achieved through utilizing the theoretical frameworks of contact and reconciliation theory. The key findings were gleaned from the analysis of data from both secondary and primary resources including interviews, personal diaries and memoirs, and historical accounts of the background of the Vietnam War and its aftermath on society.
The thesis findings presented in Chapters 7-9 provide evidence that serves to validate, challenge and add to the academic literature on the post-war reconciliation process of war veterans. This section summarizes how the thesis results relate to the previous academic research. Firstly, the results strengthen Prager’s (2003) assertion that reconciliation in itself is a complex, on-going and never-ending process. Additionally, the thesis supports Dwyer’s (2003) stance that the act of forgiveness can be part of the reconciliation process, but is not a necessary component for the progression of reconciliation. In contrast to the research (e.g., Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004; He, 2009; Elder, 1998) on post-war reconciliation which has focused primarily on reconciliation between former enemies, this research expands the reconciliation process to include fellow countrymen and self. Previous research (e.g., Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004; Elder, 1998) has examined reconciliation with former enemy combatants but has often neglected the need to reconcile with other entities. The thesis adds to the academic knowledge of post-war reconciliation of war veterans by expanding the reconciliation process to include fellow countrymen.

Facilitating the reconciliation process with fellow countrymen as evident in the case of New Zealand war veterans can be tenuous and fraught with challenges. Social rejection by fellow countrymen can be damaging to war veterans’ mental health, capacity to re-enter society and the process to reconcile with self (Baumeister, Twenge, & Ciarocco, 2002). Furthermore, when governments recognize wrong-doing in their treatment towards their war veterans, the actions adopted to address and rectify these wrongs may lead to negative consequences. As discussed in chapter 2 of the thesis, formalized reconciliation events, official apologies and promises of restitution garnered mixed results (Long & Brecke, 2003; Andrieu, 2009). These initiatives are often touted as being beneficial in improving relationships after political wrong-doing (Andrieu, 2009). However, the thesis demonstrates that negative consequences can result from these initiatives that can damage and stall the reconciliation process. For example, within the political context, actions undertaken by the New Zealand government aimed at reconciling with war veterans were adversely impacted when war veterans perceived these actions as being forced, and offered out of hopes for political gain. Additionally, the government’s broken promises augmented the war veterans’ doubts towards their government’s genuine willingness to take meaningful steps towards reconciliation. Consequently, as trust is an integral part of relationships, (Krasner & Joyce, 2013)
actions that damage trust serve as a barrier to the reconciliation process in moving forward. The implications of this research are that government officials need to be mindful in hosting reconciliation events, offering apologies and agreement to provide restitution. In order to mitigate potential negative effects from these initiatives, careful consideration and planning by the government is necessary to insure that their actions positively impact rather than harm the reconciliation process. Whether one supports war, there needs to be consideration of how society receives combatants returning home from war.

Building upon previous scholarly writings (e.g., Crigger & Meek, 2007; Enright, 1996; Hall & Fincham, 2005; Szablowinski, 2012) on self-reconciliation, the thesis examines the self-reconciliation process of war veterans. As purported by previous researchers (e.g., Hernandez, 2002; McCann & Pearlman, 1990), the trauma generated by war-related violence may severely threaten an individual's sense of identity and their assumptions about the world around them. The thesis asserts that war veterans may need to reconcile with self in order to move forward with their new identity. From the data analysis, the thesis has delineated self-reconciliation of war veterans as the process by which individuals come to terms with their war-related experiences in a post-conflict environment. The process of self-reconciliation may entail self-forgiveness and psychosocial healing that addresses the adverse repercussions generated by war-related trauma (Gutlove & Thompson, 2004; 2006).

The thesis contributes in several key ways to the current body of scholarly research on contact and reconciliation theory. In contradiction to scholars (e.g., Staub, 2005; Gloppen, 2005; Enright & Fitzgibbons, 2000; Dwyer, 2003) who have attempted to produce mass homogeneous answers that address the problems associated with the act of reconciliation, the thesis has identified the need for more complex and personalized solutions towards resolving internal and external conflict through the process of reconciliation with self and others. Reconciliation is, as this research bore out, an individualized process that is impacted by events and contact with others (Elder, 1998; Long and Brecke, 2003; Kelly & Nkabahona, 2010). The thesis’ data analysis of contact between the war veterans and other actors adds to the research on obstructions to the reconciliation process (Elder, 1998; Branscombe & Miron, 2004; Feddes, Mann,
& Doosje, 2012) by indicating that intergroup contact plays a key component in blocking and moving the reconciliation process forward.

The thesis findings in chapter eight are in agreement with the premise that tourist’s travel decisions are influenced by push and pull factors (Uysal & Jurowski, 1994). The thesis supports and adds to the current body of knowledge by presenting the psycho-social and financial factors that are specific to the war veterans’ decision to return to their former combat site (Weaver, 2000; Cameron & Gatewood, 2000; Leopold, 2003). Additionally, the thesis offers a more nuanced understanding of the integral part tourism plays in the reconciliation process of war veterans. Building upon the premise that intergroup contact plays a prominent role in the reconciliation process, the thesis findings indicate that intergroup contact during travel has the potential to move the reconciliation process forward for former war combatants (Simone-Charteris & Boyd, 2010; Sönmez & Apostolopoulos; 2000). More specifically, the reconciliation process moves forward when individuals choose to travel to sites occupied by their former enemy and engage in non-violent intergroup contact during these visits. The thesis results support Tomljenovic's (2010) assertion that the tourism setting can resolve conflict and is in agreement with researchers who advocate for more proactive measures to utilize the tourism setting to facilitate reconciliation and build peace (Moufakkir & Kelly, 2010; Tomljenovic, 2010). Through examining the post-war visits to Vietnam by New Zealand Vietnam veterans, the tourism setting was found to be a practical and tangible means for former enemies to re-connect and to reconcile. The intergroup contact between the returning New Zealand Veterans and the Vietnamese during these post-war visits demonstrates the potential of these visits to produce a better understanding of each other which is conducive in resolving conflict (D’Amore, 1988b; Shin, 2010; Tomljenovic, 2010) and facilitating the reconciliation process. The thesis is a proponent of developing future actions which incorporate the tourism setting in moving the reconciliation process forward in a post-war setting. For example, tourism may serve as the ideal means by which formalized meetings are organized and more opportunities are devised for veterans to meet informally with their former enemies of war.
10.3 Methodological contributions to qualitative research

Remote and face to face interviews were utilized as a tangible way to empower the participants by giving them a choice in selecting their interview method. Additionally, this approach addressed the constraints of having limited time and funds in conducting the interviews. Furthermore, this approach was utilized to increase participation. Specifically, the inclusion of remote interviews allowed interviews to take place that may not have occurred due to travel cost based on geographical distance or lack of willingness and/or inability of participants to meet for face-to-face interviews (King and Horrocks, 2010). Although the thesis advocates for a more open approach of integrating multiple modes of conducting interviews to expand the capability of collecting data from individuals, researchers must be aware of the potential issues that stem from utilizing this type of approach to collecting data. For example, researchers should willingly perform different emotional labour contingent on the specific interview mode. Care and consideration is also required to insure that all of the data collected is compatible for data analysis regardless of the usage of multiple interview modes.

Of the various types of interviews, face-to-face interviews are considered in qualitative research to be the ideal mode to collect research data from participants (Vogl, 2013; Irvine, Drew, & Sainsbury, 2013). This stance is based on the premise that face-to-face interviews include visual cues and personal contact that is more conducive in building rapport with interviewees than other interview modes (Vogl 2013; Irvine, Drew, and Sainsbury 2013). The wealth of information gathered for the thesis serves as support for the growing body of research that has successfully implemented remote interviews as a means to collect meaningful data (Sturges & Hanrahan 2004; Holt, 2010; Vogl, 2013). Taking a pro-active approach that is more open to technological advances in communication has the potential to empower the researcher in collecting the data necessary for their studies.

10.4 Future research recommendations

The call for further research on contact and reconciliation theory is not a new one (e.g., Ford, 1986; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Long & Brecke, 2003; Halpern and Weinstein,
This section focuses on possible research directions for additional research on the topic of post-war reconciliation. Including reconciliation with fellow countrymen and self provides a more intuitive and expansive approach to post-war reconciliation and lays the groundwork to guide further research. Firstly, future research needs to build upon the analysis and results gleaned from the reconciliation process of war veterans with fellow countrymen. Previous research has examined war protest movements in varying ways; however there is a lack of focus on the reconciliation process between the war protesters and the war veterans. This research has the potential to add insight on the reconciliation process between people who share nationality, but hold opposing views in waging war against other countries. This research has the potential to assess if reconciliation is possible when individuals hold divided political views regarding taking part in war.

Additional research would be beneficial to understand the impact of post-war trips on the reconciliation process from the Vietnamese perspective. Due to unequal power dynamics between hosts and guests within the tourism environment, (Pizam, Jafari & Milman, 1991; Berno & Ward, 2005; Mathieson & Wall, 1982) further investigation is needed to ascertain if and what impact this has on the post-war reconciliation process. Moreover, the majority of the intergroup contact that did occur during the war veterans post-war travels in Vietnam did not include direct encounters with the Vietnamese who served with the communist forces. Additional studies of these encounters would be helpful to determine whether direct contact or indirect contact is more apt at moving the reconciliation process forward.

The tourism experience chapter (Ch. 4) of this thesis explained the marked difference between tourism and travel. As addressed in the reconciliation with Vietnamese chapter (Ch. 8), this thesis categorized the returning veterans as tourists. Nevertheless, I recognize that within the group of Vietnam War veterans who have travelled to post-war Vietnam, there can be a further breakdown of veterans into sub-categories such as independent tourist, volunteer tourist, backpacker and political tourist. It would be beneficial to examine these sub-categories independently and comparatively because it would provide a deeper, richer understanding of the effectiveness of different types of travel in facilitating the reconciliation process.
Due to the research being based on New Zealand’s participation in the Vietnam War, there are unique historical and societal aspects that may not be valid to other post-war situations. Still, there are common themes of reconciliation with self and others that are applicable to all servicemen who have to grapple with the morality of causing harm to others even if there is ‘rightness’ attached to these actions. In addition, when war involves foreign involvement, tourism provides the opportunities to engage in intergroup contact which can facilitate the processes of peace-building and reconciliation. The New Zealand specific context of the thesis provides a potential grounding for generalisation, however validating such generalisations requires us to conduct additional research outside of New Zealand that builds upon the thesis findings and follows the presented methods.
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Appendix A: Information Sheet

Dear Participant:

I am conducting a study to investigate the effects of contact on reconciliation between the Vietnam War Veterans and the Vietnamese. This research is aimed to determine if visits by Vietnam War Veterans to Vietnam after the war is a step to reconciliation with the Vietnamese. The interview will take approximately one to one and a half hour(s) to complete. Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind. Your participation is voluntary and you may quit at any time. You have the right to refuse to answer any questions. Your written consent will be required to permit me to use your interview for my research. After the interview, you will receive a summary of your interview that you are encouraged to review and make changes to ensure the accuracy of the collected information. You are most welcome to request a copy of the results of the project. Please note that all material provided to the researcher for this project will be treated confidentially and will only be published/disseminated in a format that does not identify individuals. All information will be confidential and will only be accessible by myself and my two PhD supervisors. The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only those mentioned above will be able to gain access to it. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed. Reasonable precautions will be taken to protect and destroy data gathered by email. However, the security of electronically transmitted information cannot be guaranteed. Caution is advised in the electronic transmission of sensitive material. This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

I would like to thank you in advance for your support in this research. If you should have any questions concerning this research and/or would like access to the results from this study please contact Maria Dorsey by e-mail at dorma072@student.otago.ac.nz or by calling at (643) 470-3458. If you would like to get in contact with my primary supervisor please e-mail Associate Professor Neil Carr at neil.carr@otago.ac.nz or call him at (643) 479-5048. I greatly appreciate your assistance in completing the interview. Your participation is important to the success of my study.

Sincerely,

Maria Dorsey
PhD Student
Department of Tourism, University of Otago
Appendix B: Ethics Approval Application

HUMAN ETHICS APPLICATION: CATEGORY a

PLEASE read carefully the instructions “Filling out your Human Ethics Application” and important notes on the last page of this form. Provide a response to each question; failure to do so may delay the consideration of your application.

1. University of Otago staff member responsible for project:
   (surname) (first name) (title)
   Carr Neil Associate Professor

2. Department: Department of Tourism

3. Contact details of staff member responsible:
   Office-Commerce:4.57
   Telephone:643-479-5048
   Email neil.carr@otago.ac.nz

4. Title of project: TOURISM: A STEP TO POST-WAR RECONCILIATION

5. Indicate type of project and names of other investigators and students:

   Staff Research
   ☐ Yes

   Student Research
   Names ☐ Maria Dorsey
   Level of Study (e.g. PhD, Masters, Hons) ☐ PhD

   External Research/ Collaboration
   Names

   Institute/Company
6. Is this a repeated class teaching activity?

   YES [X] NO

   If YES, and this application is to continue a previously approved repeated class teaching activity, please provide Reference Number:

7. Fast-Track procedure

   Do you request fast-track consideration? (See 'Filling Out Your Human Ethics Application')

   YES / [X] NO

   If YES, please state specific reasons:

8. When will recruitment and data collection commence? October 1, 2011

   When will data collection be completed? August 1, 2013

9. Funding of project.

   Is the project to be funded by an external grant?

   YES / [X] NO

   If YES, please specify who is funding the project:

   If commercial use will be made of the data, will potential participants be made aware of this before they agree to participate? If not, please explain: N/A No commercial use will be made of the data.

10. Brief description in lay terms of the purpose of the project (approx. 75 words):

   The purpose of this project is to explore the diverse effects of contact on the relations between the New Zealand Vietnam War Veterans and the Vietnamese in post-war Vietnam. The research will analyze whether or not intergroup contact in these post-war visits has positive or negative effects on New Zealand Vietnam War Veteran’s psycho-social healing and orientations toward Vietnam and the Vietnamese people.

11. Aim of project, including the research questions the project is intended to answer:

   This project aims to address the effects of contact between the New Zealand Vietnam War Veterans and the Vietnamese in post-war Vietnam. The researcher proposes any intergroup contact that may occur during these visits between the returning Vietnam War Veterans and the Vietnamese may influence the Vietnam War Veterans motivation to rethink war time relations with the Vietnamese. In order to better understand the role of these return trips to Vietnam in regards to reconciliation, the collected data of the participants with no intent to return to Vietnam post-war will be compared to the collected data of those who have returned to Vietnam post-war. The following are the research questions that this project intends to address:

   1) Is contact a necessary condition for reconciliation to occur between former enemies of war?

   2) Are the conditions of contact theory as defined by Amir (1969) and meta-analyzed by Pettigrew & Tropp (2006) essential for reconciliation to occur between former enemies of war?
3) Do visits to former battlefield and war memorial sites impede or facilitate contact and reconciliation between former enemies of war?

12. Researcher or instructor experience and qualifications in this research area:

The researcher has completed a Master’s of Science within the Parks, Recreation and Tourism Department at the University Of Missouri in the United States. The Masters program included coursework on best methods and practices in conducting both qualitative and quantitative research. The researcher has previously conducted quantitative research at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial for the fulfilment of her Master’s thesis in which human ethics approval was granted. As a result of her previous research conducted at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial the researcher has gained the necessary skills to conduct this emotionally charged research in an ethical manner. Furthermore the researcher was a Research Assistant that collected and analyzed data for various research projects for the University of Missouri Parks, Recreation and Tourism Department.

The researcher will receive support in conducting the qualitative research from her graduate supervisors Associate Professor Carr and Professor Clements. Both supervisors have had extensive experience in advising students on how to conduct research. Associate Professor Carr has conducted research within the Tourism field that resulted in numerous publications of his work. His research encompasses a variety of interests focused around leisure and tourism behaviour. They include the role of leisure and tourism in personal identity formation, the leisure and tourism experiences of young people, children, university students, and families, and the gendered nature of tourism and leisure. He is currently on the editorial boards of 5 journals, including the Annals of Leisure Research and is the editor of Recreation and Society in Africa, Asia and South America. Professor Clements expertise is within the field of Peace and Conflict research. Currently, he is the Foundation Chair of Peace and Conflict Studies and Director of the New Zealand National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Otago, Dunedin. Professor Clements has written or edited 7 books and over 150 chapters/articles on conflict transformation, peace building, preventive diplomacy and development with a specific focus on the Asia Pacific region. He is also an expert on South East Asia and ASEAN with a long standing interest in Vietnam.

13. Participants

13(a) Population from which participants are drawn: New Zealand Vietnam War Veterans.

13(b) Specify inclusion and exclusion criteria: This study will include New Zealand Vietnam War Veterans who served in different capacities in Vietnam during the Vietnam War (1964-1973). Participants will be Vietnam War Veterans who will be recruited based on whether they have or are going to be travelling to Vietnam and Vietnam War Veterans who have no intent to visit Vietnam post Vietnam War. The participants must be accessible to the interviewee that can result in a face to face, e-mail, letter or video interview. Attempts will be made to conduct all interviews within New Zealand, but in the event that the interviewee is
located outside of New Zealand and the interviewee requests a face to face interview, the interview may take place at the locale of the interviewee (may include but not limited to the United States, Australia, and Vietnam).

13(c) **Estimated numbers of participants:** The estimated number of participants is at maximum 50. This number of participants is subject to change and interviews will be conducted until there is redundancy in the data collected or the information is deemed sufficient for discussing the phenomenon in question. At this point it is thought that a maximum of 50 participants will be sufficient for this research, but it is not feasible to provide a precise number due to the nature of the qualitative research.

13(d) **Age range of participants:** 50+

13(e) **Method of recruitment:** Purposive sampling methods which are commonly used in qualitative research (Tashakkori & Teddie, 2003) will be implemented in order to recruit participants; who have served in the Vietnam War who are planning or have made a return trip to Vietnam post-war and Vietnam War Veterans with no intent to return to Vietnam post-war. Purposive sampling methods was chosen because they will empower the researcher to make conscious decisions of choosing participants who will best answer the research questions (Teddle & Yu, 2007; Crookes and Davis, 1998). All potential participants will be contacted via phone, fax, letter or e-mail by the researcher to determine their interest in volunteering to be interviewed and to determine if they meet the requirements of the project. If the potential participants are agreeable to be interviewed, they will be sent the information sheet containing research details via letter, e-mail or fax. A follow up email, letter, fax or phone call by the researcher will confirm the participant’s participation and the interview phase will be initiated (as described in section 14).

Participants will be recruited using the following methods:

1) New Zealand Vietnam War Veterans who are discovered through the following methods; electronic discussion boards and blogs posted by Vietnam War Veterans, previous interviews with Vietnam War Veterans by news reporters, researchers and book authors, thesis dissertations, historical books on the Vietnam War and memoirs written by Vietnam War Veterans describing their experiences that involved the Vietnam War may be contacted to participate in the project.

2) Contact with New Zealand organizations affiliated with the Vietnam War to provide possible participants willing to be interviewed. Examples of organizations in the recruitment drive include but are not necessarily limited to: Returned and Services’ Association, Ex Vietnam Association, Veterans’ Affairs New Zealand, and Vietnam Veterans Action Group Incorporated.

3) Advertisement in published magazines and newspapers will be used to recruit participants that are associated with New Zealand organizations affiliated with the
Vietnam War. These published materials may include but is not limited to Contact a
publication of the Ex-Vietnam Services Association Inc and the Australian & NZ
Defender magazine (please see attached advertisement).

4) Vietnam War Veterans will be recruited by advertisement in New Zealand newspapers
and New Zealand university newsletters. These published materials may include but is
not limited to be as follows: Otago Bulletin, the Otago Daily Times and The Dominion
Post (please see attached advertisement).

5) Vietnam War Veterans will be contacted by using the snowball sampling method. The
snowball sampling method finds an individual who has the “required characteristics and
then uses the person’s social networks to recruit similar participants in a multistage
process” (Sadler et al., 2010, p. 370). In all instances, the individual who has
recommended a possible participant will be asked if they would like to personally
contact and ask the individual about their interest in participation or grant permission for
the researcher to contact the potential interviewee in which the person making the
recommendation will have the choice to remain anonymous or not.

For additional information that addresses the issue of consent from these sources please
refer to section 14 under the heading of Methods and Procedures.

Due to the approximately 30% of those who served in Vietnam during the war
identifying themselves as Maori (Vincent et al., 1994) efforts will be made to include
this segment of the population in the interview process. Included in this humans ethic
application (15 h) is the request for a Maori consultation to assist in determining the
best method in recruiting from this population.

13(f) Please specify any payment or reward to be offered: none

14. Methods and Procedures:

The researcher proposes that the research will be conducted primarily through the qualitative
research methods of document analysis and semi-structured in-depth interviews. Document
analysis will require the collected data to be examined and interpretive to garner meaning, gain
understanding and develop knowledge of post-war visits by New Zealand Vietnam War
Veterans as it relates to reconciliation with the Vietnamese (Bowen, 2009; Corbin & Strauss,
2008; Rapley, 2007). By drawing on multiple sources of evidence the researcher will avoid the
project’s results losing credibility because of the usage of a single source of information, single
research method and single researcher’s bias (Patton, 1989). Furthermore, qualitative research
will allow the project the means to generate rich, descriptive data that will provide a better
understanding of the phenomenon of Vietnam War Veterans returning to Vietnam post war and
how these visits impact reconciliation between former foes.

The researcher will use the qualitative research methods of primary, secondary and longitudinal
document analysis in order to study in detail the contact of New Zealand Vietnam Veterans with
the Viet Cong, the North Vietnamese Army and the general Vietnamese population pre-war,
during the war and post-war). The documents will be primarily retrieved by utilizing library and museum resources, using internet and blog search engines, and soliciting documents from participants, historians and other academic researchers. These research methods will involve the collection and review of relevant documentation pertaining to the Vietnam War Veterans. As Merriam (1988) pointed out, “Documents of all types can help the researcher uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights relevant to the research problem” (p. 118). Moreover, document analysis will allow the researcher to track individual and social change of the New Zealand Vietnam War Veterans towards the Vietnamese, corroborate with other research findings of the project, and provide the historical background of the studied phenomenon that will insure more accurate results (Bowen, 2009). Specifically, longitudinal document analysis will be utilized with the objective of examining documents to determine and describe any attitudinal changes that occurred over time in Vietnam Veterans feelings toward the people who served in the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese Army and the general Vietnamese population. Longitudinal qualitative research will be beneficial to draw upon because it seeks to “explore change over time through more than one episode of data collection” (Lewis, 2007, p.545). Furthermore, through the utilization of diverse documentation will allow the researcher a wider breadth of information to garner a more comprehensive understanding of the subject matter.

Documents that may be used for analysis as part of this project may include the following variety of forms:

- Film documentaries, radio and television broadcasts on the Vietnam War and Vietnam War Veterans travelling to Vietnam post-war.

- Published and unpublished qualitative interviews which have been collected for a variety of purposes other than this thesis by people other than the PhD student involved in this research. The research will include interviews with Vietnam War Veterans that have discussed their experiences as Vietnam Veterans before, during and after the war ended. Additionally interviews with Vietnam War Veterans that describe their experiences of travelling to Vietnam post-war.

- Diaries, journals, thesis dissertations, letters, blogs, discussion boards and published memoirs and books that describe Vietnam War Veterans experiences with the Vietnam War: before, during and after it ended with an emphasis on travelling to Vietnam post-war.

- Newspaper articles that include interviews with Vietnam War Veterans that discuss the Vietnam War and returning to Vietnam post-war.

- Public speeches from Vietnam War Veterans and government officials that address the Vietnam War.

- Published books on the Vietnam War.
• Published and unpublished photographs that depict intergroup contact between the Vietnamese and Vietnam Veterans during and after the Vietnam War.

• Websites that may include but is not limited to the following: New Zealand History online, Auckland War Memorial Museum and National Army Museum located in Waiouru, New Zealand

All potential participants will be invited to become co-researchers on this project. Through encouraging a more involved relationship with the co-researchers that is fostered with mutual respect and trustworthiness, it is expected that this research method will help produce a more relevant and meaningful study. The co-researchers will investigate the issues together in all stages of research. Specifically, the research is designed to involve the Vietnam War Veterans in the following aspects; to help determine what questions/issues should be addressed during the semi-structured interviews, to assist in analyzing the collected data and to insure the accuracy and relevancy of the results.

The researcher will use a constructionist research approach in which the individual contributions of both the researcher and the interviewee will be acknowledged in the shared space of the interview (Gubrium & Koro-Ljungberg, 2005). Although the researcher has developed the main aim for this project, the co-researchers will be encouraged to provide input in constructing the sub-aims to help steer the study in a direction that is mutually agreeable. In doing so the participants are empowered to choose what specific questions and issues they want to be addressed within the project’s framework constructed by the researcher (McLaughlin, 2005). Furthermore, the participants will be co-researchers in that they will be considered equals in the construction of the knowledge and meanings garnered from their own interview to insure the accuracy of the project’s results by reducing the effect of the researcher’s biases and inexperience in fighting in the Vietnam War. Moreover, the co-researchers will be asked to aid in the researcher’s analysis of the collected documents to eliminate misinterpretations that would adversely affect the accuracy of the project’s results.

Consent to use documents

Due to copyright and privacy issues in attaining some of these documents there may be a need to secure permission to use these documents. The protocol to obtain consent may vary on a case by case basis and will be dependent on the use of the document within the research, whether it is publically or privately available, and if the document is being held individually or by an organization.

• Blogs and discussion boards, film documentaries, newspapers, television and radio broadcasts, websites, published memoirs and books are part of the public domain thereby permission to use these materials for the study is not needed. Care will be taken when using publicly available data to insure participants will not be identified.

• Similar to face-to-face interviews, surveys and diaries the use of blogs and discussion boards in research is presented with the issue of validity of the participant’s responses.
According to Hookway (2008) the anonymity of the context of these blogs enables the authors to write more candidly and honestly which would then support their legitimacy. The researcher will attempt to contact the authors of these blogs and discussion boards to invite them to become part of the research. In cases in which the author cannot be contacted, the data source will be considered indirectly obtained since the blog and discussion boards are publically displayed on the internet and the author of the blog or website may be unaware of the use of their narratives and quotes within the thesis.

- In the course of conducting the research, the researcher may become an active participant on the blogs and discussion boards. In such cases the moderator of the blog and discussion boards will be emailed a copy of the advertisement, information sheet and request for permission to post. If an email contact or one-way chat program username is not provided, a comment will be left in the moderator’s blog. If permission is given, the researcher will then join the blog/discussion board. This is necessary as posting access may be restricted to community membership. This method is essential to the research because it allows for an efficient manner to capture information that would either wise be difficult to attain due to the mobility of the participants.

- Primary data such as unpublished interviews and diaries that is not publicly available, a letter from the source(s) authorizing access to the data or, if the data were purchased commercially, a copy of the contract authorizing the use of the data will be secured.

2) In-depth interviews are an open-ended, discovery-oriented research method that is suitable for describing processes and outcomes from the perspective of the target group (Family Youth and Community Sciences Department, 2006; DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; Morecroft et al., 2004). In depth interviews will give the researcher the opportunity to co-create meaning with interviewees by reconstructing perceptions of events and experiences related to their experience of serving in the Vietnam War and visiting Vietnam post-war (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree). Furthermore, in depth interviewees with the Vietnam War Veterans who have no intent to return to Vietnam post war will provide a clearer understanding of the barriers that preclude Vietnam War Veterans from returning to Vietnam post war and how it affects their ability to reconcile with the Vietnamese.

The goal of the in-depth interviews used in this study will be to explore the respondent's viewpoints, thoughts and perceptions of the Vietnamese prior to, during and post Vietnam War. Furthermore the topic of travelling to Vietnam post war will be addressed with reference to their visiting Vietnam. The in-depth interviews will be conducted with New Zealand Vietnam War Veterans who have visited Vietnam post-war and those who have not returned to Vietnam after the war. The interview will be semi-structured and includes a list of topics that are designed to gain the needed information for analysis (please refer to list of topics attached). The expected duration of these interviews is expected to be between one to one and a half hours.

Pre-interview phase: Potential interviewees will be contacted via phone, letter or by e-mail to discuss their eligibility and willingness to participate in the study. A follow-up call, fax, letter or
e-mail will be sent to determine the preferred mode (video, face-to-face, e-mail or by letter),
time and location of the interview. Those potential interviewees who have been contacted but
are unwilling to be interviewed for the study will be thanked for their time and asked if they
know and are willing to give contact information of people who may potentially want to be part
of the research. The potential interviewees will be encouraged to provide questions and issues
that they feel relevant on the topic of reconciliation in relation to post war visits to Vietnam by
Vietnam War Veterans.

**Interview phase:** The researcher will interview the participant at the agreed place and time
either in person or by video. Interviewees will be briefed on the research project, will be given
the opportunity to ask questions and given the assurance that they may opt out at any given
point during the interview. All interviews will require the interviewees’ consent (the consent for
the interviews will be made explicit in the information sheet and consent form). The potential
interviewees agreeable to participating in the project will be asked to sign the consent form.
Interviewees will be asked to have their interviews digitally recorded but if the interviewee does
not agree to be recorded, field notes will be taken during the interview and summarized post
interview. Field notes, including a description of the setting and the behaviours of the researcher
and interviewees will be taken during all of the face to face and video interviews. Note taking
during and immediately after interviews has been shown to be vital to the reliability, validity,
and veracity of qualitative data collection (MacLean et al., 2004; Seale & Silverman, 1997;
Wengraf, 2001 as cited in Halcombe & Davidson, 2006). As a co-researcher the interviewee
may at times be asked by the interviewer during the interview to clarify certain points and given
the opportunity to correct the interviewer.

In order to empower the interviewees as co-researchers on how the research is conducted, the
interviewee also has the option of answering the interview questions by correspondence either
electronically or by mail. If this is the case the information sheet, list of questions and consent
form will be sent by mail or electronically. Interviewees will be briefed on the research project,
given the opportunity to ask questions and given the assurance that they may opt out at any
given point during the interview. Interviews through correspondence, specifically electronically
have been shown to increase a more participatory process and reflective response from the
interviewees (Reid et al., 2008; Eagan et al., 2006; Seymour, 2001). The participant is given a
choice to the manner in which they will be interviewed in order to empower A continuing
dialogue will be encouraged to persuade the interviewee to take part in the process of meaning
making of the collected data.

**Post interview phrase:** A preliminary analysis of the interview based on the interview and field
notes that include a summary will be written by the researcher. The researcher will analyze the
interviews by looking for themes, commonalities and patterns to make sense of the collected
information. Interviewees will be given a copy of their analyzed interview and will be given the
option to make changes to the analysis. There will be an open dialogue during the post interview
process in which the interviewee will be encouraged to help construct the analysis of their
interview to avoid misinterpretations and bias by the researcher. Participants will be given the
opportunity to review the completed PhD thesis prior to submission to offer comments,
suggestions and amend as they deem necessary. Although the co-researchers will be
encouraged to fully participate in the research analysis, the researcher will reserve the right to
determine the final analysis.
15. Compliance with The Privacy Act 1993 and the Health Information Privacy Code 1994 imposes strict requirements concerning the collection, use and disclosure of personal information. These questions allow the Committee to assess compliance.

15(a) Are you collecting and storing personal information directly from the individual concerned that could identify the individual?

YES / NO

15 (b) Are you collecting information about individuals from another source? Please explain: No

15(c) Collecting Personal Information:

• Will you be collecting personal information?

YES / NO

• Will you be informing participants of the purpose for which you are collecting the information and the uses you propose to make of it?

YES / NO

• Will you be informing participants who will receive the information?

YES / NO

• Will you inform participants of the consequences, if any, of not supplying the information?

YES / NO

• Will you inform the participants of their rights of access to and correction of personal information?

YES NO

Where the answer is YES, please make sure the information is available in the Information Sheet for Participants.

If you are NOT informing them of the points above, please explain why:

15(d) Please outline your data storage and security procedures.

In order to protect the participants’ anonymity, measures including the usage of pseudonyms and hiding the user names, domain names, and any other personal identifiers when publishing or storing interview data will be applied to research collected by e-mail interviews, discussion boards and blogs. The interviews will be erased from the digital voice recorders after they have been summarized. During data analysis, all original data and summary information will be accessible only by the student researcher, kept secure in the student’s University of Otago office and assessed by a password locked computer. At the conclusion of the project the collected data will be stored at the University during the allocated collection time and for 5 years after
publication of material: thereafter, it will be destroyed by the department secretary. Archival of original data for 5 years is a requirement by the University of Otago.

15(e) Who will have access to personal information, under what conditions, and subject to what safeguards?

I and my two PhD supervisors will have unlimited full access to the personal information. For analysis purposes summaries will be coded to ensure confidentiality. Data will be stored in the student researcher’s password protected computer and University office.

Will participants have access to the information they have provided? Yes, the results of the research will be made available to participants after the completion of the research. Participants will be informed of this prior to collection. Participants will be given a copy of their summarized interview and will be given the option to edit their answers before the content of the interview is analyzed.

15(f) Do you intend to publish any personal information they have provided?

NO

If YES, please specify in what form you intend to do this? Data is being collected for the purpose of publishing in the researcher’s PhD thesis as well as in academic journals and may also be disseminated through academic conferences and local media. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) but every attempt will be made to preserve the participants’ anonymity. Names will not be used in any publication or during dissemination of information; rather, personal information will be associated only to an anonymous interview code/number.

15(g) Do you propose to collect demographic information to describe your sample? For example: gender, age, ethnicity, education level, etc.

Yes, demographic information will be collected to describe my sample and will include gender and ethnicity in order to apply analysis on possible differences or similarities within the sample.

15 (h) Have you, or do you propose to undertake Māori consultation? Please choose one of the options below, and delete the options that do not apply:

(Please see http://www.otago.ac.nz/research/maoriconsultation/index.html).

YES / NO

We WILL undertake consultation

16. Does the research or teaching project involve any form of deception?

YES / NO
If yes, please explain all debriefing procedures:

17. **Please disclose and discuss any potential problems:** (For example: medical/legal problems, issues with disclosure, conflict of interest, etc). The following is a review of the possible human subject issues and an outline of solutions:

1. **Collection of personal information.** The emotional topics as well as the in-depth, long term contact with the participants may result in a lack of clarity in boundaries between the researcher and the participants of the project. These boundaries will be “negotiated and renegotiated, as an ongoing part of the research process, as a balance is sought between the dangers and benefits of being too far in or too far out of the lives of the researched” (Gilbert, 2001, p.12). The researcher will communicate with the participants clearly when needed that her role is as researcher and not as a therapist although the researcher acknowledges that the participant may perceive therapeutic benefits from participating in the project (Dickson-Swift, 2006). No legal or sensitive material is involved with this research project. The only personal information to be gathered includes age, gender, nationality, and highest level of education. This information will not be connected to the name of the participant. All responses are to remain anonymous. All participants will be made aware that their participation is completely voluntary and that they may withdraw from participation from the project at any time and without disadvantage to themselves of any kind.

2. **Internet recruitment of participants and use of blogs/ discussion boards/website material.** Some information via blogs/ discussion boards/websites may be included in the discussion and analysis portion of this thesis. A genuine attempt will be made to ensure confidentiality; however, due to the public nature of the internet, there is some potential to trace information back to an individual website using search engines. Information and direct quotes from blogs/discussion boards/websites will be coded when used in this thesis and web addresses will not be cited in an attempt to keep information anonymous.

3. **Interview site/location.** There is potential to conduct interviews outside of New Zealand depending on the location of the participant. An attempt will be made to conduct interviews within New Zealand; a safety plan will be devised to be approved by the Department of Tourism’s graduate research committee to minimise any potential travel risks involved.

18. **Applicant's Signature:** .......

[Principal Applicant: as specified in Question 1]

**Date:** 24. 8. 11

19. **Departmental approval:** *I have read this application and believe it to be scientifically and ethically sound. I approve the research design. The Research proposed in this application is compatible with the University of Otago policies and I give my consent for the application to be forwarded to the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee with my recommendation that it be approved.*
Signature of Head of Department: ........ ........................................

Name of Signatory (please print): ......Dr Brent Lovelock, Chair, Dept Tourism Ethics Ctte, designated authority ......................

Date: ....24th August 2011..............................
Appendix C: New Zealand Vietnam War Timeline

Timeline of NZ involvement in the Vietnam (http://www.vietnamwar.govt.nz/resources/timeline)

The following is a timeline that denotes the involvement of New Zealand military and medical support during the Vietnam War:

April 1963: New Zealand civilian surgical team arrives in Vietnam

June 1964: New Zealand Army Detachment arrives in Vietnam

July 1965: NEWZAD withdrawn from Vietnam; 161 Battery, Royal New Zealand Artillery arrives based at Bien Hoa air base as part of the US 173rd Airborne Brigade

June 1966: 161 Battery, RNZA under operational control of the 1st Australian Task Force at Nui Dat in the Phuoc Tuy province

August 1966: 161 Battery, RNZA involved in the Battle of Long Tan

April 1967: New Zealand medical team arrives and is based at Bong Son

May 1967: Victor 1 Company, 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment deployed to Vietnam from Malaysia

November 1967: Victor 1 Company, 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment leaves Vietnam; Victor 2 Company, 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment arrives in Vietnam

December 1967: Whiskey 1 Company, 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment deployed to Vietnam from Malaysia

March 1968: New Zealand infantry companies move from control of 2nd Battalion, The Royal Australian Regiment (2RAR), to integration within Anzac Battalion; both battalions part of 1st Australian Task Force based at Nui Dat, Phouc Tuy province

May 1968: Victor 2 Company, 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment leaves Vietnam; Victor 3 Company, 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment, arrives in Vietnam

November 1968: Whiskey 1 Company, 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment leaves Vietnam; Whiskey 2 Company, 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment arrives in Vietnam

May 1969: Victor 3 Company, 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment (1RNZIR), leaves Vietnam; Victor 4 Company, 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment arrives in Vietnam
**November 1969:** Whiskey 2 Company, 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment leaves Vietnam; Whiskey 3 Company, 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment arrives in Vietnam

**May 1970:** V4 (Victor 4) Company, 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment leaves Vietnam; Victor 5 Company, 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment arrives in Vietnam

**November 1970:** W3 (Whiskey 3) Company, 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment leaves Vietnam

**January 1971:** First New Zealand Army Training Team Vietnam deployed at the National Training Centre at Chi Lang

**May 1971:** 161 Battery & RNZA withdrawn from Vietnam; Victor 5 Company, 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment leaves Vietnam; Victor 6 Company, 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment arrives in Vietnam

**December 1971:** New Zealand Services medical team withdrawn from Vietnam; Victor 6 Company, 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment leaves Vietnam

**March 1972:** Second New Zealand Army Training Team Vietnam arrives at Dong Ba Thin

**December 1972:** 1NZATTV and 2NZATTV training teams withdrawn from Vietnam

**March 1975:** New Zealand civilian surgical team leaves Vietnam

**April 1975:** New Zealand Ambassador to South Vietnam evacuated from Saigon by 41 Squadron, RNZAF; this is the last RNZAF flight out of Vietnam
Appendix D: NZ Government inquiry about Agent Orange
(The entire document can be found at http://www.vvanz.com/pdfs/rpt-2004-chadwick/2004chadwick.pdf)

Inquiry into the exposure of New Zealand defence personnel to Agent Orange and other defoliant chemicals during the Vietnam War and any health effects of that exposure, and transcripts of evidence

Report of the Health Committee

Forty-seventh Parliament
(Steve Chadwick, Chairperson)
October 2004

Presented to the House of Representatives
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Inquiry into the exposure of New Zealand defence personnel to Agent Orange and other defoliant chemicals during the Vietnam War and any health effects of that exposure

Summary of recommendations
Following its inquiry, the Health Committee makes the following recommendations to the Government:

- that it accept that New Zealand’s Vietnam veterans were exposed to a toxic environment (page 20)
- that it publicly acknowledge that successive governments have failed to recognise that Vietnam veterans were exposed to a toxic environment during their service (page 20)
- that it ensure a lead Government agency maintains an overview of the commissioning of research by Government departments when that research covers multiple policy areas, to ensure there are clear and specific terms of reference for such research (page 28)
- that Veterans Affairs New Zealand develop an information package that clearly advises Vietnam veterans about their entitlements to pensions and other services, and how to access these (page 35)
- that Veterans Affairs New Zealand be responsible for a campaign to inform health professionals about the specific health needs of Vietnam veterans, based on the presumption that Vietnam veterans were exposed to a toxic environment (page 38)
- that Veterans Affairs New Zealand compile a list of health professionals who are conversant with the specific health needs of New Zealand Vietnam veterans and provide this list to all New Zealand Vietnam veterans (page 38)
- that it establish a fund to support New Zealand-based scrutiny, analysis, surveillance, and monitoring of international research literature on health outcomes, including intergenerational effects, resulting from dioxin exposure (page 39)
- that it ensure Veterans Affairs New Zealand monitors the list of diseases and conditions that may have been caused by herbicide exposure during the Vietnam War and updates and extends it whenever international research indicates this is appropriate (page 39)
- that it ensure all children of New Zealand Vietnam veterans are entitled to reimbursement of additional costs associated with medical treatment for any condition listed as being related to dioxin exposure, and that any future needs are met should that list expand (page 39)
Appendix E: Memorandum of Understanding

Dated 6th December 2006

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

THE EX-VIETNAM SERVICES ASSOCIATION

AND

THE ROYAL NEW ZEALAND RETURNED AND SERVICES ASSOCIATION

AND

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN IN RIGHT OF NEW ZEALAND
This Memorandum of Understanding is DATED the 6th day of December 2006

PARTIES

1. THE EX-VIETNAM SERVICES ASSOCIATION (the “EVSA”);

2. THE ROYAL NEW ZEALAND RETURNED AND SERVICES ASSOCIATION (the “RSA”) and together with the “EVSA” (the “Veterans Associations”); and

3. HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN IN RIGHT OF NEW ZEALAND (the “Crown”) acting by and through the Honourable Phil Goff, Minister of Defence and the Honourable Rick Barker, Minister for Veterans Affairs.

BACKGROUND

A. The Health Select Committee of the House of Representatives held an inquiry into the health of Viet Nam Veterans in 2003/4. That inquiry raised serious issues about the health care of Veterans and made various recommendations to address those issues. As a result of the Health Select Committee’s report and representations from the Veterans Associations, the Government agreed to the establishment of a Joint Working Group (the “JWG”) to consider certain issues concerning Veterans. The JWG met with and received written submissions from a large number of Veterans and their families and delivered to the Government on 28 April 2006 a substantive report with recommendations. Since then the Crown and the Veterans Associations have been engaged in talks in relation to the JWG’s recommendations and ways of addressing the concerns of Viet Nam Veterans.

B. The Parties have agreed that they should sign this Memorandum Of Understanding (the “Memorandum”) as a way of formalising the position they have reached in relation to a package of measures for Veterans which will make up the Veterans’ Package (the “Package”).

C. The Package includes:

(i) an acknowledgement and apology to all Viet Nam Veterans,
(ii) a comprehensive range of measures for addressing short and medium-term health and warfare issues for Viet Nam Veterans and, where appropriate, their immediate families;
(iii) a Welcome Home Ceremony for Viet Nam Veterans incorporating aspects of Whakapapa;
(iv) clarification of the current and proposed future entitlements for Viet Nam Veterans and certain entitlements for all Veterans;
(v) a review and rewrite of the substantive legislation, the WPA, for all Veterans; and
(vi) a review of the delivery of services to all Veterans, including options for the future placement, responsibilities and resourcing of VANZ.

D. This Memorandum is not intended to be legally binding on the Parties, but is instead a statement of the Parties’ respective positions and best endeavours intentions.

IT IS STATED:

1. DEFINITIONS AND INTERPRETATION:

1.1 In this Memorandum, including in the Background, unless the context otherwise requires:

“child” means a child of a Veteran and includes a Natural Child, step-child or adopted child;
“dollars” or “$” is a reference to New Zealand currency;

“Expert Panel” means a panel of medical and other experts convened to consider relevant medical research and to make recommendations to the Secretary of War Pensions on the appropriate rate of War Disability Pension payments, and any consequential entitlements to Veterans for disabilities not included in the Ninth Schedule to the WPA as at the date of execution of this Memorandum;

“family” means a member of the Veteran’s family, whanau or other culturally recognised family group;

“Five Accepted Conditions” means the five conditions listed in schedule 2 to this Memorandum;

“Immediate family” means a member of the Veteran’s immediate family group which might include a Spouse or Partner, child, grandchild, sibling, parent (including step-parent) or primary caregiver;

“including” and similar words do not imply any limitation;

“Natural Child” means a Veteran’s son or daughter who is genetically related to that Veteran;

“NZDF” means the New Zealand Defence Force;

references to a “party” include a reference to that party’s successors and permitted assignees;

“Prescribed Conditions” means, from time to time, a medical condition that is listed on the United States Academy of Sciences Institute of Medicine “sufficient evidence of association list” (the “IOM list”);

“Prescribed List” means the conditions listed on the IOM list as at the date of execution of this Memorandum and as attached as schedule 1 to this Memorandum;

“Reeves and McLeod Reports” means each of the reports authored by Reeves, Sir P; Faulkner, M; Birks, A; Feek, C; Heim, P and dated June 1999; and authored by Dr Deborah McLeod and dated August 2001;

“Service” means service of New Zealand in the armed forces, Mercantile Marines or as a member of the Emergency Reserve Corps;

“Spouse” or “Partner” has the same meaning as in the Property (Relationships) Act 1976;

“Surviving Spouse Pension” means a pension for surviving spouses or partners of deceased members payable under the WPA;

“terminal illness” means an advanced progressive disease likely to cause death within twelve (12) months of the date of diagnosis;

“VANZ” means Veterans Affairs New Zealand;

“Veteran” has the same meaning as in the WPA;

“Viet Nam Veteran” means a Veteran who served in Viet Nam during the period 1964 to 1972 inclusive; and
“WPA” means the War Pensions Act 1954.

1.2 Headings are inserted for convenience only and do not affect the interpretation of this Memorandum.

1.3 The singular includes the plural and vice versa.

2. STATUS, APOLOGY AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

2.1 The Veterans Associations confirm to the Crown that they have negotiated and signed this Memorandum on behalf of their members and that they have the mandate to do so. However, the signing of this Memorandum is without prejudice to the rights of any individuals against any person.

2.2 The Veterans Associations will assist the Crown to compile a database of Viet Nam Veterans in a form permitted by, or to the extent permitted by, law. The Crown will then make a formal public apology (the “Apology”) to Viet Nam Veterans and their families. The Crown will use its best endeavours to ensure that the Apology is widely circulated within New Zealand, and is made available to Veterans living overseas.

2.3 The Apology will:

(a) acknowledge the Service to New Zealand of all Viet Nam Veterans;

(b) acknowledge the failure of the Crown to address concerns raised by the Viet Nam Veterans in relation to their exposure to the toxic environment during their Service in Viet Nam and the effects of any subsequent delays in, or lack of treatment of, the Viet Nam Veterans after that exposure;

(c) publicly reiterate existing government policy in relation to the treatment of Viet Nam Veterans who have been affected by the toxic environment in Viet Nam; and

(d) acknowledge that the conclusions and recommendations of the Reeves and McLeod Reports do not form the basis of current government policy because of the limited and at times incorrect information available to the authors and that there is no intention that they should form the basis for future government policy in relation to the treatment of Viet Nam Veterans.

2.4 The Crown will inform the major Parliamentary parties and invite them to support publicly the Package.

3. WELCOME HOME CEREMONY AND PROCESS

3.1 The Crown agrees to hold a Welcome Home Ceremony where a senior representative of NZDF will deliver a formal statement to Viet Nam Veterans. The ceremony will include a Whakapaeo process.

3.2 The formal statement by the NZDF at the Welcome Home Ceremony will address the following matters:

(a) a formal acknowledgement of the Service to New Zealand of all Viet Nam Veterans;

(b) a formal welcome back to New Zealand from Service to the Viet Nam Veterans;

(c) a formal remembrance for deceased Viet Nam Veterans;

(d) recognition that the Viet Nam Veterans were not well treated on return from Service in Viet Nam;

(e) the actions of the NZDF in relation to information in their possession, power or control regarding the treatment received by Viet Nam Veterans after their exposure to the toxic environment.
including an acknowledgement of the existence of correspondence held by the NZDF written in 1986 which had not previously been acted on or made available for earlier reviews; and

(f) Viet Nam Veterans’ concerns surrounding the disappearance of all or parts of Viet Nam Veterans’ personal medical files.

3.3 NZDF (on behalf of the Crown) will establish a Viet Nam special exhibition at the venue selected for the Welcome Home Ceremony to assist Viet Nam Veterans’ transition to Whakatane.

3.4 The Crown will set aside funding to make a contribution to the reasonable travel and accommodation costs within New Zealand for Viet Nam Veterans and their immediate families to attend the Welcome Home Ceremony.

3.5 The NZDF (on behalf of the Crown) will convene a commemorative parade at the Welcome Home Ceremony to acknowledge the Service of the Viet Nam Veterans and to remember deceased Viet Nam Veterans.

4. ORAL HISTORY PROGRAMME

4.1 The Crown will support the recording of oral accounts of the experiences of Viet Nam Veterans and their families. The recordings will be made with the assistance of oral historians.

4.2 The Crown will provide funding for the oral history programme through the Ministry of Culture and Heritage up to but not exceeding $200,000 per annum for four years following the commencement of the oral history programme.

4.3 The oral history programme will commence during 2007 at a date to be agreed between the Veterans Associations and the Ministry of Culture and Heritage (on behalf of the Crown).

5. INCREASED MEDALLIC RECOGNITION

5.1 The Crown will recommend to Her Majesty the Queen that she approve the South Vietnamese Gallantry Awards to be worn by the 12 Viet Nam Veterans who received the awards from the former Government of South Vietnam.

5.2 The Crown will sympathetically consider medallic recognition for Viet Nam Veterans based on the submission received from the RSA to extend eligibility of the New Zealand General Service Medal 1992 (Wartime) with clasp “Vietnam” to those Viet Nam Veterans who are currently eligible for the Vietnam Medal 1994.

5.3 The Crown will sympathetically consider current battle/theatre honours criteria and their application to the RNZIR South Vietnam Theatre Honour so as to acknowledge the Service of Rifle Companies Victor 5 and Victor 6.

6. EX GRATIA PAYMENTS FOR VIET NAM VETERANS

6.1 The Crown will make a one-off ex gratia payment of $40,000 to each Viet Nam Veteran who suffers from a Prescribed Condition.

6.2 For the avoidance of doubt, any Viet Nam Veteran suffering from a medical condition which becomes a Prescribed Condition after the execution of this Memorandum will be entitled to the same one-off ex gratia payment as is referred to in clause 6.1 and all other benefits to which Viet Nam Veterans suffering from conditions on the Prescribed List are entitled.

6.3 The Crown agrees to make available a one-off ex gratia payment of $25,000 for a Spouse or Partner
of a Viet Nam Veteran where there is reasonable evidence that the Viet Nam Veteran has died of a Prescribed Condition and has not previously received an ex gratia payment under clause 6.1 or 6.2 for that Prescribed Condition, and at its discretion to make that payment available to a former spouse or partner.

7. WAR DISABLEMENT PENSION

7.1 The eligibility criteria for Service-related health conditions will be reviewed to ensure that the "reverse onus of proof" standard is applied to all Veterans uniformly. The "reverse onus of proof" standard means that a condition or illness suffered by a Veteran is to be considered to relate to the Veteran's Service, unless there is proof to the contrary.

7.2 All Veterans who have been diagnosed by a registered medical practitioner with a terminal illness resulting from Service will be entitled to a War Disablement Pension equal to but not exceeding 160% of the current War Disablement Pension under the WPA.

7.3 The Crown has agreed to undertake a substantive review of the WPA. The Veterans Associations will be invited to contribute to the policy work and will be provided with regular updates on the progress of this review. The Veterans Associations will have another opportunity to set out their views during the Select Committee stages in the House. The purpose of this review is to provide a legislative environment that is appropriate for the conditions that Veterans now face and to improve service delivery for all Veterans.

7.4 The eligibility criteria for a Surviving Spouse Pension under the WPA will be reviewed as part of the WPA review process.

8. EXPERT PANEL

8.1 The Crown will establish the Expert Panel. The first priority of the Expert Panel will be to assess and recommend the appropriate rates of pensions, and any consequential entitlements for Viet Nam Veterans suffering from a Prescribed Condition and for Viet Nam Veterans suffering from a condition listed on the IOM "limited or suggestive evidence list". The IOM "limited or suggestive evidence list" as at the date of execution of this Memorandum is attached to this Memorandum as schedule 5.

8.2 The Expert Panel will focus on creating uniform standards and criteria to ensure that all Veterans with equal degrees of disability are treated fairly and consistently.

8.3 Any changes to the War Disablement Pension rates for specific conditions arising from the recommendations of the Expert Panel will be back-dated to the date of diagnosis and/or other appropriate milestones identified by the Expert Panel (where a range of rates are recommended for any single condition).

9. PROGRAMME FOR CHILDREN OF VIET NAM VETERANS

9.1 The Crown agrees to provide ex gratia payments of up to $30,000 for each Natural Child who suffers from any of the Five Accepted Conditions as at the date of execution of this Memorandum.

9.2 The Crown will review services provided by other governments including, but not limited to, Australia and the United States of America, to children or grandchildren of veterans of those governments who were in service in Viet Nam. The Crown will consider whether there are any programmes that could be introduced in New Zealand for children or grandchildren of Viet Nam Veterans.

9.3 The Crown will consider how the access to and dissemination of relevant research on the intergenerational effects of the toxic environment that the Viet Nam Veterans were exposed to, can be improved.
10. LUMP SUM PAYMENTS FOR FAMILIES OF DECEASED NATURAL CHILDREN WITH ONE OR MORE OF THE FIVE ACCEPTED CONDITIONS

10.1 Subject to clause 10.2, the Crown agrees to provide for one-off ex gratia payments of $30,000 to the immediate family of a Natural Child of a Viet Nam Veteran who has reasonable evidence that the Natural Child of the Viet Nam Veteran has died from one or more of the Five Accepted Conditions. Such payments are to be made to the immediate family in an equitable fashion. For the avoidance of doubt, an ex gratia payment under this clause is in addition to any ex gratia payment made under clause 9.1.

10.2 Clause 10.1 only applies to Natural Children born after that Veteran’s temporary or permanent return from Service in Viet Nam.

11. ONGOING RESEARCH

The Crown will access international research and sponsor ongoing research into the effects of the exposure to dioxins and other similar hazardous substances, including intergenerational effects. The Crown will also ensure that the information arising from this research is made publicly available in a form permitted by or, to the extent permitted by law.

12. EVSA (NEVILLE WALLACE MEMORIAL) YOUTH DEVELOPMENT TRUST

The Crown will make a one-off grant of $250,000 to the EVSA (Neville Wallace Memorial) Youth Development Trust, to assist the EVSA (Neville Wallace Memorial) Youth Development Trust in meeting its objectives.

13. VETERANS’ CARD

13.1 All Veterans (whether or not they have attained 65 years of age) will be eligible to apply for a Veterans’ Card.

13.2 The purpose of the Veterans’ Card is to ensure that there is suitable access to medical services, and that appropriate information is available to medical professionals evaluating a Veteran’s health. The exact nature of the entitlements and benefits are yet to be determined.

13.3 The Crown will establish a Viet Nam Veteran’s Children’s card for children of Viet Nam Veterans or a mutually agreed alternative mechanism, to allow medical professionals to readily identify that they are children of Viet Nam Veterans and to take into account conditions that may have arisen from the Service of their parent in Viet Nam.

14. NATIONAL REGISTER

14.1 The Crown agrees to establish a national register to include all Viet Nam Veterans, their Spouse or Partner and children of the Viet Nam Veterans in a form permitted by, or to the extent permitted by law.

14.2 The Crown will ensure the register has sufficient capability to include epidemiological research, monitoring of Viet Nam Veterans and their families and other similar relevant information to the extent permitted by law.

15. PROVISION OF INFORMATION

15.1 VANZ will provide or make available to medical professionals and to Viet Nam Veterans and their children relevant medical information (if any) in its possession, power or control (in a form permitted by
or, to the extent permitted by law) including any which it may have received under clause 11. The purpose of making the information available is to assist medical professionals, Viet Nam Veterans and their children to ensure that they are monitored and screened for the relevant conditions.

15.2 Information provided will include all relevant information, if any, in VANZ’s possession, power or control relating to Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and any other information regarding medical conditions arising directly from or associated with Service in Viet Nam.

15.3 The Crown will work with the Veterans Associations and the Veterans’ Retirement Homes, Ranfurly, Rannerdale and Monticello to establish “centres of excellence” in providing information and support for the diagnosis and treatment of particular health conditions prevalent amongst Veterans, including PTSD.

16. VANZ PLACEMENT AND REVIEW

The Crown agrees to review the mechanisms for delivering services to Veterans (including Veterans resident in Australia), including the functions, responsibilities, structure, resources and placement of VANZ. The Veterans Associations will be consulted during the review process. The review will be integrated with the work on the rewriting of the WPA.

17. MEDICAL ASSESSMENTS

Viet Nam Veterans will be entitled to funding for a one-off comprehensive medical assessment by a registered medical practitioner and/or a specialist with a view to establishing eligibility for a War Disablement Pension.

18. ESTABLISHMENT OF A TRUST FUND FOR VIET NAM VETERANS AND THEIR FAMILIES

18.1 The Crown in conjunction with the Veterans Associations will establish the Viet Nam Veterans and their Families Trust (the “Trust”). The purpose of the Trust is to provide support to Viet Nam Veterans and their families in relation to concerns and circumstances not addressed elsewhere in the Package. The Trust will receive an endowment of $7 million from the Crown. The endowment is for a period of thirty years after which the endowment will revert to the Crown.

18.2 The activities of the Trust will be financed by interest earned on the endowment. The exact form, criteria and status of the Trust is yet to be confirmed and will be set out in a trust deed to be agreed between the Parties. The intention is that the Trust will be registered under the Charities Act 2005.

19. JOINT IMPLEMENTATION GROUP

The Crown agrees to establish a Joint Implementation Group (“JIG”) to oversee the successful implementation of the Package. The terms of reference for the JIG are to be determined by the Parties. The JIG will comprise representatives from the Crown and the Veteran Associations.

20. GENERAL

20.1 The Parties agree that this Memorandum is intended to be a statement, made in good faith, of the respective intentions of the Parties in relation to the Package but that it is not intended to create legal relations between them.

20.2 If the Parties agree that there is a more effective delivery method for any aspect of the Package (or other matter referred to in this Memorandum) but which does not compromise the intent of the Package or this Memorandum, that more effective delivery method may be substituted for the stated method.

20.3 This Memorandum shall be governed by New Zealand law.
SIGNED BY THE PARTIES:

SIGNED for and on behalf of
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN IN RIGHT
OF NEW ZEALAND by her MINISTER
OF DEFENCE, the Honourable
PHIL GOFF

in the presence of
Witness signature
JEREMY SEED
Full name of witness
8 HUNTINGDON ST, WELLINGTON, WELLINGTON
Address
SECRETARY
Occupation

SIGNED for and on behalf of
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN IN RIGHT
OF NEW ZEALAND by her MINISTER
OF VETERANS AFFAIRS, the Honourable
RICK BARKER

in the presence of
Witness signature
Dawon Ryan
Full name of witness
12 RUSHING ST, MR COOK
Address
PASS SECRETARY
Occupation
SIGNED for and on behalf of
EX-VIETNAM SERVICES ASSOCIATION
BY:
CHRIS MULLANE
Authorised Signatory

in the presence of
Paul Carpenter
Witness signature
Paul Carpenter
Full name of witness
12 O'Henear Avenue
Address
Auckland
Occupation
Public Servant.

SIGNED for and on behalf of
THE ROYAL NEW ZEALAND RETURNED AND SERVICES ASSOCIATION
BY:
JOHN CAMPBELL
National President

in the presence of
P. Hessey
Witness signature
P. Hessey
Full name of witness
10 Olympic Close
Address
Auckland
Occupation
Public Servant.
SCHEDULE 1

PRESCRIBED CONDITIONS

Chronic lymphocytic leukaemia (CLL)
Soft tissue sarcoma
Non-Hodgkin’s lymphoma
Hodgkin’s disease
Chloracne
SCHEDULE 2

FIVE ACCEPTED CONDITIONS

Spina bifida
Cleft lip
Cleft palate
Acute myeloid leukaemia
Adrenal gland cancer
SCHEDULE 3

Limited or Suggested Evidence of an Association

Respiratory cancer (of lung, or bronchus, larynx and trachea)
Prostatic cancer
Multiple myeloma
Acute and subacute transient peripheral neuropathy
Porphyria cutanea tarda
Type 2 diabetes
Spina bifida in Natural Children of Viet Nam Veterans
Ministerial Statement to Parliament - Crown apology to Viet Nam veterans

Helen Clark
28 MAY, 2008

Ministerial Statement to Parliament - Crown apology to Viet Nam veterans

The Crown formally acknowledges the dedicated service of the New Zealand Regular Force personnel deployed during the Viet Nam War, and those many servicemen and women who supported them in their mission.

Further the Crown records that those armed forces personnel loyally served at the direction of the New Zealand Government of the day, having left their home shores against a background of unprecedented division and controversy over whether or not New Zealand should participate in the war.

The Crown extends to New Zealand Viet Nam Veterans and their families an apology for the manner in which their loyal service in the name of New Zealand was not recognised as it should have been, when it should have been, and for inadequate support extended to them and their families after their return home from the conflict.

The Viet Nam War was a defining event in New Zealand’s recent history, and one during which significant divisions and tensions emerged within our own society. Old allegiances and alliances were tested, and New Zealanders began to question the role their country was playing in global affairs.

On all sides, strong views were held with conviction. My own party, the New Zealand Labour Party opposed New Zealand involvement in the war, and acted immediately to withdraw the troops on election to office in 1972.

Many others also spoke out, often coming under attack from the government and other establishment voices of the time for doing so.

Viet Nam itself suffered huge damage from the war – to its people, its cities and ports, and its countryside. The consequences there have been long term and intergenerational. Today we count Viet Nam as an Asia Pacific partner, and welcome its leaders to our shores.

Today’s focus, however, is on those who served, regardless of what our personal views on the decision to send them were. It is time for reconciliation.

The Crown is placing on record its respect for the service of the nearly 3,400 New Zealanders who served in Viet Nam during the war between June 1964 and December 1972. We honour the 37 personnel who died on active duty, the 187 who were wounded, some very seriously, and all those who have suffered long-term effects. The service of those who fell and all who served in that conflict should now be honoured, alongside that of other brave service personnel deployed to other conflicts in the service of our country.

For too long, successive governments ignored concerns being raised by Viet Nam veterans. It was the emergence of Agent Orange as a serious health and veterans’ issue in the United States which began to change the way in which issues surrounding Viet Nam veterans came to be perceived and then treated in New Zealand.

In 2003 the Health Select Committee undertook its own inquiry into the concerns raised by veterans. It investigated whether New Zealand defence personnel had been exposed to Agent Orange. It also assessed the health risks to defence personnel and their families, and the health services available to them. The Committee concluded that New Zealand personnel who had served in Viet Nam had indeed
been exposed to Agent Orange, and that this exposure had had adverse health effects not only for the personnel themselves, but also for their children.

A Joint Working Group on the Concerns of Viet Nam veterans was established in July 2005, under the chairmanship of the former State Services Commissioner, Michael Wintringham. The Royal New Zealand Returned and Services Association, and the Ex-Viet Nam Services Association participated in the group.

In their report of April 2006, the Joint Working Group proposed that the Crown apologise formally to veterans and their families for the history of pain and suffering experienced by many of them. That recommendation was accepted as part of a wider package of measures proposed under the themes of "Acknowledging the Past", "Putting Things Right", and "Improving Services to Viet Nam Veterans". A range of steps under each of these headings was agreed.

Today the Crown has offered a formal apology to the New Zealand Veterans of the Viet Nam war and their families. The Crown places on record recognition of the service of those personnel; and acknowledges the many consequences of that service, including the physical and mental health effects. The failure of successive governments and their agencies to acknowledge the exposure of veterans to dioxin contaminated herbicides and other chemicals is itself acknowledged, as is the way in which that failure exacerbated the suffering of veterans and families.

The recommendation of the Joint Working Group report that the earlier Reeves and McLeod reports, should no longer form the basis for policies towards Viet Nam veterans and their families is accepted by the Crown.

Finally, there is the commitment to put things right, where government action is the appropriate means of achieving that resolution. The commitments the Crown has made to the treatment of Viet Nam veterans who were affected by toxic environments in Viet Nam and to their families are set out in the Memorandum of Understanding of 6 December 2006, and the Crown will adhere to them.

In concluding, the Crown thanks the members of the Joint Working Group who provided a way forward for dealing with these troubling issues of New Zealand’s relatively recent past. This has led to the opportunity for the Crown to put on record its thanks for, and its apology to, those brave service personnel who became the veterans of the Viet Nam war, and to pay tribute to those who never came home. We will remember them.

- Helen Clark
- Prime Minister
Appendix G: Jerry Mateparae apology

Chief Defence Force Apology - Lieutenant General Jerry Mateparae, ONZM [1 June 2008]

"Governor-General, Vietnam veterans and your families – including Vietnam veterans of Australia and the United States, veterans of other conflicts and invited guests [Australian Minister of Veterans Affairs, US Ambassador, Australian High Commissioner], welcome to this commemoration and celebration paying Tribute to our Vietnam veterans and their families. Our defence involvement in the Vietnam War spanned eight years. This was the longest commitment of our combat forces to a single conflict in New Zealand's military history. Our involvement in the War has had an impact on our nation, those who served there, and their families, that continues to this day. The controversy connected with the Vietnam war was corrosive; it was damming; and for many of the men and women of the New Zealand Defence Force who served there it became noxious. Nearly 4000 New Zealanders served in Vietnam; 37 of them made the ultimate sacrifice, and nearly 200 personnel were wounded. Since the War, others who served have died prematurely, and many Vietnam veterans and their families continue to suffer the after-effects of that service. And that is why we are here this weekend. Tribute 08 is an official and visible show of recognition for the considerable contribution and sacrifice of the men and women of New Zealand Defence Force who served in Vietnam. But today it is the turn of the New Zealand Defence Force to acknowledge your service. I say that you served loyally, you served with honour, and I pledge my determination to correct the failings of the past. Today, the Defence Force emphasizes the principle that ‘we’, those currently serving in our armed forces and veterans alike, are a family bound together by the ethic of service to our country, a common set of values, and a professional military culture that reflects our national heritage and character – a heritage and character you helped create. It is clear that many Vietnam veterans believe that the NZDF has not lived up to these ideals. I want to start to make amends by personally welcoming all of our Vietnam veterans back into the New Zealand Defence Force family. I would understand any hesitation on your part to accept such an embrace. There can be little doubt that you were let down after you returned from the war, and across subsequent decades.

Unreservedly I say that the Defence Force did not do enough to assist you, our returning veterans – especially those of you who left the Army, Navy or Air Force soon after returning to New Zealand. Having been placed in harms way, you arrived back to unwarranted derision. From the security of comradeship and service, you went out into an ungrateful and unwelcoming world. Most people cannot start to imagine how you must have felt. The New Zealand Defence Force could, and should have done more to stand by you, to provide you and your families with refuge from the storm of negative public opinion you had to weather. NZDF should not have allowed public concerns about the war to shape how returning veterans were treated. I have also heard you when you have talked about the other issues that have caused you and your loved ones deep hurt and pain. I acknowledge here your concern about the maintenance of your personal and medical records. I believe your expectations around the integrity and
completeness of your files were both fair and reasonable. NZDF let you down. Fortunately, your entitlements are protected under the ‘reverse onus of proof’ provisions of the War Pensions Act. The issue of your exposure to the defoliant Agent Orange has been a long and open wound. It is difficult to understand how the critical information about chemical spraying in the areas where you operated lay dormant until the Health Select Committee Inquiry in 2003. As a Defence Force we were too slow in readjusting our position in the face of growing scientific evidence, as well as statistical and anecdotal information. It was probably inescapable that veterans would interpret this inertia as a deliberate rebuff – though certainly the Defence Force’s simple inability to grapple with such a complex issue deserves a good portion of the blame. I believe that various provisions of the Memorandum of Understanding, and in particular the Expert Medical Panel which is about to be established, will help us address this more effectively, both for Vietnam veterans, and for veterans of future deployments as well. I also want to note the hurt you have told me about the NZDF attitude that was evident around Parade ’98. From my point of view this was certainly a lost opportunity to rebuild the bonds between the Defence Force and veterans.

Here at Tribute08 I am sure you have noticed that the serving veterans gathered among us today are in uniform. You will note that they wear the uniform with pride, just as you did. This is a pride founded on your earlier service and the service of all veterans past and present. Unlike the decades immediately following the Vietnam War, the NZDF of today has reclaimed its rightful place, standing proudly amongst the New Zealanders we serve, publicly wearing our uniforms wherever we go. Vietnam veterans have made a valuable contribution to the nation building of New Zealand in many ways. In particular you can be proud of the legacy you provided for the generations of Service men and women who followed you. Your knowledge and fighting skills helped forge the next generation, and lifted considerably the abilities of the New Zealand Defence Force. What has been missing from the balance is acknowledgement that what you left behind has ensured that the New Zealand Defence Force is a valued partner around the world, helping to build and keep the peace. Today we have nearly 700 personnel actively serving in three major theatres around the globe. We are in countries such as Timor Leste, the Sinai, Afghanistan and the Solomon Islands. The contribution of our Defence Force people is helping maintain stable working and living conditions for thousands of people. You helped build the foundation of today's New Zealand Defence Force capability. We thank you for that.

On a more personal note, I was a young soldier in the Army during the years immediately following the end of the Vietnam War. My first platoon commander was a Vietnam veteran: then WO2 Baldy Merito. In fact, every commander I have had up until my appointment as the CDF has been a Vietnam veteran. So from a personal perspective I have every respect for our Vietnam veterans. Many veterans I have spoken to consider that they were inadequately equipped for the task they were given in Vietnam. Your record shows you were at least as good as the best troops New Zealand has ever deployed. You also made good advantage of New Zealand's earlier experience in the jungles of Malaya and Borneo. But while our military doctrine and training were proper, some of our kit was not. In spite of this, and in keeping with tradition and with true Kiwi ingenuity, you exploited the military supermarkets of our Allies in-country! At home, the protest and public debate that arose as a result of the unprecedented scale of media coverage of the war and a general belief that our involvement in the Vietnam War was wrong, helped fuel the anti-war sentiment and mass street protests. There
were no home-coming parades; you were told not to wear your uniform in public; and compared to other returning veterans there was inadequate support for rehabilitation. In sharp contrast to other veterans of earlier conflicts, our returning Vietnam veterans in effect became casualties in our own country. Perhaps most painfully of all, some sections of the New Zealand public made it clear that they did not approve of those who had served in Vietnam. But the decision to be involved in the war in Vietnam was not made by those who fought there, but by the Government of the day. You had volunteered to serve in the New Zealand Armed Forces and you went to do your duty to the best of your abilities when and where required. You served alongside Australian troops in the best of ANZAC traditions in an even more integrated way than other ANZAC’s before you. This has forged a very special ANZAC bond between New Zealand and Australian Vietnam veterans. You also developed a similar rapport with those whom you served from the United States.

The Memorandum of Understanding signed with Vietnam veterans in 2006 goes some way towards addressing the wrongs of the past and provides a solid foundation for putting things right. The Crown’s public statement in Parliament apologising for the harm done to Vietnam veterans and thanking you for your immense contribution to New Zealand is another tangible piece of the reconciliation process. The Memorandum of Understanding package, although I acknowledge too late for some, will serve the current and following generations of the Vietnam veteran community. It will also serve other New Zealand veterans both current and future. I would like to make special mention of the tenacious few Vietnam veterans who at various stages over decades have kept the issues alive. You must be applauded for your determination and perseverance against the odds to get the wrongs of the past put right. Your efforts culminated in a Parliamentary Select Committee which confirmed what you had been saying for so long – that New Zealand personnel were exposed to a toxic environment in Vietnam. The NZDF will ensure that no other group of New Zealand veterans is treated the way you were. And one important way we can honour you, is to act upon the lessons you have helped us learn. In conclusion, on behalf of the New Zealand Defence Force, I would simply ask for your forgiveness for our shortcomings in the past, and I apologise for the impact these shortcomings have had on you and on your families. Thank you for your service. Thank you for your sacrifices. Thank you for your contribution to New Zealand. I know it is long overdue, but to our New Zealand Vietnam veterans - welcome home, nau mai haere mai pike mai kake mai."

[meaning "Welcome! Welcome! Ascend onto our Marae..."]

[at this point the veterans present rose to give CDF a long standing ovation]

"As another tangible demonstration of our intentions to put things right, the NZDF wishes to mount a special ceremony. A ceremony that we believe is unique in the history of not only the NZDF but of the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth. The Regimental Colour of 1 RNZIR will be rededicated and re-presented. This ceremony is necessary because the dates of the original Theatre Honour for South Vietnam did not include the operational service of all rifle companies that served in Vietnam. Until now all of the tour by Victor 1, part of the tours of Victor 2 and Victor 5, and all of the tour of Victor 6 have not been acknowledged in the Theatre Honour. Earlier this year, Her Majesty The Queen gave Royal Assent for the Theatre Honour to be amended to cover the period from May 1967 to December 1971 so as to include all of the service of these
companies. The embroidery on the Regimental Colour has since been amended accordingly and this change will now be publicly acknowledged.”