Gallipoli as Edutainment?

Constructing national identity in a "new" museum

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Communication Studies

Auckland University of Technology

2016

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Acknowledgements

I wish to extend my greatest gratitude knowing that I could never fully express my appreciation for you all.

To my supervisor Frances, thank you so much for being my biggest supporter throughout this academic process. You have not only opened your mind to me and taught me so much but you have also opened your heart and I know we will be friends always.

To my Route 66 family, thank you for your understanding and patience and for carrying my workload, making it possible in so many ways for me to complete this thesis.

To my friends you know who you are and particularly to Jordan thank you for your encouragement care and support when I felt like quitting.

To my family, thank you for making me feel anything is possible and always encouraging me push for the things I want in my life. Mum and Dad you have continuously make me feel like the best version of myself and let me know you were proud at exactly the right moments; thank you so much and I love you.

Abstract

This original research in this thesis is a close reading (Monin, 2004) of *Gallipoli: the Scale of our War.* The idea for the research was born from two over-arching interests: museums as social institutions and in the changing face of Aoteaora-New Zealand. These interests combine in the question that formed the spine of the research: "*In what ways do the exigencies of a 'new museum' affect representation in Gallipoli: the Scale of our War, and connect to the 'imagined reality' of New Zealand national identity?*"

Monin's (2004) 'Scriptive reading' was chosen as the method of analysis, as it enables a structured and replicable method by which to find the layered complexities of a text. Scriptive reading employs three different reading processes: the 'dominant', the 'critical' and the 'reflexive' (Monin, 2004). Although the method is systematic, it is not prescriptive: individual readers will arrive at their idiosyncratic conclusions, depending on the resources they bring to the reading (Monin, 2004).

The scriptive reading suggests that the possibilities inherent in a centenary exhibition about the Gallipoli campaign were both liberated and constrained by the philosophy of the 'new' museum in operation, and further, that the view of national identity that was promulgated in the exhibition was essentially that of Aotearoa-New Zealand's settler past, which was uncritically offered as a source of national pride. The conclusion was that the discourses of the 'new' museum have profoundly influenced what the exhibition was able to say about national identity.

Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or writing by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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2017

Chapter 1

Introduction

In terms of military strategy and success, Gallipoli was an expensive failure for the Allied forces: among the fallen of other nations, more than 2,000 New Zealand soldiers died there – about one sixth of the Kiwi contingent— yet, despite the catastrophe of the campaign, the courage and endurance of New Zealand soldiers quickly became a focus of pride and identification for the new nation. In fact, it is perhaps not unreasonable to claim that once the glories and horrors of Gallipoli entered the nation's mindset, they never left it: every year, Anzac Day is remembered with ceremony and celebration; the virtues of fortitude, mateship and courage displayed by the soldiers have entered the lexicon of New Zealand's national values, and one hundred years on, a major commemorative exhibition has been mounted at Te Papa to capture the conditions and spirit of 'being there' at Gallipoli in 1915. It is against Te Papa's vivid and multi-faceted Gallipoli exhibition that this research is situated, with the specific purpose of peeling back the layers of representation in the Gallipoli exhibition to reveal the continuing impact of the 1915 campaign on New Zealand's collective psyche and developing national identity, and further (but not secondarily), to frame the analysis in understandings of a new museum, so as to appreciate the way that organisational pressures can both constrain and contribute to constructions of such a widely—relevant idea as national identity.

1.1 Background

It is a contention of this research that the Gallipoli campaign of 1915 has had a powerful and enduring presence in shaping the country's national identity. For instance, although the nation has eleven statutory holidays, only four of those are strictly 'homegrown': Waitangi Day, the various regional anniversary days, Labour Day, and Anzac Day. The reasons behind these four public holidays are often cheerfully ignored by citizens mostly interested in a day off work, but despite ignorance and apathy, the commemorations of historical earlier achievements continue to take place. Although Waitangi Day is arguably the most important of the four celebrations, given that it is day New Zealand honours the signing of its founding document, it has a variegated record of unrest and disagreement. On the other hand, for all that Anzac Day commemorates war and is based in loss, suffering and wasted lives, by contrast with Waitangi Day, it has been a peaceful commemoration. For 100 years, Anzac Day has been accepted in New Zealand as a unifying symbol of pride and nationhood, in the sense that it marks a nascent 'down under' identity. Almost every town and city in New Zealand has a park with an Anzac memorial that lists the names of the local soldiers who died at Gallipoli and the dawn parade still draws citizens to the cenotaphs to remember their relations who fell in war.

As can be seen, I argue here that Anzac Day, with its stories of heroism and suffering which connect families in towns and cities throughout New Zealand, occupies a place of high esteem in national life, and I suggest that the regard in which it is held makes it a widely-accepted pillar of national identity. Whatever the reason, the 'Anzac moment' continues to be celebrated in New Zealand culture, and so it is perhaps no surprise that New Zealand's national museum Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) should have launched *Gallipoli: the Scale of our War*[1], an ambitious exhibition of the events that led to this important national day of commemoration. The exhibition was primarily developed to pay homage to the fallen Anzac soldiers and other war personnel, but even as it shows present-day New Zealand the history of Gallipoli, it simultaneously highlights the exigencies placed on museums in contemporary

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[1] The exhibition opened on 25 April, 2015 and will run for four years, with changing material.

society and connects the reality of the past to the present realities of New Zealand national identity, ideas that are central to my study.

1.2 The research question

What exercises me in this thesis is, primarily, the *Scale of our War* exhibition and what it says both to and about the nation one hundred years after the events that engendered it. The question that has guided and set the scope of the project derives from a research agenda that recognises two key issues of interest to me: first, that museums are now places of 'experience' in ways that they formerly were not, and second, that there is much talk about 'national identity' (especially in the light of New Zealand's recent referendum about changing the flag) but not much clarity (and less agreement!) about what, exactly, the nation's 'identity' embraces. My research question, then, brings these two interests together, and seems both timely and topical. It is: *In what ways do the exigencies of a 'new' museum affect representation in Gallipoli: the Scale of our War, and connect to the 'imagined reality' of New Zealand national identity?"*

Marx (1997) argues that research questions are usually developed from abstract theoretical problems, social issues and previous empirical enquiries that stimulate further investigations to establish whether patterns recur cross-nationally or historically. My research question sits in the first category: my queries about the relationship between national identity and Te Papa's *Gallipoli* exhibition are conceptual, and cannot be 'proven': rather, I can only examine the exhibition, and postulate a theory that may make a small contribution to the unresolved question of national identity, and establish some tentative links between the two elements of the research question.

The first component of the research question is the enquiry into New Zealand's identity as an independent nation. I submit that *Gallipoli: the Scale of our War* is an interesting 'text' to read in relation to national identity because it deploys innovative technologies to revive a 'real' past for interpretation by modern sensibilities. The exhibition underscores a tension that is always in play in discussions of national

identity: to what extent it is possible to reconcile the gap between the perceived 'foundational' values of the past and the realities of a rapidly-changing present, in which those earlier standards may have been forgotten or deliberately set aside.

It is that very uncertainty that makes 'reading' *Gallipoli,* the exhibition, so interesting. The question of what exactly 'national identity' is can never be answered in any absolute way, and what is claimed about it can never be said to be completely true or completely untrue, because a sense of 'national identity' depends on the feeling among citizens that they hold ideas in common with other citizens and that they share certain practices that aggregate into a common way of life (Anderson, 1991; Gellner, 1983). The sense of recognition and connection citizens feel when they encounter or contemplate other citizens may deepen into a sense of nationhood, what Anderson (1991, p. 6) calls "an imagined political community". In Anderson's (1991) notion of an "imagined community" (p. 6), the concept of 'community' derives from participating in a network of ideas that amplifies the positive and reduces the negative: the community is both idealised and ideal. The qualifier 'imagined' is because no matter how strong the conjecture of familiarity is, all citizens cannot know all other citizens; thus, at the national scale, 'community' can only ever be imagined and not real because it is built on an insecure foundation of assumptions. The "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991, p. 6) of the nation, then, is a social construction that survives only because the shared meanings that make it are constantly produced, reduced, and reproduced in a non-linear evolution (Hobsbawm, 1992).

The second element of my research question is the notion of 'new' museums. It is fair to say that the digital revolution has had a powerful impact on most institutional spaces, and that museums have not been exempt. Digitality has paved the way for the new kind of museum experience, one centred on interactivity, edutainment and, most significantly, attracting audiences: foot traffic is measured and used as proof that exhibits –also known as 'attractions' — are furnishing a satisfactory return on investment (Alexander, 1999; Besterman, 1998; Davies, 2001; Gilmore & Rentschler, 2000b). Changes have occurred to the social functions of museums as places of education and the preservation of culture (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2000a), but much

of the scholarly discussion of these changes has been grounded in overseas studies. My examination of the *Gallipoli* exhibition will allow me to see whether the findings of international scholarship in relation to the 'new museum' and the issue of audience numbers are replicated in the context of Aotearoa-New Zealand. Thus, in relation to Te Papa and its mounting of *Gallipoli: the Scope of our War*, I specifically want to query the ways in which New Zealand's national museum reflects the dual spirit of traditional and contemporary museums.

My motives for considering these research problems are central to my investigation. Clearly, much of my rationale is grounded in my sense that there is a gap in the literature that informs my research, and though I am not seeking definitive, generalisable answers to the current enigma that is the changing museum sector, nor to the issues surrounding identity reconciliation from past to present, I wish to contribute to the fields of inquiry via a study based in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Beyond that, I have an even more vested interest in the topic: I formed an interest in the role of curators during my undergraduate degree, in which I studied art history, and the matter has been something I have hoped for some time to return to in my communication studies. The role of curators intersects with the recent changes the museum sector has experienced because of the use of new media technologies. In this research project, therefore, I have been able to unite two of my personal interests, the role of new media technologies in shifting the practical and traditional task of creative organisations and how curators align their exhibition content and format to the demands of audiences. My academic interest in questions of identity formation have also been salient to the formation of this research project. I took a major in Creative Industries in my undergraduate degree, and identity was at the forefront of several of the papers, sparking my interest in the way creative organisations promote personal, social and national identity in their work and how they successfully reconcile their commercial agendas with social responsibilities.

The merging of these two distinct interests, together with what I see as a dearth of current research about Aotearoa-New Zealand, brought me to my overarching research purpose and question. The rationale underpinning the study is therefore to investigate concepts of the 'new' museum in New Zealand whilst simultaneously

uncovering how the exhibition reconciles the past and present in terms of the country's national identity. To meet these objectives, I have laid out my thesis as follows.

1.3 The organisation of the thesis

Chapter two, following this introduction, provides a deeper context for the research than I have done in this opening. It focuses particularly on the establishment of Aotearoa—New Zealand, Te Papa and Anzac as an entity in national life.

Chapter three is a literature review that maps changes to the traditional place of museums as social institutions. Particular attention has been paid to the concepts of marketisation, democratisation and accessibility, as well as to the technological developments that may seem to dominate visitors' museum experience. This chapter provides a foundation of the key ideas current in the academy at the moment, and serves as the basis of my assessment of *Gallipoli: the Scale of our War* (2015) with reference to the exigencies of the 'new' museum.

In chapter four, I discuss the exploratory nature of the question and the location of the study in the qualitative research paradigm. I decided early in the research to treat the exhibition as a text and to examine it through the lens of Monin's (2004) three-tiered scriptive reading. This chapter sets out the theoretical perspective of my research, and also makes transparent the way I operationalised both my data collection method and my methods of analysis.

Chapter five is the data chapter that shows Monin's (2004) scriptive reading method in action. The selected text *Gallipoli: the Scale of our War* is subjected to the three levels of reading, which are denoted as 'dominant', 'reflexive' and 'critical'. This chapter is the crux of the study, as it is where I will be able to see the connections between the text and the newly developed functions of the contemporary museum, as well as New Zealand's emerging independent national identity.

Finally, chapter six summarises the outcomes from the preceding chapter and interprets the significance of my findings. In conclusion I reflect on the contributions

of this thesis on the current field of knowledge and consider some future directions for research.

Chapter 2

Background to *Gallipoli: the Scale of Our War*

The purpose of this research is to show the way that New Zealand's national identity is represented in *Gallipoli: the Scale of our War* and to position that abstract construction against the pressures on museums as places, not just of preservation and exhibition, but also of 'edutainment'. The *Gallipoli* exhibition is important because it commemorates a protracted event that has, over its 100 year history, been taken as a defining moment in Aotearoa-New Zealand's growing self-awareness as an independent country with an identity separate from its colonising power. Beyond the subject and content of the exhibition, though, the venue itself is important: in fact, the presence of Te Papa as the host of the *Gallipoli* exhibition weighs heavily on the messages in the text, because Te Papa itself was conceived and created to celebrate the 'different-ness' into which Aoteaora-New Zealand was maturing. This chapter colours in the background against which the text – the *Gallipoli* exhibition-- is set, and outlines the wider social and historical context of Aotearoa-New Zealand.

2.1 Becoming Aotearoa-New Zealand

The distance of Aotearoa-New Zealand from other South Pacific nations made it difficult to find and difficult to reach by canoe from even its nearest neighbours, so the land was not inhabited by humans until the *tangata whenua* settled it roughly one thousand years ago (Davidson, 1992; Phillips, 2009). In fact, the country's

location 'at the bottom of the world', so far from the powerful nations in the Northern hemisphere, meant it was a late entry in the race to colonise the world, and it was one of the last countries to be taken as a colony by Britain (Davidson, 1992; Moot et al, 2009; Phillips, 2009). When New Zealand—not yet 'Aotearoa-New Zealand'--became a British colony, the relationship with the British Empire was the dominant factor in the country's social development: fundamentally, British colonisation meant the transfer of British social structures, culture and values, and New Zealand was even promoted to likely settlers as the 'Britain of the South' (Phillips, 2010). The colony was strongly connected to 'home' by language, the institutions of government and law, and the forms of religion and education.

Despite the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi, a general disregard for the customs and practices of the *tangata whenua,* together with the steady appropriation of Māori lands, caused war between the colonisers and the colonised between 1840s and 1870s (Cowan, 1923; King, 2003; Wilson, 2015). The colonisers' dominance in war and politics ultimately created conditions that caused increased immigration by British settlers, who were promised life in "a fertile land with a benign climate, free of starvation, class war and teeming cities" (Phillips, 2013, para. 6). However, this idealised life was not the reality of the early settlers, who, according to Phillips (2009), found that New Zealand was "dark, savage and intimidating" (para 8), that living conditions were primitive and there were many acres of untamed bush to be cleared before farming could begin. The physical and mental toughness that were needed for survival in the harsh envrironment of the raw land formed a particular, pragmatic colonial identity (Fairburn, 1975; Graham, 1992), so that by the 1880s, "A stereotype was emerging of the white colonial man or woman who was adaptable and physically strong" (Phillips, 2009, para. 5).

The New Zealand identity that came out of colonisation was strongly Pakeha and heavily oriented towards masculine pursuits and the physical characteristics needed for success in the rural life in New Zealand (Fairburn, 1975; Graham, 1992; King, 2003). 'Settler values' were the basis of the early New Zealand identity (Bell, 1996), and they derived from the qualities needed to work the land: an ability to improvise, a capacity for 'doing it yourself' because labour was scarce, and a strong belief that

in this 'new' land, success was possible, provided that 'success' was defined in accordance with the prevailing discourses of the day. Another of the earliest shared meanings that were held up as part of the national identity of Aotearoa-New Zealand was a strong sense of egalitarianism. The idea that 'Jack is as good as his master' prevailed in Aotearoa-New Zealand because the social and class structures outside of Britain were less rigid (King, 2003; Sibley & Liu, 2007).

These predominantly Pakeha values were challenged in the C20[th] by a resurgence of Māori culture (King, 2003; Walker, 2004), when attention was given to trying to redress the wrongs of the colonial past, and with the Māori renaissance came a shift away from the widely-held image of Aotearoa-New Zealand as a land of peace, unmarred by racial tension (King, 2003; Mikaere, 2011). The new value that replaced the earlier Euro-centric picture was bi—culturalism, an ideal based on valuing both Māori and Pakeha cultures and understanding that each is informed by the beliefs, folkways, and cultural practices of the other (O'Reilly & Wood, 1991). Liu (2005), however, argued that acceptance of bi-culturalism occurs more at the level of glowing rhetoric than of genuinely shared power, suggesting that if the principles of bi—culturalism are not authentically embedded in the society of Aotearoa-New Zealand, the result is mere lip-service to *tikanga* and a form of tokenism in public life.

This masculinised, settler identity surfaced in parallel to a sense of nationalism that was profoundly influenced by being 'British' (Gibbons, 1992; Graham, 1992), and yet, according to King (2003, p. 281) a "double patriotism" began to grow, one which meant that the New Zealanders were interested in discovering their national identity, but also wanted to remain loyal to Britain. In this sense, the term 'New Zealanders' derives from an uncritical assumption that all of the disparate ethnic groups in the new country owed their allegiance to Britain, to 'home' as it was often called. Early on, the hegemony underpinning this attitude was not much questioned (King, 2003), and this particular form of colonial patriotism was the basis of New Zealand's contribution to both World Wars (Gibbons, 1992), when men were eager "to show their mettle in a scrap and to demonstrate the country's unswerving loyalty

to Mother Britain, but at the same time to establish traditions and precedents that were New Zealand in origin and flavour" (King, 2003, p. 285).

As well as maintaining connections to 'home', New Zealand also established quite an intimate relationship with Australia. Although the two nations are very diffferent in terms of their physical environments, climates and size, they are closely aligned regionally, economically, politically and culturally (Mein Smith, 2012). Australia and New Zealand were both colonised by Britian and went to war as the united Anzacs (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) during World War I. That historical occurrence remains a "sentimetal cornerstone of New Zealand's relations with Australia" (Mein Smith, 2012, para 1)

In terms of New Zealand's engagement in World War I, King (2003) maintains that the unsuccessful Gallipoli campaign in 1915 in particular served as a focal point for New Zealand's development as an independent identity. Eight months after the beginning of the war, British and Anzac soldiers landed at Gallipoli in Turkey, which was a German ally. The Anzac soldiers were designated to play a key role in the Allied campaign to take Gallipoli, and to begin with, they were praised by those at home who were excited that New Zealand and Australian soldiers were at last fully engaged in the war (*Significance of Anzac Day*, 2015). However, the Gallipoli campaign was a military disaster for the Allies, who suffered severe losses, and withdrew after nine months, evacuating their surviving troops (*Significance of Anzac Day*, 2015) . Approximately a fifth of the New Zealand soldiers who landed at Gallipoli died there.

Anzac Day has since been established as a national holiday on 25 April, the first day of the conflict at Gallipoli. The day does not mark a military triumph, but has instead been celebrated in New Zealand as a triumph of human spirit, and the heritage shared by two colonised nations in the South Pacific. According to the *Significance of Anzac Day* (2015, paragraph 4), the day of commemoration also speaks of the attitudes and attributes- "bravery, tenacity, practicality, ingenuity, loyalty to King and comrades" – that became the cornerstone of what New Zealand wanted to believe about itself as a nation. It is a seeming contradiction, but Gallipoli denotes a

coming of age for New Zealand through the formation of the Anzac tradition
(Gibbons, 1992), while simultaneously reinforcing its jingoistic ties with Britain.

2.2 *Te Papa Tongarewa--'Our Place'*

Following World War I, New Zealanders began to acquire more clarity about their
national identity, and although it occurred some 83 years after Gallipoli, one of the
significant expressions of the country's identity occurred with the presentation to
the nation in February 1998 of The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa
(Gore, 2002-3). The national museum was not a completely new institution, because
New Zealand had had a national museum since the first years of the European
settlement, but Te Papa was designed and built to capture and display the land, the
(sometimes difficult) history, and the changing culture of a country that was in the
painful process of shifting its identity from 'New Zealand' to 'Aotearoa-New Zealand'.
Te Papa is thus a signifier of the nation's growing sense of self (Gore, 2002-3).

When it was first established in 1865, the national museum was named the 'Colonial
Museum', reflecting New Zealand's status as subordinate to the colonising power,
Britain. The museum was re-named the 'Dominion Museum' in 1907, and finally
became the National Museum in 1973 (Gore, 2002-3). The museum developed
considerably between its establishment in 1865 and 1992, when the Act was passed
that codified in law the museum's social mission. The focus of the new museum was
to be the development of the museum's collections and exhibitions that
incorporated both the history of Aotearoa—New Zealand and its contemporary
social life. The political will that fashioned Te Papa was a manifestation of
philosophical changes in the museum sector, which according to Gore (2002-3, p.
202), saw a shift in the guiding purpose of museums from "geology and natural
history, to ethnology, and finally to history."

The commitment of the government to develop a new national museum was born in
the 1980s, largely out of the obvious need for a new building with more space. A
significant factor driving change was the expanding awareness that Aotearoa-New
Zealand is a bicultural country, and that its society needed to respond properly to

the "increasingly vocal Māori claims to justice and self-determination" (Bell, 2006, p. 256). The calls for change were eventually heard and acted upon at the highest level of government policy (Bell, 2006). It was determined that the Dominion Museum, though much loved by visitors, could no longer fully represent the increasingly diverse population of Aotearoa-New Zealand, and a new building was commissioned.

Bi-culturalism was to be the philosophy and foundation of the re-constituted national museum. In fact, as early as 1988, the National Museum Council adopted a mission statement that incorporated a declaration that the National Museum would operate on the foundation of an equal and complete partnership of with the peoples of Aotearoa-New Zealand, placing heavy emphasis on the museum's desire to represent the bi-cultural nation and New Zealand's growing and specific national identity (Gore, 2002-3). Building on this platform, Te Papa stressed its bi-culturalism and maintained liaison with Māori communities from its inception (Gore, 2002-3; Te Papa: Our History, 2016). When the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act was passed in 1992, it united the national museum and art gallery into a single entity that would allow the growth of a partnership between the *tangata whenua* (Māori) and the *tangata tiriti* (the people of New Zealand by right of the Treaty of Waitangi) (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 1992; Te Papa: Our History, 2016). The Act is precise: Te Papa's mission is to represent the culturally diverse society of Aotearoa- New Zealand, and to reach as broad an audience as possible by showing how the nation's identity has changed (Te Papa: Our History, 2016). In all the rhetoric, then, biculturalism has permeated every aspect of Te Papa's mission, concept and development.

Rhetoric is not reality, however, no matter how well—intentioned, and in a clear case of not being able to please all of the people all of the time, the museum has been accused of being both overly Euro-centric and overly Māori -centric (Gore, 2002-3). Of the two extremes of accusation, perhaps the more damaging is the reaction against Māori. Gore (2002-3) contends that many early exhibitions were met with disapproval because of what was seen as the excessive representation of Māori culture and the (arguably) Māori-centric policy adopted by the museum's assistant director, James Mack (Gore, 2002-3). In 1993 it was reported that many

Māori staff had been harassed with racist comments (Gore, 2002-3) and two Wellington art consultants, Mary and Jim Barr, argued that the museum had first, failed to develop an adequately bicultural model and second, that it polarised Māori and Pakeha (Finnegan, 1994). These reactions may have resulted from the government's broad policies in relation to the museum (Message, 2005): according to Tramposch (1998, p. 49), "…the New Zealand government supported the museum and accepted that museums and culture could help alleviate the pernicious conditions caused by racism and prejudice", but that policy position may have found considerable disfavour among sections of the community that did not consider that any such "pernicious conditions" had ever existed in Aotearoa-New Zealand. What does seem clear is that, as Gore (2002-3, p. 203) claims, "The development of the museum, especially from the early 1980s, was beset by political squabbles highlighting the growing role of history and museums in late twentieth-century society", a role that was beginning to require more than the traditional activities of conservation, exhibition and education.

Perhaps one of the most interesting features of the policy direction for the new museum is the way in which the government tied itself to identity construction through a form of racial reconciliation that is more "clothed in a … recuperative or regulatory dress" (Message, 2005, p. 475) than based in the represented experience of racism, civil war and other kinds of difficult colonial heritage. Message (2005) and Tapsell (2001) argue that Te Papa's use of Māori language, tradition and culture was simply lip service to bi-culturalism, and more believably, actively assisted a political agenda that pushes an image of Aotearoa-New Zealand as a place where racial harmony is as undisputed as the '100% pure' clean, green environment. Certainly, following the heavy criticism levelled at the museum, there has been a clear move to base the discourses of the museum in the (perhaps more straightforward) concept of 'multiculturalism' (Message, 2005; Moss 2004).

2.3 Gallipoli comes home

The *Gallipoli* exhibition is part of a bigger programme called *Conflict and Identity,* developed to mark the centenary of World War I. The whole programme is set to run for four years and will examine many different facets of the impact of World War I on the identity of Aotearoa-New Zealand (Eventfinda: *Gallipoli: The Scale of our War,* 2015). The programme includes a range of projects including the publication *Holding on to Home*, and another exhibition called *Road to Recovery,* but the heart of the *Conflict and Identity* programme is the *Gallipoli* exhibition, which opened on the 18th of April 2015 and is "supported by a dynamic and engaging range of activities and events including a complementary digital experience, and a full programme for schools" (Eventfinda: *Gallipoli: The Scale of our War,* 2015). The exhibition's historical director, Dr Chris Pugsley, believes that the exhibition will powerfully shape New Zealander's views on the events at Gallipoli. Dr Pugsley said:

> This is the national exhibition. This will set the tone of how New Zealanders remember the Gallipoli campaign for the 21st century. How people respond to this exhibition is enormously important for the generation who are coming through school now, because they will look back and determine what they think of Gallipoli by what they see at Te Papa. (Eventfinda: *Gallipoli: The Scale of our War*, 2015).

The exhibition sets out to bring to life the stories of eight New Zealanders and their experiences at Gallipoli. The head curator of the exhibition, Kirstie Ross, says the exhibition is a chance to reveal the human, emotional experience of Gallipoli through the words the featured individuals wrote, while simultaneously dispelling some of the myths that have grown up about the campaign (Eventfinda: *Gallipoli: The Scale of our War*, 2015). In order to achieve a faithful representation of the human experience of war, Te Papa has worked in partnership with Weta Workshop, who created life-like, large-scale models (each model is 2.4 times larger than life) so that audiences can 'share' and explore the experiences of these 'real' New Zealanders.

Gallipoli is striking, and the human involvement is graphically depicted. However, the exhibition was designed, developed and implemented within the strategic goals outlined by Te Papa in its Statement of Intent, which must be read against the organisation's background that I have outlined in this chapter. Quite apart from the public relations 'speak' published by the museum (Eventfinda, 2015), the exhibition has won critical praise and is undoubtedly showing Aotearoa—New Zealand something important about itself, but for all of that, it must also be seen as an interpretation, as all curation is. It is not 'the truth': rather, it is an outcome of decisions made to include and exclude various materials, to depend on certain sources and ignore others, to work towards producing certain audience reactions and discouraging others. The curation, based on all these decisions that affect the representation, is decreed by organisational policies, history and culture.

Dr Pugsley's insistence that *Gallipoli* is "*the* national exhibit" (emphasis added) downplays the importance of the local commemorations which occur throughout the nation, and never more fervently than at the centenary. The soldiers of all the conflicts in which Aotearoa-New Zealand had played a part has been remembered on Anzac Day since the commemoration was established to mark the first day of conflict in Gallipoli.

The first public recognition of the Gallipoli landings was in 1915 on April 30th, after news of the event had reached New Zealand (Modern Anzac Day, 2014). At the outset, public perceptions of the conflict evoked national pride. News outlets sensationalised the heroism of the New Zealand soldiers, and perceptions of glory created so much camaraderie that a half-day holiday was declared for government offices, flags were flown and patriotic meetings held (Modern Anzac Day, 2014). The subsequent failure of the campaign did not diminish the nation's desire to recognise the "victory of the spirit" (Modern Anzac Day, 2014, paragraph 3) shown by the New Zealand soldiers. By 1916 New Zealanders demanded some permanent form of remembrance on the anniversary of the Gallipoli landings, and the day became a means of both rallying support for the war effort and a public expression of grief.

The New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association, working with various local authorities, has taken a significant role in developing commemorative ceremonies, organising processions of servicemen, church services and public meetings (Modern Anzac Day, 2014). The ceremony on 25 April was gradually standardised during and after the war, so that now the observance of Anzac day has many traditions and follows a well-established pattern in New Zealand. Every ceremony includes a dawn parade where returned service personnel and their families participate in a memorial service at all the war memorials around the country (McLintock, 1966). During the day, flowers are reverently laid on the graves of dead soldiers, and in earlier times, it was not uncommon for Anzac Day concerts to take place in the evening (McLintock, 1966). It is suggested that the dawn service also acts as a small but substantial reminder of the adversity endured by the Anzacs, as well as a chance to reflect on the ongoing sacrifices military people continue to make in the service of their country (Army News, 2016).

Anzac day is fundamentally about loss and personal commemoration, but it is intended also to point out to future generations that they should never forget the sacrifices made by war personnel (Army News, 2016). For many, Anzac Day expresses certain universal truths about what it means to be human, and it is the communication of these truths that has made the day successful in drawing in those at society's margins (Davis, 2008). The day's emotional values seem able to propel communities to unite by creating social and physical structures to help individuals cope with grief and a sense of displacement (Davis, 2008). Anzac Day began as a structured and rapid response to the nation's need to bond in loss and grief, and continued as a pattern that expresses something of where the nation came from, and perhaps also, where it thinks it may be going (Davis, 2008; Army News, 2016).

Although the Australia and New Zealand Army Corps engendered both the acronym and the tradition, New Zealand and Australia are not the only observers of Anzac Day. Leaders in the British Empire saw great political value in such a day of remembrance, and so other nations that had troops at Gallipoli have come to develop their own meanings for the day and place their own emphases on it (Davis, 2008). Britain, for instance, has sought for the day to be renamed 'Gallipoli Day'

(Davis, 2008) as a way of distancing themselves from implication in the name that it was only Anzac soldiers who fought and died at Gallipoli. The Turkish Republic sees many advantages in the yearly commemoration of Anzac Day at Gallipoli: its position as a gracious host enhances its reputation among European countries, and it benefits economically from increased tourism (Davis, 2008).

Davis (2008) asserts that "it is the respect for loss which is recognised and which has the power to draw people to Gallipoli. It recognises that it is death and sacrifice, not national pride which binds the people of the Anzac nations" (p. 318), but remembering war has not been uniformly popular throughout the hundred-year history of Anzac Day. During the 1960s an 1970s, the general approval of the commemoration lost some traction because of anti-war movements stemming from protests against the war in Vietnam (Davis, 2008). After the Vietnam War, however, there was a resurgence of interest in Anzac day, although it was occasionally used as a platform for feminist and Māori rights protests (Davis, 2008; Beer, 2009), and in the early 21st century, a renewed enthusiasm for Anzac day emerged. The early notions of remembrance, community and commemoration again dominated Anzac rhetoric (Davis, 2008; Beer, 2009), and it is this renewed reverence that has paved the way for such significant exhibitions as *Gallipoli: the Sale of Our War*.

In this chapter, I have outlined the Aotearoa—New Zealand context of the text I am going to analyse in this research. I have shown that the way Gallipoli is been remembered in contemporary society is not a pure 'truth', but rather, is heavily influenced by all forms of social context. I have argued, too, that national identity is fluid and therefore that its representation must be read against the constraints of political and organisational will. *Gallipoli: the Scale of Our War* was developed within a specific context and historical background, and these cannot be ignored, despite the overall goal of the exhibition to commemorate. In the next chapter, I will examine ideas that are relevant to the formation and function of 'new' museums.

Chapter 3

Towards the 'New' Museum?

The last chapter summarised the historical and organisational context of *Gallipoli: the Scale of Our War.* In this chapter, I will cover the scholarship on important ideas that have been used to both shape and critique the museum sector, which in the last two decades has experienced such profound changes in its social functions that the 'museum experience' is now very different both for those who work in museums and those who visit them. The key ideas I intend to examine relate to the shift towards the marketplace that has occurred throughout the museum sector, and the issues of democratisation, accessibility and digitisation that underpin the move. This survey is not intended as a review of the broad field of museology, and I have not, therefore, interrogated the scholarship on visitor studies, nor the changing work of curators. Rather, my focus is on paradigm shift of museums from spaces of education and conservation and to placed, if not of entertainment, then at least, of 'edutainment'.

3.1 A Sea Change?

The conventional view of museums saw them defined by function as opposed to purpose (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002b; Weil, 1990). In other words, they were defined by the activities that take place within them, and therefore they tended towards an internal and object—based focus, suggesting that their role in society was to collect, display and preserve objects (Gilmore & Rentschler 2002b; Weil, 1990). A change in definition away from function towards social purpose shifts

attention away from absolute understandings of the sector as a whole towards the intent, vision or mission of particular museums. Purposive definitions concentrate on individual museums and the type of relationship they desire to have with their communities, emphasising serving visitors through entertainment and education (Besterman, 1998; Flemming, 2004; Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002b). The re-defining of museums in society has caused, or has at least coincided with, a shift in the perception of the institutions. Once the primary function of museums was custodial, and consideration of visitors was secondary: now, they have been re-constituted as places whose primary function is to attract audiences who will choose to spend their leisure time and money at the museum rather than at the movies or on some other form of relaxation activity (Alexander, 1999; Davidson & Sibley, 2011; Davies, 2001; Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002a; Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002b).

According to scholars, one of the reasons for the change is that the funding of museums has come under pressure, forcing museum directors to adopt market-focused strategies to survive (Flemming, 2004; Rentschler, 2001; Rentschler & Geursen, 1999). Alexander's (1999) study of museums and the market place, for instance, highlights the challenges for museums in securing stable funding. According to Alexander (1999), as governments consistently reduced spending on providing cultural experiences and activities for their citizens, museums have increasingly had to look to other sources of funding. Much of Alexander's study is grounded in the United States and deals with American funding histories, and in fact Davies (2001), working in the United Kingdom, asserts that changes in the sector have been caused less by limitations in funding and more by three separate but related pressures: first, to broaden audiences; second, to banish any image of elitism; and third, to make collections culturally and intellectually accessible to all citizens. The reasons for change may vary from place to place, but what is universally agreed among scholars is that growing the audience is at the forefront of the mission of contemporary museums (Alexander, 1999; Davies, 2001; Harrison & Shaw, 2004; Rentschler, 2001; Rentschler & Geursen, 1999).

The new centrality of the audience has generally meant that the visitors' needs and preferences have been prioritised. Furthermore, there has been a growing

awareness of the different kinds of barriers which hinder visitors' access to museums and galleries and exclude people from participation (Davies, 2011). One outcome of the altered definition of museums, then, has been democratisation (Flemming, 2004), which has resulted in the need to promote the appeal of the collection and exhibits (Davies, 2011; Rentschler, 2001; Rentschler & Geursen, 1999).

Te Papa Tongarewa is an example of a museum that has developed an audience-centric strategy to combat both financial and cultural pressures. In its 2013/14 *Statement of Intent*, the museum heavily emphasised its concentration on audience satisfaction, and suggested that the way it intends to meet audience expectations is through the organisation's key social functions, which include the traditional role of museums -- preservation, dissemination of information, and education -- as well as the more contemporary (but less concrete) role of fostering of national pride. Part of the museum's goal of building national pride is to be an accessible depository for collections that display the multicultural nature of Aotearoa-New Zealand, together with extending the museum's digital capabilities (Statement of Intent, 2013).

Gilmore and Rentschler (2002a) closely consider the changes in purpose and priorities of museums and the reflexive relationship between mission and management. In fact, much of the scholarship about the impacts of change in the sector has focused on internal management systems (Rentschler, 2001; Gilmore & Rentschler 2002a; Gilmore & Rentschler 2002b; Rentschler & Geursen, 1999), and there seems to be little analysis of the effects the changes have wrought on the actual exhibitions. It is a contention of this research that museums' move towards the marketplace has caused an upsurge in 'block buster' exhibitions, and that, without denying the substance of *Gallipoli: the Scale of Our War*, it may well fit the definition of 'block buster': larger than life, topical, attractive, interactive, and curated in such a way that its meanings are readily grasped.

3.2 From marketing to marketisation?

The re-defining of museums has not only changed their primary function, it has moved them closer to the market economy (Schmitt, 2000), implying that they must now search for a competitive edge on which to base a long-term survival strategy. Scholars argue that this 'edge' lies in the adoption of a business-like marketing approach (Gilmore & Rentschler 2002a; Laczniak & Murphy, 1977; Rentschler, 2007; Schmitt, 2000), grounded on the premise that museum visitors are consumers (Davidson & Sibley, 2011) whose interests are "not restricted to purely functional benefits of the museum but to the consumption of a total experience" (Rentschler, 2007, p. 91). Rentschler's (2007) argument is that the newly-redefined "heritage attractions" (p. 27) set out to provide a 'total' stay-all-day experience that might include any or all of car parks and cafes, 'attractions' and inter-activity, a shop for memorabilia and 'cool stuff', an on-line world that extends the visit indefinitely, and a social media follow-up so that visitors can be reminded to call again.

Rentschler's (1998) survey of the research on museum marketing points out that scholars have moved through two phases in their consideration of arts marketing, suggesting that those phases have tended to play out in and influence the 'daily life' of museums. The first phase, which Rentschler calls the "Foundation Period" (p. 87) lasted roughly from 1975-1983, was dominated by a concern for museums' role in educating visitors and persuading staff to see the value of visitor studies. At this time, too, there was research on the economic importance of the arts, and in fact, much of the research pushed for museums to gather visitor data that could be used for teaching and more strategically, in arguments for more funding.

Rentschler (1998)'s second designated of phase of marketing research, the 'Professionalization Period" (p. 87), lasted from about from 1985 until 1994. She noted that this phase coincided with a trend towards democratisation in museums, which initiated a general acceptance of the need for a marketing approach in non-profit arts organisations. Ames (1989) noted that the logical extension of that recognising the importance of marketing was the establishment of marketing departments in museums.

Volkerling (1996) discussed certain changes that occurred in the public sector at this time, including a shift in focus from producers to consumers. A consumer focus implies increased consumer choice with an accompanying competition for the leisure dollar and changes in the criteria for measuring success, from a purely intrinsic experience (Rentschler, 2007) to evaluations such as the amount of foot traffic an exhibition generates. Funders began to demand financial accountability from the institutions they supported (Volkerling, 1996), particularly in the case of public moneys voted by governments (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002a). Marketing strategies became increasingly important in the drive to increase audience figures and were incorporated into museum management until marketing was as fundamental to the function of the organisations as their custodial role (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002a). Volkerling (1996, pp. 202--203) spoke of a management model based on "celebrating entrepreneurship", and McLean (1997) and Radbourne (1997) of the concept of 'collaborative marketing', in which a new view the relationship with visitors is evident (Blattberg & Broderick, 1991; Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002a).

One museum that has embraced the 'marketed museum' concept is the Field Museum of Chicago, which restructured its management and function to attract and meet the needs of more diverse audiences. Three decades ago, the Field Museum stated that to engage successfully with a large demographic of the public, exhibitions and programs must be

> Adaptable to the changing needs of the public; interesting and useful to people with different backgrounds and levels of interest in the subject matter; useful as resource centers for the serious student, hobbyist, and collector, who seek a more comprehensive treatment of the subject or theme; and able to give an overview of subjects and themes to millions of people. (Field Museum, 1986, pp. 16-17)

The Field Museum suggested that to meet these exacting and varied requirements, collections needed to be organised according to three interconnected formats. First, all exhibits had be accessible to virtually any visitor in interactive and informal processes; second, major exhibitions should have themes that sweep across a topic broadly but perhaps highlight a specific collection; third, study halls should be

available to anyone who might seek deep engagement on any subject (Blattberg & Broderick, 1991; Field Museum, 1986). Although the museum did not abandon 'the serious student' (Field Museum, 1986), the passage above does suggest that the bulk of its energy and attention was turned, perhaps, to offering an "overview of subjects and themes" (*ibid*).

Blattberg and Broderick (1991) argue that the demands on museums to reach broadened audiences require particular marketing techniques, and Gilmore and Rentschler (2002b) and Bartak (2009) assert that one of the most successful ways of marketing the contemporary museum is through online platforms where technological improvements increased the scope of what can be achieved to reach audiences. Bartak (2009, p. 23) found museums were "accomplishing audience development objectives and fulfilling government accountability measures" by developing online content that simultaneously offers audiences education and entertainment and market the organisation. The 'museum online' concept seems to fit the argument advanced by Kolter, Kolter and Kolter (2008) that successful marketing should show customers how to satisfy their desires and needs by purchasing improved or novel products. In this marketing model, the newly interactive, digitised museum can be considered as both an 'improved' and a 'novel' product.

Griffin and Abraham (1999) maintain that despite the emphasis on marketing, most research shows that the foremost aim of all museums remains education, which raises Gilmore and Rentshler's (2002a) question: how do museums fulfil their educational mission while meeting the market effectively? In fact, this question seems to dominate research on the changes to the museum sector (Alcaraz, Hume & Mort, 2009; De Rojas & Camarero, 2008; Edwards & Graham, 2006; Pop & Borza, 2014), and the conclusion seems to be that economic styles of museum management, together with a focus on the marketplace, have diluted the success of the traditional educational mission.

Not unexpectedly, the ethos of management has a considerable impact on the relationship of museums with their external environments. For instance, Gilmore

and Rentschler (2002a) studied two similar museums, one in Ireland and one in Australia, focusing on the effects of internal managerial performance on external marketing performance. They found that while marketing museums is a given, directors face significant challenges in deciding how best to meet the requirements of the museum, match staff expertise and satisfy visitor expectations. This study asserted that as museums embrace change, it is imperative that change agents are conscious of both dual social role of museums as educators and custodians on the one hand, and also as providers of multi-dimension 'experiences' on the other. On the whole, however, museums as organisations and places of work have not been much researched, and service marketing in museums has received even less research attention (Dickman, 1995; Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002a; Gilmore & Rentschler 2002b; Griffin, 1987; Janes, 1997; Kotler & Kotler, 1998), despite the increasing significance of marketing in the museum sector.

3.3 Accessibility and democratisation

Davies (2001) argued that one of the barriers that museums face in developing new audiences is a general ignorance in populations about what the institutions do, can do and contain. Davies (2001, p. 289) found, in fact, that "one of the most common issues to emerge in non-visitor surveys" was a general lack of knowledge about museums amongst possible audiences, which is one of the factors, of course, that gave impetus to museum marketing. In this section of my literature review, I will focus on the move towards increasing the general accessibility of exhibitions and collections in response to the pressures of attracting audiences.

At the obvious level of understanding, accessibility of the museum services is straightforward and desirable, incorporating ideas such as how easy it is for visitors to see the exhibits, the quality of the premises and facilities, and whether communication viewers that results in effortless understanding (Horne, 1986; Gilmore & Rentschler 2002a; Gilmore & Rentschler 2002b; Landry 1994; Templer, 2008). Accessibility also includes things as obvious as suitable opening hours to meet the requirements of communities who use the museum (Gilmore & Rentschler,

2002b; Landry 1994), and the appropriateness of the exhibitions for the different demographic groups in the population such as schools, repeat visitors and tourists (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002a). To achieve these wholly positive aspects of accessibility museums should view themselves as part of the tourism industry and as drivers of cultural renewal (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002b).

Over the past two decades, publicly-funded museums have been called upon by their funding bodies not simply to educate, but also to be demonstrably socially inclusive in terms of visitors (Booth, 2014), possibly because in 2003 in the United Kingdom, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport issued a funding policy that specified the role museums should play in combating social exclusion (Sandell, 2003). Governments and other funding bodies are now looking for value for money, "a demonstration that is, by and large couched in terms of market-based economics" (Booth, 2014) and as Dean, Donnellan, & Pratt (2010) argue, the result of this is the expansion of publicly-funded institutions (such as the Tate Modern) that have been developed to be "accessible and inclusive to all-comers, physically and intellectually, as well as culturally" (p. 82).

Given that Davies (2001) found that many citizens are unfamiliar with and ignorant of museums, even regarding them as places of elite culture, the expectation of that they will achieve social inclusion is a significant challenge. Making museums more inclusive seems also to mean democratising them (Booth, 2014; Templer, 2008; Sannell, 1998), by which can mean, on the one hand, wider and easier access and general social inclusion policies, and on the other, the 'dumbing down' of complex ideas and artworks because of the amplified role of arts and culture in consumer capitalism (Barr, 2005). Barr's (2005) argument is that since the 1970s at least, museums have been defined as places of consumption as much as retail outlets, and that this is demonstrated by the increased use of museums such as the Guggenheim Museum at Bilbao as brands to attract tourists to the city.

Foster (2002) sees brand marketing of museums as a modern increase of "design and display"(p. 20): the elevation of the brand accompanied by the simplification of displays. He says (p. 20), "Design is inflated as the package all but replaces the

product". Furedi (2004) similarly argues against this reductive form of democratisation in museums. His core idea is that intellectual life has been diluted by a misguided pursuit of inclusion which is based on policies designed to flatter visitors and that art and culture are being presented in ways to make people feel good about themselves. Barr (2005) claims that people who feel comfortable in museums may actually know little about the collections, and may even resist displays of information in favour of a general 'experience'. The comfort and 'belonging' that they feel does not derive from deep understanding of art and culture, but rather, from a general concept of how galleries and museums are designed to function.

The discussions above may have their roots in Voase's (2002) work. Voase points out the contradictions in the museum discourses that argue that there is a new kind of 'thoughtful' consumer emerging while simultaneously suggesting that culture is being 'dumbed down'. Further, Voase (2002) highlights the binary oppositions that are evident in the discourses, when education is taken as 'active' (and therefore worthy) consumption and entertainment as 'passive' consumption and therefore dumb and without merit). Voase argues for a relationship between institutions and society such that citizens can find 'thoughtful' engagement with culture and yet simultaneously be informed consumers of the 'product' on offer.

Another kind of social inclusion is emerging that transcends the cultural and social capital of visitors and concentrates instead on individualised experiences that will develop identification (Booth, 2014; Stylianou-Lambert, 2010). These individualised experiences depend heavily on interactive, digital exhibitions intended to offer museum visitors "multiple sensory and interactive entry points" (Booth, 2014, p. 211) that accommodate different learning styles, levels of education and interest, all under the overarching goal of attracting bigger and diverse audiences and enhancing social inclusion. The Museum of Old and New Art (MONA) located in a low socio-economic area in Tasmania, seems to display many of the characteristics of a democratised institution (Booth, 2014). The museum's visitor experience is marked by the use of an interactive 'O' device that offers commentaries in styles that range from traditional 'art speak' to a friendly chat. The visitor may choose the style and

change at it any time. MONA does not use wall text or labels to ground pieces in any specific moment in time of arts movements, history or theory (Thinking About Museums, 2012), and thus "the architecture and curation at MONA focus on delivering an experience rather than an education" (Booth (2014, p. 11). MONA is popularly perceived as being successful because the art it presents is unmediated by anything but individual experience, and so is both socially levelling and socially transformative.

3.4 Digitisation

In recent years Interactive Communication Technology (ICT) has proven an effective way for museums and galleries to meet the goals pertaining to audience numbers set by central and local governments (Davies, 2011; Lepouras & Vassilakis, 2005; Knell, 2003; Schweibenz, 1998). Interactivity has become increasingly prominent in the design of exhibitions as audiences demand that 'edutainment' be intertwined with their museum experience (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002; Knell, 2003). Digital technologies, however, can be more than a way for audiences to pass the time: Padilla-Melendez and del Aguila-Obra (2013) suggest that ICTs afford museums new possibilities in the deployment of their cultural assets, and also, permit the supply of new services to existing audiences. However, though virtual reality technologies can provide an enhanced and vivid visitor experience, Lepouras and Vassilakis (2005) cautioned that the improvements must be offset against the time, effort and resources required to achieve them.

The ways in which people use the digital capabilities of museums seems to run parallel with the ways in which people engage with media programmes in general (Davies, 2011; Treinen, 1993). In fact, there is a strong argument to be made that visitors essentially do not want to be educated when they visit museums (Davies, 2011; Graff, 1994; Treinen, 1993), that they "regularly do not study or read an exhibition but rather jump or move around browsing the exhibits, guided by the attraction of single highlights, or extrinsic elements of the exhibits as well as their own interests and background" (Graff, 1994, p. 76). Semper (1998) describes

audience behavior in museums as sightseeing or window-shopping, and Borysewicz (1998) also asserts that visitors move from attraction to attraction in a random, personally-pleasing pattern that does not necessarily align with the way that the designers of exhibitions intended the content to be viewed. This window-shopping approach to viewing seems not unalike channel surfing through television programmes or glancing through pages of websites looking for items of immediate interest (Borysewicz, 1998), and there have been suggestions that to ensure the success of exhibits, designers should embrace the darting and short-lived attention span of audiences (Borysewicz, 1998; Davies, 2011; Graf, 1994; Treinen, 1993; Semper, 1998;).

Although it is possible to take a critical perspective of the fleeting attention span induced by digital technologies, it is also possible to see the advantages the ICTs offer. For instance, since most people visit museums to satisfy their curiosity about an exhibition (Merriman, 1989), media kiosks are important in providing satisfying information about institutions and collections, especially as they can allow visitors to construct a personalized tour (Davies, 2011). Furthermore, the new technology allows museums to avoid printed gallery notes and to offer visitors digital forms instead (Davies, 2011; Levenson, 1998). However, most museums have concentrated on simply presenting the same types of information that were traditionally provided in catalogues (Roles, 1995; Sherwood, 1997), so, though these publications are "up to date in their technology they are relentlessly old-fashioned in their organization and content" (Levenson, 1998, p. 92). Anderson (1997) suggests that the combination of modern technology and old-fashioned content is probably because the new systems are driven by the acquisition of data which is easy to provide to users as large amounts of information and imagery. The principal advantage of applying the new technology may well be simply its capacity to present vast quantities of additional text (Davies, 2011; Roles, 1995).

Specific case studies regarding the innovative use of digital technologies in museums have mostly been undertaken in the United States. One such case study is Alexander's (2014) examination of Gallery One at the Cleveland Museum of Art. Alexander shows how Gallery One was developed as a response to the general

desire of audiences to have interpretive technology to assist them to engage in new experiences with art works. The permanent interactive exhibition was born from lengthy audience research into the "development of a collection that was an innovative blend of art, technology and a unique user experience" (Alexander, 2014, p.1), but the rather large claims Alexander makes about the success of Gallery One in reconciling traditional and contemporary museum experiences are not solidly grounded in data. More evaluative case studies do exist, such as the study of the MONA museum's 'O' and how in many ways it is merely a traditional experience manifested digitally (Thinking About Museums, 2012). An iPod touch that uses GPS capabilities to observe what art works audiences are viewing is certainly novel, as is the tracking of preferred commentary styles and offering visitors the opportunity to 'love' or 'hate' artwork. These are transformations of visitor experience that can be made only by the capabilities of new media (Thinking About Museums, 2012). However, being selective about content has long been available to audiences in the form of decisions about joining tours, going to artists' talks and studying the information made available (Thinking About Museums, 2012), and though it is new to use digital means to 'love' and 'hate' works, visitors have always been able to give their opinions in traditional 'comments' boxes. Digital technologies may enhance some aspects of museums, but it is scarcely a total transformation of the museum experience: more, it is a means of revitalising audience engagement (Thinking About Museums, 2012)

In this chapter, I have laid out some key concepts connected with 'new' museums, with particular attention to the focus on marketing and access. In the following chapter, I will discuss the method by which I carried out my research.

Chapter 4

Methodology and Method

In the last chapter, I captured some relevant ideas about 'new' museums, arguing that they are characterised by a marketing philosophy that has blurred their traditional focus as places of education and culture. My intention in this chapter is to show how I conceptualised, designed and operationalised this research. The chapter falls into two distinct sections: the first sets out my methodological approach, and the second makes the research process transparent.

4.1.1 Theoretical orientation

Interpretive research sets out, essentially, to uncover the meanings that actions, experience and texts hold for people rather than attempting to form generalisable principles that apply to large populations (Littlejohn, 1992). Qualitative research fits within the interpretive research paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). As its name suggests, the aim of qualitative research is to capture and describe the *qualities* of the object under investigation so that the phenomenon is made manifest in its social context and deep understanding of it is possible in ways that quantified data do not allow (Kaplan & Maxwell, 1994). I have set out to examine the richness of a single phenomenon (Littlejohn, 1992). The phenomenon that I find salient (Blaikie, 2010) is the exhibition at Te Papa Tongarewa, *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War*.

Qualitative research places researchers directly within the investigation as they attempt to determine the ways in which the social world is created and the

processes by which new meaning is made (Charmaz, 2005; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Gumbley, 2015; Littlejohn, 1992). In this approach to research, both human participants and the phenomenon must be understood as constantly varying and not as "perfectly observable" entities (Bailey, Ford, & Raelin, 2009, p. 19). Therefore, *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War* cannot be seen as a static text but "must be read within the wider context of organisational aims with the understanding that those aims can alter rapidly as the external and internal environments shift" (Gumbley, 2015, p. 45).

Environments change rapidly, and because of this, social research needs to clarify its purpose and location, so that the collected data can be seen as a snapshot of a moment in time. Although there is an over-arching historical aspect to my research- World War I rolled into Gallipoli in 1915, and its ramifications have continued for a century-in fact, my primary concern is with the *Gallipoli* exhibition in the present time, which according to Blaikie (2010), defines my project as cross-sectional. Cross-sectional studies are not well suited to documenting social changes which require longitudinal data collection, but are useful when the goal is to capture aspects of contemporary social life (Blaikie, 2010).

My intention is to capture the qualities of the *Gallipoli: the Scale of Our War* exhibit in its time and place, and to unpack the layers of meaning with which it is imbued. This 'unpacking' will inevitably involve a critical examination of both the social structures that underlie the text, and also the gap between what the exhibition announces itself as doing by way of commemorating Gallipoli, and what it actually does. My analysis, then, will not consist of simple observations followed by interpretations, but will try to delineate any conflicts of interest that affect the text (Littlejohn, 1992). My study, therefore, is both interpretive and critical. By this I mean that I set out to reveal the meanings of individual experience, text and social structure, while at the same time, to analyse the gap between the espoused values and interests of institutions and the motivations and unspoken realities that underpin them.

4.1.2 *Scriptive reading*

Before I began any form of data gathering or analysis, I needed to specify the approach I would take to reading the text *Gallipoli: The Scale of our War*. One difficulty that I had to contend with was that was that I wanted to treat the exhibition holistically, yet at the same time be able to dig down into its component parts. I was drawn to thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998), because thematic analysis allows a way of 'seeing' into a bulk of data and finding the patterns that occur in the data set, and drawing out salient ideas that can be described richly to provide deep insights. However, its presentation in various exhibit rooms meant that, in a very real sense, the exhibition had already been 'themed' by the curators, and although I was sure I would be able to find themes within those determined by the designers, I felt diffident about arguing the originality of my work if I worked that way.

Another problem in designing the study was that, viewed in one way, the exhibition comprises a daunting amount of data in the form of informative text on the walls, images, the huge figures, the audio tracks and interactive technologies, the lighting and venue design, the overarching message, and so on. Yet, viewed as an holistic entity, *Gallipoli* tells one story: the 'Anzac moment'. I decided to use a method of analysis that would allow me to approach the exhibition as a unified whole but also peel back the layers that have built it up. I found my way by trial and error to scriptive reading, which seems to have originated in rhetorical analysis, and on thinking it over, it did not seem too much of a 'stretch' to see the exhibition as an instance of persuasion. Then too, Brummett (2010, p. 3) argued that systematic close readings are a "mindful [and] disciplined" way to achieve deep understandings of texts such as museums, and according to Gumbley (2015), close reading allows a broad description of the text together with a spotlight on the design, the purpose and the general message to audiences.

Close readings typically rely on researchers' intuition and instinct, and although these attributes cannot be dismissed, I wished for to generate a degree of uniformity and a systematic approach to my analysis. I chose therefore to adopt Monin's (2004) 'Scriptive reading', as it enables a structured and replicable method by which to find the layered complexities of a text. Scriptive reading subjects texts to a tiered reading

process in three interpretive phases called 'dominant', 'critical' and 'reflexive' (Monin, 2004). Although the method is systematic, it is not prescriptive: individual readers will arrive at their idiosyncratic conclusions, depending on the resources they bring to the reading (Monin, 2004).

The dominant reading is a paraphrasis, by and large a straightforward and sequential account of the 'face value' of text, perhaps akin to the sorts of standard interpretations that might be made by a casual observer or 'ordinary' reader. Monin (2004) describes this phase as "an example of a common-sense response in the expressive realist tradition" (p. 77). The dominant reading simply summarises the contentions of the text, attempting to extract its main truths, and might pick up such things as the intended audience of the text, the values inherent in its production in terms of quality and the way the text is produced for consumption. Other factors that might be considered in the dominant reading are what the text says about itself and the way the it is distributed and made available to its audience.

The critical reading is Monin's (2004) second phase of scriptive reading. In this phase, readers seek to locate and illuminate "previously unrecognised meaning in the text" (p. 77). The aim of this phase is to explicate how and why a text produces the responses of the dominant reading, and encourages readers to see the possibilities of unwitting meanings that may uncover the difference between what is said and what is reality.

The third phase of this three-tiered analysis is the reflexive reading, which, according to Teo-Dixon (2009) brings the reader's own interpretations into the enquiry and shows the ways in which personal assumptions and agendas, and environmental factors external to the text itself, may influence their reading. The third phase can be described as heavily subjective in that it is closely aligned to the reader's personal and emotional responses to the text.

Monin (2004) sets out the three phases of scriptive reading in the order given above: dominant, critical and reflexive. However, I found no particular justification for this order, and I believed that my analysis would be more successful if I re-organised the

readings so that the critical analysis is the final reading of the text. I decided that this sequence would allow for a more holistic critical response to the text, because by conducting my readings in this order, I will have already accounted for and evaluated the potential contextual and environmental factors that might influence my reading of the text, making my critical response more informed than if it were to come before my reflexive response.

4.2.1 Process: selecting the text

I knew all along that I wanted to study a museum exhibition more for its wider social meaning than simply its audience appeal. A thesis for a Masters degree does not permit infinite time, and it was a simple and logical choice, given my interest in the social function of museums and national identity, to locate my research Te Papa Tongarewa, the country's national museum. Settling on *Gallipoli: the Scale of Our War* equates to purposive sampling: I used my own judgment to choose what I believed would be a critical case in Aotearoa-New Zealand. *Gallipoli: the Scale of Our War* has relevance all over the country because of its simultaneous significance in history and in contemporary life, as well as its purported impact on New Zealand's national identity.

4.2.2 Process: data gathering

There was much material about the *Gallipoli* exhibition to be found on line, in the form of both text and images, but I decided that I needed to travel to Wellington and read the text at the exhibition, as opposed to attempting scriptive readings online. No analyst will ever see everything that there is to see, even in alert attendance at an exhibition, but I concluded that there was far greater chance of missing nuances in an online experience, which after all, has to be seen as a representation of a representation. I felt that the ambience and mood created by the exhibition would in large part be developed by my interactions with fellow attendees, and my awareness of their reactions to the exhibition.

I attended to the exhibition on three separate occasions over a period of two days, a decision I made deliberately so that I could practice a different one of Monin's (2004) three reading strategies on each visit. In my reading of the text I have endeavoured to make my analysis as authentic as possible, and therefore the order of my readings when I visited the museum followed the same sequence that I had already decided to use in this thesis.

On my first visit to the exhibition, therefore, I attempted to suspend all my training in critical analysis so as to be open to the dominant reading designed and established by the curatorial team. I decided from the outset that in all possible ways, I would try to emulate other members of the audience within my demographic group, and so thought that observation would be my best method of data collection as I moved around the exhibit, as opposed to a formal interview with experts or fellow exhibition goers. However, as well as observing reactions and the exploring the exhibit, I did engage in conversation with some of the people alongside me, to see how my interpretation of the exhibit matched the general understandings of other viewers. These conversations were casual and light, and occurred mainly during the first half of the exhibition, before the tone became so sombre that it felt too intrusive to speak to people I did not know.

In my first visit to the exhibition, I also chose not to video any part of the text. Despite my determination to carry out observation, I wanted the reading to take place in that moment, and I therefore resisted the temptation to review my readings or temper my reactions with hindsight. In another attempt to be authentic in my interpretation of the text, I chose only to take photos in order to prompt memories. In my first experience of the text, I tried to hold to the path that was curated by following the exhibition in the order in which it was intended to be viewed. Part of the authenticity of this reading was allowing myself to connect with the emotional rollercoaster that was choreographed by the curatorial team, following the chronological path of the exhibition and interacting with all the communication technology that was made available. In order to record my data, I took photos, as I have already said, and also took written notes so as to have limit my engagement with technology outside that provided by the exhibition.

My second visit was based on gaining a reflexive reading of the text, trying to understand why and how my personal reactions to the text were internally and externally constructed. During this visit I attempted to remove myself from any kind of group mentality with other audience members and refrained from discussion with others in order to concentrate solely on my personal emotional response to the exhibition.

On my third, and perhaps most salient reading, I chose to take two companions with me, because I did not want to view the text again myself, but instead, wanted to analyse the ways in which people interacted with the text and how successfully the curatorial methods stimulated awareness of the dominant themes. I was able to view my two companions' reactions to their first encounter with the exhibition and so began to navigate the gap between the museum's surface rhetoric and its underpinning messages. My two companions were comfortable to have me tracking their experience, and allowed me to observe them and their relations, exchanges and interpretations as opposed to re-observing the text.

Though I viewed the text on three separate occasions, and conscientiously tried to replicate Monin's triple—layered approach, my three readings have undoubtedly become a little intertwined. The important aspect of my first visit was to discover my own truths about the ways my personal background was affecting my emotional response to the text. On my third reading, I came to realise some of the most prominent messages that fit within the dominant reading of the text. On reflection, though I perhaps was not as successful as I hoped in keeping my three visits distinctly separate, I am convinced that revisiting the exhibition on three occasions was essential to gaining a strong understanding of the text, allowing time and space for different perceptions and responses.

4.2.3 Working with the data

When I returned to Auckland, I gathered my handwritten notes into three separate documents, each with information that pertained to the particular reading. Once my data were organised and collated in relevant themes, I began the scriptive reading

process as proposed by Monin (2004). I went to work immediately on my first, dominant reading. In order to give an accurate and authentic account of the observed text and the way that it is arguably most prominently experienced, I decided to structure this reading as an orderly, step-by-step walk through of the exhibition and the reading therefore details my entire first experience of the text, from lining up outside the exhibition until the moment of exiting through the gift shop. I have noted all the small intricacies of emotion, audience responses and interactions that occurred in between. The reading is a chronological account of my experience and he way I related to the exhibition. It is fundamentally a descriptive and observational recount of the exhibition in accordance with Monin's (2004) theory of the first dominant reading.

My second reading took on an altogether different structure from the sequential nature of the first reading. As I have already indicated, I chose not to follow Monin's (2004) order of reading, and instead undertook the reflexive reading as the second component of the analysis. The reflexive reading is the internal reflection of the researcher, and this part of the analysis reveals how my own personal and social contexts shaped my reading of the exhibition. Therefore, the reading is full of my emotions and is structured so that strong reactions are described first, followed by my comments about why or how these particular emotions were drawn out by the text. This reading is written in the first person, as an account of my own experience. The reflexive reading is therefore not as focused on describing the exhibition as the first reading was, but instead attempts to discover what separates it from the first reading.

My third reading is the one that most closely aligns with my research question. There are many ways in which the exhibition could have been analysed, and therefore having a distinct 'angle' of insight was helpful in refining the reading. Because the third reading was critical and aimed to elucidate the 'why' and 'how' of the text, I was able to review both the connection of the exhibition to the exigencies of the 'new' museum and to the imagined reality of national identity in 2015.

I decided to analyse the text for elements of national pride first, as this concept was predominant in my second reading. I examined for notions of the 'new' museum second, with particular attention to issues of democratisation, marketisation and technology, which I argues in my literature review as prominent markers of conemporary museums. Finally, I read for bi-culturalism and considered how in many ways it is the connecting element that brings together the exhibition, national pride and the "new" museum.

 In this chapter, I have explained my approach to the research, and the way I conducted my scriptive readings of the exhibition. In the next chapter, I will set out the results of my three readings of *Gallipoli: the Scale of Our War.*

Chapter 5

Scriptive Readings of *Gallipoli: the Scale of Our War*

This chapter contains my readings of the exhibition. It is organised in three parts, following the sequence of readings that I carried out. The first section, the dominant reading, is my 'snapshot' of *Gallipoli.* The second section sets out my personal reaction to the exhibition, and explores the factors that affect my readings. The third section, the critical reading, explores the layers that lie beneath the visible surface of the exhibition, with particular attention to the main concerns of this research project, the 'new' museum and national identity.

5.1 The dominant reading

Monin (2004) calls the first reading 'papraphrasis', which is a constructive examination of a text for purposes of clarification. Although it is hard not to leap immediately into a critical examination of Gallipoli, my first reading of the exhibition is therefore as literal as I can make it, but like all things that set out to be photo-realistic – even photos -- it is still an interpretation. I tried to see everything and note everything, but I am acutely aware that my perceptions, my attention span, and my decisions to include and exclude items, inevitably shape this record. However, Monin (2004) specifies that a reading of the face value of a text grounds the later critical analysis, so this reading is my 'exact' walk through *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War*.

Te Papa calls *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War* an "ambitious" project, one which carries a burden of expectation arising from the importance that the public of Aotearoa—New Zealand has placed on the events of World War I in New Zealand (Te Papa.govt.nz, 2015). Te Papa's publicity material asserts that the Gallipoli exhibition allows audiences to experience the triumphs and "countless tragedies of this 8-month campaign through the eyes and words of ordinary New Zealanders" (Te Papa.govt.nz, 2015), and tells the story of the Gallipoli campaign chronologically, in six stages, each stage narrated by a New Zealander who was there. These chronicles are presented in a number of ways: by audio track, display and wall text and interactive kiosks, and each is introduced by large-scale models of the narrator. Each figure is 2.4 times larger than life and, according to Weta Workshop, took just over 24,000 hours of labour to build and install.

Entering

Lining up to enter the exhibition was part of the experience. That the queue was long, and that most of its members were New Zealanders, was an indication of the both the popularity of the exhibition and the enduring importance of Gallipoli in contemporary Aotearoa-New Zealand. The queue was controlled by fences that formed the visitors into a large circle around the entrance to the exhibition, and this circular formation seemed to band us, the audience, together into a unified whole, able to see and meet one another before we separately entered our shared history. Stands of pamphlets encouraged us to "Discover more about Gallipoli while you're waiting in the queue. Check our website: Gallipoli.tepapa.govt.nz", but although I joined the queue three times, I saw only one person make use of this opportunity, and I did not myself take it up until my third visit. My feeling was that people did not go online to learn more, because at that point, they were thinking about the exhibition from a different angle. The mood of the crowd was friendly and happy, and I did not sense any irritation about the quite long wait. Mostly, people seemed to be moved by a sense of anticipation and reverence.

The way the queue was formed allowed each individual to view the entrance to the exhibition, which has a large-scale version of its logo. The logo consists of the word

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"Gallipoli" in big white letters spattered with red marks that suggest blood or the red petals of Anzac poppies. The word appears to be placed behind a range of jagged hills, suggesting a harsh land, and the words "the scale of our" are written against the hills, so that they seem to lie in front of them. The words are now in a deep blood red, slightly smaller than the screamer *Gallipoli*, and this seems to suggest that the magnitude of the war still overshadows anything else about the Gallipoli peninsula. The word 'war' is almost three times the size of the other words, sitting below the landscape and the other text. Silhouettes of soldiers walk toward each through the word 'war', and this seems ominous: they are most likely walking to their deaths.
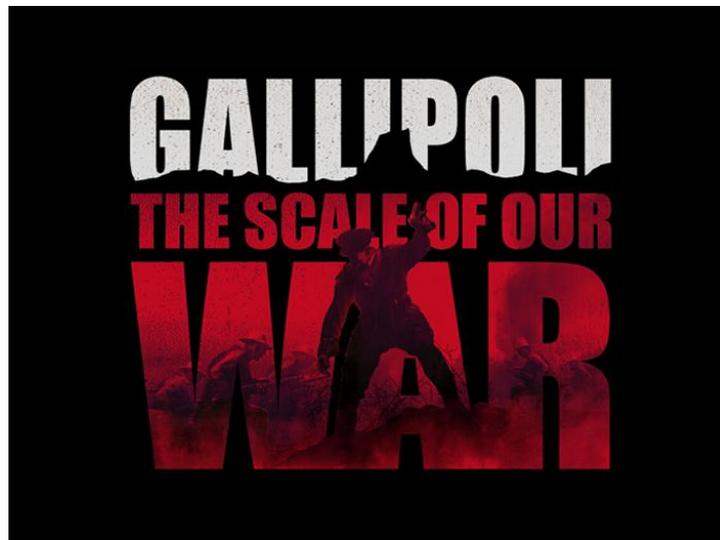
Image 5.1 The exhibition logo (Source: Te Papa Website)

These unnamed and unrecognisable soldiers, of course, can assume any identity a visitor wants: they can be family, enemy or hero. The foreground figure of the officer standing in front of the word 'war' suggests the heroism and the chaos of battle conditions, and I immediately put him on an emotional pedestal as he seemed to be alone and gallant. He too is a nameless face, an 'every soldier' figure.

The exhibition itself is presented as six key chapters in the Anzac campaign: the Great Adventure, Order from Chaos, Stalemate, Chunuk Bair, Saying Goodbye and The Western Front. Each of these chapters had its own room, with a distinct atmosphere, and each told a different story within the larger one of war. Although

the models were larger than life, the stories reduced the war to a human scale by presenting the emotions and experiences of the characters.

Room 1-- the Great Adventure

The main character in *The Great Adventure* was Lieutenant Spencer Westmacott, whose gun, presumably pointing at the enemy, is the first encounter with the exhibition. The lieutenant's face is distorted in pain, and his hand protects a bloody wound. It is a jarring image to see first, and I do not think I was alone in being taken aback by the graphic depiction of a wounded soldier. Many different forms of communication technology were used to tell Westmacott's story: images of the man and quotes from his writing were projected onto the walls, and an audio track described the events which led him to his situation. Like many visitors, I was fascinated by Weta Workshop's technical achievement in creating the lieutenant's huge but lifelike figure, and at this point of the exhibition, the atmosphere hummed with conversation and comments. Westmacott's room was small and dimly lit. It had a low ceiling, black walls and was circular, and it created an intimacy among audience members as well as between the audience and the lieutenant. There was a prevailing sense of companionship, similar to what I had felt in the queue.

The second room in *The Great Adventure* was larger than Westmacott's, but continued the brooding, low-lit darkness of the first room. It was possible to choose my own path through the room, and effectively curate my own encounter with *The Great Adventure,* but a red line on the black floor encouraged the audience to move through the exhibit chronologically, following a wall of text and static images that told Westmacott's history. The same information was available in an interactive kiosk, allowing visitors to investigate particular areas of interest. I noticed that the older members of the audience were drawn to the wall text, while teenagers tended to use the interactive kiosk.

However, neither of these means of obtaining information was as attractive the 3-D landscape of Gallipoli that showed New Zealanders landing at Gallipoli and the first week of battle, accompanied by an audio track of Westmacott telling his story. The

short animation was on auto-play, cycling endlessly through the events, and was certainly the communication technology most used by all visitors. The animation was visually striking and the audio track told a simple but informative story that intrigued the audience. In comparison, the area that attracted the least attraction was set in the far right corner of the room, and used wall text in English and *te reo Māori* to tell the story of Māori involvement in the war. This was the only part of the room that used both English and Māori, and it left an impression that this area of the exhibition was an afterthought.

Although the Lieutenant Westmacott's story was the heart of the room, a flag took up the entire right-hand wall, placing the war in its context within the British Empire. This side of the room listed facts about the soldiers' duties, how they set up their base by 'digging in', the type of equipment they carried for the front line, and so forth. It also critiqued the barbarism of war. However, the overwhelming idea in *The Great Adventure* was that the great excitement that both army personnel and families in New Zealand felt about finally entering the Great War came crashing down quite quickly after the difficult landing at Gallipoli. I noted that as exhibition visitors identified with the shattered hope of Gallipoli, the mood amongst them changed from being chatty, engaged and in awe of Westmacott, to one of more sombre quietness as the reality of his suffering sank in.

The other five parts of the exhibition followed the same pattern as *The Great Adventure.* In *Order From Chaos*, the principal story-teller was introduced in a large-scale model and their personal story unfolded using similar technologies to those that related *The Great Adventure.* The repeated use of red, black and white imagery, and the red date line on the floor, helped the exhibition to cohere even as each room deliberately aroused distinctly different emotions in visitors.

Room 2—Order from Chaos
Order From Chaos features Lieutenant Colonel Percival Fenwick, one of the first doctors to arrive in Gallipoli. He set up a station to treat casualties and tried to sort out systems and organise the arrival of more medical supplies. Fenwick's room was

slightly larger than Westmacott's, and provided seating for visitors who wanted to contemplate his achievements and the burden of grief and guilt he carried over lost soldiers. The music in Fenwick's room was slow, and the mood of visitors was markedly more thoughtful and quiet than the excitement that was created by Westmacott's story. This room engendered a feeling of loss, not only for the dead, but also for the destruction of peace of mind in the soldiers who survived. The emphasis in Fenwick's room was on the bloodiness of war, and paid considerable attention to the work of the medical corps and the burial truce between the Allies and the Turkish army. *Order out of Chaos* showed the bloodiness of war quite literally by looking at the damage inflicted by snipers and different types of ammunition, and it provided a shooting station where visitors could attempt to use a periscope rifle. The shooting station was a major attraction for both younger and older audience members. It was designed to give C21st visitors a realistic insight into the technology used at the beginning of C20th and to allow them to see the way that people died when they were hit with allied bullets.

Room 3--Stalemate

The third part of the exhibition was *Stalemate,* and was also housed in small rooms with low lighting, creating a sense of intimate space. This section focused on the stalemate that happened throughout June and July 1915, when the Turkish army tried unsuccessfully to drive the Allied soldiers back to the sea. *Stalemate* showed the appalling conditions in which the soldiers lived and fought, and the day-to-day realities of life in the war were introduced by Private Jack Dunn.

Dunn was not presented as the conventional hero that Westmacott and Fenwick had been made to seem. He contracted pneumonia after the first month of fighting and after he returned from hospital, he fell asleep at his post and was sentenced to death for endangering his unit. He is portrayed as a figure of human misery, sweating profusely, clearly unwell, trying to eat a meal in a swarm of flies. His story provided visitors with information about the food, bathing conditions, and the daily patterns of life for the Anzac contingent at Gallipoli. I noticed that visitors seemed

less interested in this part of the exhibition, hurrying through this room as though to free themselves from the debilitating effects of stalemate.

The second part of *Stalemate* seemed to arouse fresh interest in visitors: the exhibition re-focused, showing the arrival of reinforcements and the ensuing battle. The last idea presented was that more fighting was likely, and finally that Māori warriors would be at the forefront of the action. At this point, the narration uses the *haka* and the moving images of Māori soldiers entering Turkish trenches. This development in the storyline visibly excited visitors, who stopped dragging their feet as they had in the austerity and discomfort of Dunn's story. The visitors were bouncing from one type communication technology to the next, in their desire to acquire rich information.

    Room 4—Chunuk Bair
Chunuk Bair deals with the Anzac's plan to seize Chunuk Bair and the foothills of the Sari Bair range. The battle was undertaken by 200 soldiers from the Māori contingent and the New Zealand Engineers, and if the strategy had worked, it might have ensured victory. *Chunuk Bair* opens with a room filled with three figures in battle: Private Colin Warden, Corporal Friday Hawkins and Private Rikihana Carkeek. Carkeek, the machine gun operator, is placed at the front and in the centre, and to his right is Warden, dead. Hawkins is shown loading more ammunition into Carkeek's gun. The orders for the battle were that fighting had to continue despite high fatalities, and these figures highlight determination to continue despite the loss of their leader.

The *Chunuk Bair* room was the largest by some margin, allowing me to walk freely around the circular plinth, and probably stimulated even more curiosity about its creation than the first room had. The engagement that resumed at the end of *Stalemate* continued here, but dissipated a little at the change of curation style in the next room. The pattern in the previous narrations was to continue the stories of the main characters, but instead, this room showed the pre-battle rituals of the Māori contingent. Wall text gave information about the hymns that were sung and

the sermon preached by the Māori Chaplin Henare Weipapa Te Wainohu, and finally, the haka. The audience fell quiet as they absorbed this information, and moved on to another 3-D animation, this time of the Chunuk Bair battle with an audio track of Carkeek telling the story of how the Turkish troops eventually drove the Allies back until Chunuk Bair was lost on August 10th. More than 850 New Zealand men died at Chunuk Bair, and many of the visitors seemed distressed, tearing up over the loss, even though it was well known.

The narration of *Chunuk Bair* is unfolded in scraps soldiers' personal stories using wall text and audio content, although I noted that the audio content was less popular than the wall text. All of the stories built up the notion of 'mateship': the idea that the New Zealand men did everything they could to save or protect their fellow soldiers. The Pyle brothers, for example, showed one brother's sacrifice for the safety of the other, and the wall text it was on was almost swarmed by visitors. One audience member kept saying, "What a waste", and many visitors exhibited intense emotion.

Room 5—Saying Goodbye

The theme of loss and sacrifice continued into *Saying Goodbye*, in which the focus shifted to a young nurse, Lottie Le Gallais. The room was filled with an audio track of her muffled tears as she discovered the death of her brother in the Chunuk Bair battle. This was an emotional room for me personally, and many visitors, particularly women who sometimes shed tears, stayed in the room for up to 8 minutes although her story took only one minute and 30 seconds to tell. I stayed for fifteen minutes. The second room in *Saying Goodbye* played very sober music, and again, visitors were largely silent. In this room, unlike their behaviour in the earlier rooms, most visitors followed the red floor line. I also followed the curators' line, because I really did not know what to do with myself, what I should read, or where I should go.

Like earlier rooms, *Saying Goodbye* told Lottie's personal story on wall text and in an interactive kiosk, which was again mostly ignored by older visitors. A feature of this

room was the recreation in miniature of the hospital ship that arrived following Chunuk Bair to receive the sick from the beach. The reproduction allowed the audience to walk around it and take in the over-populated surgical and general medical areas.

Saying Goodbye also shows the graves of the soldiers who either died in battle or from wounds before they could be evacuated by hospital ships, and brought up the notion of the 'noble enemy', a concept that was touched on throughout the exhibition but was made very clear in the quote, "Our soldiers have fallen far from home, fighting gallantly…and deserve that a gallant foe, such as we have found the Turkish soldiers to be, should take care of their last resting place". These words were a plea from the Anzac commander Lieutenant General Godley to the Turkish Commander in 1915, and the display of the text takes up an entire wall of the room, sparking much interest and emotion from the visitors.

Room 6—The Western Front

The Western Front brings the exhibition to a close. The room is filled with many sorts of communication technologies rather than the personalised figure of a New Zealander, and is also a lot smaller than those before it. The rather muted mood of the earlier display persists here, both in the style of communication and in the emotion it evokes in the audience. The small room gave the history of what happened at home after the return of the surviving soldiers and the set out the commemorations that have taken place since the Gallipoli campaign. It also told brief stories about what happened to some of the soldiers who were shipped to France to fight alongside thousands of fresh volunteers.

The first room is made up solely of wall text, and many visitors seemed to be overcome with emotion, hurrying through and taking little in. The room was therefore comparatively empty, and there were none of the common scenes of people intimately crowding around wall text. In the defeat, we lost the sense of community that had united us as an audience as we had moved through the exhibition up to that point. However, a small desk called visitors to action before

they entered the room holding the last figure. The wall text said, "Gather a poppy and share your thoughts- someone's name, a war story, your response to the exhibition, or your feelings of conflict. Feel free to lay your poppy at the feet of the soldier ahead of you or take it home." Many visitors paused to do this, and seemed to become very reflective when previously they had seemed to want to leave quickly.

The figure that followed this pensive space was Sergeant Cecil Malthus, who survived the war and described himself as walking in the shadow of death. He was depicted walking forward, looking to the future while contemplating the past, and in fact, he personifies an idea that underpins the *Gallipoli* exhibition as a whole, that sacrifice in war must never be forgotten. My last action at the exhibition was to wash my hands in cleansing water, following the Māori custom of purifying after being in the presence of the dead. I left, as guided, through one of the museum's bookshops.

Afterthoughts

The surface level of *Gallipoli: the Scale of our War* is almost impossible to criticise. It is sensitively composed, and presented skilfully and powerfully, making it a fitting centennial commemoration of a moment in history that has affected the formation of Aotearoa-New Zealand. Several parts of the exhibition had a way of unifying the visitors into single entity, an audience, which separately and collectively produced similar responses to the exhibition. The varied communication technologies made it possible for individual visitors to engage with the exhibits in the way that best suited them: younger people towards the technology-rich kiosks, older people (on the whole) towards wall texts. All the visitors were moved by the 3-D animations and the massive figures created by Weta Workshops, but other, less obvious tactics such as variations in the audio tracks and the amount of wall text, and the unexpected intimacy created by the circular rooms, all affected the audience to a greater or lesser degree, and allowed a sense of ownership over the emotions that were evoked.

In one sense, though *Gallipoli* is rich in national history, it is also a high-budget, standard museum offering about an important national event. By this I mean that

while some visitors undoubtedly used the portrayals of suffering and waste to form their own critique of power and class (for example), the exhibition itself does not do that. Likewise, some visitors might well have decided that war is an evil that should be avoided, but this is not an interpretation offered in *Gallipoli.* The exhibition perfectly fulfils its dual function of education and entertainment, showing a truth about the Gallipoli campaign, but avoiding difficult polemic. The message of the exhibition is troubling at the human level, but perhaps not at the intellectual level: it is not a cerebral experience so much as a visceral one.

Finally, the exhibition is promoted among the museum's attractions as being about the 'Anzac moment' and about another Kiwi achievement, the 'can do' mastery of technology emerging so fruitfully from the partnership with Weta Workshops. Certainly, *Gallipoli* can be experienced at that straightforward level as a spectacle, and at the level of the dominant reading (Monin, 2004), that is exactly what it is: an impressive presentation of eight months that are sometimes thought to have shaped the nation.

5.2 The reflexive reading

My second reading of *Gallipoli: The Scale of our War* is the reflexive phase. There is a sense in which a reading of a text becomes clearer when it is examined through a lens of personal experiences and beliefs (Monin, 2002), so this phase of the readings questions the reader's interpretations of a text in the light of the internal resources brought to bear on the analysis. Accordingly, following Monin (2002), I will review the personal, environmental, and contextual factors that may have influenced my reading of *Gallipoli* to see why I reacted in certain ways to different aspects of the exhibition.

An important contextual factor that influenced my response to the text is that I am a graduate of a communication studies degree, and I was studying the exhibition as part of my Masters degree. My education has trained me to take a critical perspective on social phenomena, and it is now natural for me to peel back layers of

meaning of all texts. This training certainly affected my responses to the exhibition, and made me think at multiple levels, constantly moving between the reflexive reading and the critical reading, even as I processed the details of the dominant reading.

My consumption of the exhibition also added its weight to my reading. I attended the exhibition three times in 48 hours, but only during the first visit did I allow myself to share the same emotional journey that was 'designed in' by the curatorial team. My second and third visits tempered the experience with intellect because I had a different job to do. I was a not a casual visitor: I needed to immerse myself in the exhibition as a text. The fact that I intended to use the exhibition as data also meant I entered the exhibition with a strong contextual understanding of how and why it was created, and the roles of Te Papa Tongarewa and Weta Workshop. I also had better-than-average knowledge of World War I and New Zealand's Anzac history. All this pre-understanding might have limited and intellectualised my responses, but I believe that I still danced through the emotions that were choreographed into the exhibition.

Because of my family background, I was susceptible to the awakening of national pride, which was fostered in voiceovers in which the actors used thick 'Kiwi' accents and colloquial New Zealand language and reinforced by the presence of the New Zealand flag. I was conscious that this emotion was being deliberately constructed, but that did not make it unreal, and the rapport that was built with the characters intensified my sense of pride in the real sacrifice, honour and friendship that were displayed.

I was most affected by the story of the young nurse, Lottie De Gallais. I entered the room feeling a sense of failure because of the loss of Chunuk Bair, but when I reached Lottie, I was overcome by defeat and loss. I knew that the despairing voice was a performance by an actress, just as I knew the figure was created by Weta Workshop, but this particular story of loss touched me deeply. I suspect that one important factor in my response was that Lottie's was the only story to 'star' a woman, and I instantly empathised with her. My identification with her was made a

little difficult because she was portrayed as a damsel in distress waiting to be comforted by the men who had been at war, but her love for her brother is easy for me to understand, as I am the only female sibling in my family.

I think another reason that I focused on Lottie was the space she was in. Her smaller room was a strategy that forced the primarily female audience to stand close to one another, and we banded together in dignity with a sense of gratification that Aotearoa-New Zealand had produced women like her. I was personally confortable with the emotional audio-track, too: in the previous displays, heavily emotional content was limited to wall text and audio material was presented in matter-of-fact style. I am conscious that it is a cliché to assign an emotional role to the female character, but that very cliché was part of what made Lottie sympathetic to both male and female visitors. There was much in my experience as a woman that made Lottie's exhibit speak to my feelings of both feminine and national pride.

Then too, because I am a naturally optimistic person, I could not help but read the exhibition with a feeling of hope. I started out hoping that my expectations, excitement and anticipation would be satisfied, and *Gallipoli* opened with *The Great Adventure,* in a general sense of hope for the nation and for the war effort. I was not immune to the moods invoked by curatorial intention, and I responded accordingly when I encountered the enthusiasm of soldiers prepared to fight for the Allies. I was acutely aware that I am a citizen of a small island nation, and these stories struck a chord with me because it seems to me that Aotearoa-New Zealand has had only limited involvement in large-scale historical events. The presentation of a military failure as a national success fascinated me, as did the role Aotearoa-New Zealand played in this battle.

The exhibit that featured Sergeant Cecil Malthus was easy to identify with because of the familiar cultural marker for Anzac Day, the paper poppy. The figure itself was almost half covered with hand written notes attached paper poppies. Children growing up in Aotearoa-New Zealand learn about the "Anzac Poppy" almost from pre-school, but in this setting, the well-known symbol was newly poignant. It is fair to say that the Anzac Day remembrances I experienced as a child were sanitised

compared with the 'real' version of Gallipoli placed in front of me by Te Papa. The juxtaposition of the poppy with the represented suffering made the symbol more vivid than it had ever been before, and grounded me in my own past, the historical past, and an emergent present.

I read the exhibition as a fourth-generation New Zealander, raised in a family that has therefore been part of the formation of New Zealand, which inevitably creates considerable cultural capital and an entrenched connection to the land, the people and the history. My parents and grandparents all taught me about the meaning of Anzac Day, and when I was younger, I probably did not consider those teachings critically, though I accepted them sincerely. As I have grown older, I have acquired other knowledge that now tempers and deepens my response to the poppies on the exhibit. For instance, as a result of my university studies, I know that the *tangata whenua* lost an entire generation of male leaders because of the war, and that this has had, and continues to have, negative flow-on effects for the Māori people. This teaching was not necessarily emphasised to me as I grew up, but it is nevertheless now part of my understanding of Anzac Day. Thus, my reflexive response to the Anzac story is founded in a combination of the well-meaning but simplified stories that perpetuate the legend of noble suffering, friendship and sacrifice and a more critical sociological view that questions colonialism and posits the notion that a post-colonial national identity may never be possible.

5.3 The critical reading

This, the final section of my scriptive readings, is where I examine the exhibition from a critical standpoint, peeling back the layers that lie beneath the surface commemoration of a time in history. I have organised my critical reading around four main ideas, but before I come to these ideas, I want to begin with a critique of the title: *Gallipoli: the Scale of Our War*.

At first glance, the title is a functional description of what will be delivered: it locates the exhibition geographically in Gallipoli, and for most New Zealanders, it thereby places it in time as well. In doing so, it immediately calls on the cultural capital that

the 'Anzac nations' carry about both the horrors and the ideals of the campaign: the waste, carnage and unimaginable suffering alongside the patriotism, valour, and sacrifice. However, in as much as the title can be read as a straightforward label that simply grounds the subject of the exhibition in time and space, it must also be seen as an authoritative claim of truth.

The word 'scale' needs to be read both inside and outside the title. For instance, to use the word 'scale' is to imply a definition of physical dimensions and longitudinal endurance, and *Gallipoli: the Scale of Our War* does contain this statistical information, yet this is not at the main message of the exhibition. Instead, 'scale' is explored at the level of six individuals, and 'our war' is thereby shown as simultaneously tiny and enormous: tiny, because Aotearoa-New Zealand did not send nearly as many personnel as the other Allies; enormous, because in proportion to the total population of the country at the time, the contribution was high. The larger-than-life size of the figures in the exhibits may symbolise the contribution made by Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Further, the title talks of 'our' war. The use of the first person plural here unequivocally speaks for the whole of Aotearoa-New Zealand, binding the country into a single attitude of ownership and acceptance. 'Our' suggests that 'we' will assent to what the exhibition shows of the country's history, war, and about the identity of the nation. It also implies an intimacy, a neighbourliness one with another and a collective mind that may in fact be far from the truth of Aotearoa-New Zealand.

5.3.1 Lost, Gallipoli: found, national pride

Although it is hard to resist moving in step with the emotional choreography of *Gallipoli,* the exhibition must nevertheless be read as a liminal space into which visitors step to view a representation of the realities of war before stepping back into the reality of their own lives. In other words, *Gallipoli* is true to historical fact, but it is also, and perhaps primarily, a tightly -engineered system of meaning about

war and being, and the dual nature of the exhibition must be remembered as it is analysed.

I suggested in the dominant reading, and reiterated in the reflexive reading, that *Gallipoli: the Scale of Our War,* evoked strong national pride, although the traits on which the pride is based seem to be quite masculine: physicality, practicality and ingenuity (Gibbons, 1992) – the traits that produced the legendary 'N°. 8 wire mentality', perhaps? Pride is built because the national origins of the characters are made clear: these are not 'Aussies' or Canadians or 'Pommies': they are 'Kiwis', and identification is easy through the medium of voiceovers in 'kiwi' accents, expressed in 'kiwi' colloquialisms. For New Zealanders, the exhibition builds a strong sense of being among compatriots, and for overseas visitors, perhaps, the sense of meeting 'authentic' Kiwis.

The 'Kiwi-ness' of the persona seems to constitute a conspicuous effort to create a sympathetic view of the characters and to allow identification. For example, Lieutenant Spencer Westmacott is described in favourable terms —"handsome, clean-shaven, and intelligent" -- and his "strong will, maturity, determination and resilience are shown in his almost single-handedly clearing the bush and scrub on this father's property" (Cameron, 2013, p.16). This description suggests that Westmacott epitomised the New Zealand identity of his day, and in fact, that his character could be a model of national identity. Barker (2012), for example, asserts that values that predominated in the early C20[th] still prevail, because many New Zealanders think of themselves as part of a rural, agricultural nation, despite the fact that 85% of New Zealanders now live in urban areas.

Westmacott also embodied the bravery that the nation has come to associate with the Anzac soldiers (Gibbons, 1992; Significance of Anzac Day, 2015). Westmacott, wounded and in pain, is the first character visitors encounter in the exhibition, and further acquaintance reveals that his arm was amputated as a result of the injury (Grover, 2015). The exhibition tells how Westmacott lived a full life despite the amputation (Grover,

2015), and this deliberate juxtaposition of suffering and triumph was designed to evoke pride in traits that are taken to be national characteristics. In fact, if the traits are indeed typical of the national character, they were not developed on fields of war, but rather, in the exigencies of settling in an unbroken land, which needed citizens with the drive and stamina to carve farms out of virgin bush (Phillips, 2009). Westmacott's personal characteristics, associated with the fields of war, were in fact developed in the fields of the family farm. On this point of markers of national identity, Fairburn (1975) and Graham (1992) have argued that the practicality and adaptability needed for survival and success in the infant nation so permeated the whole of Aotearoa-New Zealand that the nation's sense of itself derives almost exclusively from these old fashioned 'settler qualities'.

National identity is fluid and unfixed, emphasising and relinquishing qualities and values as history flows (Berger, 2007; Byrnes, 2007). *Gallipoli,* however, uncritically deployed certain traditional, though not uncontested, "Kiwi" characteristics as though both history and national identity were fixed in time. Perhaps the argument for this interpretation is that the exhibition offered an authentic view of the man in his times as he lived, but it also perpetuates a particularly *colonial* character, based on a relationship with the land that is about making it productive. Furthermore, though the plot lines of each exhibit vary, the exhibition as a whole speaks of a single, quite simple New Zealand identity. The exhibition therefore did not engage with 'Aotearoa-New Zealand' so much as with 'New Zealand', and I suspect that the reason for this is that audiences might be more attracted to the familiar and (generally) uncontroversial 'settler identity'. Of course, that very 'settler identity' may have had its origins in, and have been learnt from Māori culture, but this is not explored as a possibility.

Limited though *Gallipoli's* conceptualisation of the national identity was, it nevertheless invokes pride, and in this context, obviously, the emotion surfaces in response to stories of suffering and distress caused by war. War and national pride expressed as patriotism are inextricably connected: citizens are motivated to enlist, fight, and support wars because their patriotism is called up (Patriotism in Peace and War, 2015, para 6), but in as much as war is fed by patriotic zeal, patriotism, equally,

is fed by war. War brings out the most potent expressions of patriotism, but peace does not forget war, and commemorations always include displays of national pride involving the military. Smith and Jarkko (1998) assert that 71% of people cite history as a reason for their national pride, and a 45% connect their national pride to their perceptions of the military. War is the ultimate conflict situation, and because conflicts require a winner and a loser, they may escalate pride in the win. Certainly, war engenders loyalty, and loyalty begets sacrifice: as *Patriotism in Peace and War* (2015, para. 7) puts it, "the paradigmatic form of sacrifice "for country" is the sacrifice made by soldiers in war".

National pride, then, is required for people to feel that war is just and to make sense of the loss and suffering that ensue. In the rhetoric of war, death is frequently structured within notions of honour and heroic self-sacrifice (Larsson, 2009), and this framing is evident in *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War,* in which feelings of national pride are promoted through the characters of the brave soldiers. Despite claims by Te Papa that the exhibition sets out to "tell the story of the Gallipoli campaign in World War I through the eyes and words of eight ordinary New Zealanders" (Te Papa, 2015), the bravery and loyalty depicted are not ordinary: they are extreme. For instance, Lieutenant Colonel Percival Fenwick arrived at Gallipoli and immediately risked his life to recover wounded Anzac soldiers in order to perform life-saving surgeries and this level of self-risk and noble attitude would not necessarily have been universally found among the Anzac soldiers. Nevertheless, it is *that* man, and *that* character that was selected as 'ordinary'.

I find the term 'ordinary' here to be somewhat problematic. Te Papa's promotional language uses the word to describe the events and the personnel featured in the exhibition, but the very reason that these 'ordinary' New Zealanders were featured is that they were in their different ways, extraordinary. This refection raises a question about whether these eight people are considered to accurately represent the average Anzac soldier or whether their behaviour exemplifies 'ordinary' reactions in the extraordinary circumstances of war, for in a very real sense, the moment any person enters the arena of war, their actions and surroundings become extraordinary. 'Ordinary', then, is an unhelpful word: both universalistic and vague,

it valorises the characters featured in the exhibition at the same time as it demeans them as being 'everyday' and 'nothing special'.

Museums produce social meanings, and a wide focus is essential in order to understand the framing of content and audience experience (Oberhardt, 2000; Pollock & Zemans, 2008) and also the frames which the museum itself fits within (Pollock & Zemans, 2008). I have already alluded to the strong connections between Te Papa and the government, which contributes heavily to the organisation's operating budget. Indeed, the Act which established the museum makes the ties and expectations. The government therefore has an interest in the way the museum frames New Zealand characteristics and presents moments of national history, and given that Te Papa is required by its Act to generate at least one third of its operating budget, one factor that determines the framing of exhibitions is likely to be the attraction of audiences. Perhaps, when foot traffic counts, controversy is not welcome: war as a back-drop for noble action and attitude is likely more appealing to a wide audience than war as waste, war as hate, war as frustration and fear and anguish. Certainly, *Gallipoli* sets the 'ordinariness' of the national character against a view of war designed to arouse pride rather than highlighting its brutality and devastation or the changes it caused in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

The war is not a ninth character in *Gallipoli,* and it might have been. I called this section *National pride and the glorification of war,* but in fact, the exhibition does not glorify war so much as make it as 'ordinary' as the New Zealanders who fought there. It is not sanitised: it is simply accepted as taking place, and this is presents a disjoin for modern sensibilities. Setting aside the sentimental and cultural ties to Britain, a war in Europe, arguably, had little relevance to Aotearoa-New Zealand on the opposite side of the world, but it is in fact the sentimental and cultural ties that are elevated in *Gallipoli.* Aotearoa-New Zealand, it seems, did a 'right' thing by sending troops and medical personnel to the war effort. Suffering is certainly presented, but it is objectified and put out for the wondering gaze of the visitors. Against the real stories of the eight real, but 'ordinary' New Zealanders, the exhibition offers no critique of the catalogue of escalating stupidity and unwise decisions made in relation to the campaign to take Gallipoli.

Many New Zealanders take almost an inordinate pride in their country's success on the rugby field, where Aotearoa-New Zealand, given the small population it has draw on to find rugby talent, 'punches far above its weight' in its ratio of wins to losses. In fact, rugby has long been argued as central to the makeup of the New Zealand national identity (Hargreaves, 1982; McCarthy, 1968; Nauright, 1994). It is not part of the burden of this thesis to argue whether rugby is part of the iconography of the New Zealand identity, but it is possible that elements of rugby training may have overlaps with the character traits valued in 'ordinary' New Zealanders. Since rugby came to importance as a pastime in the 1850s, it has united the country in common experiences, especially experiences of winning against teams from bigger nations Crawford (1999). As preparation for Gallipoli, it is not the wins that are important. Rather, it is the structural elements of the game: rugby is organised and requires specialisation and task sharing; it needs commitment and endurance; it depends on cooperation and team spirit, and it employs strategy. All these attributes are also needed for success in war. It is tempting to draw parallels between the national pastime and doing well in war, but that would be impossible to prove. What can be argued, however, is that the associations rugby has for many New Zealanders provided the designers of the exhibition with a useful social tool to create identification with the exhibition through the incorporation of the *haka.*

The *haka* has a proud tradition in Māori culture, but even if observers know nothing of that, most will link it with rugby and the All Blacks and that source of national pride. The *haka* is unique and quickly identifiable; it is rousing and moving, and it inclines viewers towards a patriotism born from a sense that Aotearoa-New Zealand has an ethnic mix and a way of expressing that mix that no other country has. The presence of the *haka* at *Gallipoli* reminds visitors of success in sport at the same time as they are encouraged to see the failure of the campaign as a different form of victory.

5.3.2 *Making* Gallipoli *accessible*

In Chapter Three, in my review of published research on museums, I showed it has

for some years been fundamental to the function of museums to make the collections accessible to as wide a section of the population as possible (Davies, 2001; Gilmore & Rentscher, 2002a, 2002b). One way of doing this has been through the democratisation of content: the systematic ensuring that all aspects of an exhibition are within the comprehension of all potential visitors, and further, that the material and environment are, if not fun (*Gallipoli* cannot be said to be 'fun'), then at least appealing and entertaining (Flemming, 2004; Templer, 2008; Voase, 2002). The reason for this move was shown to be the pressures on museums to commercialise their operations, for even if a money transaction is not part of the visit (some viewings of *Gallipoli* are free, for instance), the numbers in the foot traffic count become a non-financial, but nonetheless commercial, measure of success (Davidson & Sibley, 2011; Harrison & Shaw, 2004). I submit, and in this section will argue, that accessibility is the primary reason behind the promotion of a particular construction of New Zealand national identity in *Gallipoli*.

I suggested in section 5.3.1 *Lost, Gallipoli: found, national pride* that the national characteristics promoted in the text are of a type that tends towards an idealised masculinity in which physical capability and mental ingenuity are principal factors. Although this idealised character may not be universally pleasing to New Zealanders, it is, arguably, universally available as a trope to explain who 'a New Zealander' is[2]. For instance, though Aotearoa-New Zealand is highly now highly urbanised (Barker, 2012), the image of the 'rural man' is still fondly maintained and referenced in popular culture, and Aotearoa-New Zealand is still promoted in terms of the attractive notion of its '100% pure' landscape .

The choice of this precise 'brand' of national identity can be construed as a tool used by Te Papa to guarantee that *Gallipoli* would produce a commercial return through the instant, easy cultural identification which is needed for visitors to have a satisfying museum experience (Alexander, 1999; Davies, 2001; Goulding, 2000; Rentschler, 2001; Rentschler & Geursen, 1999). The design decision raises questions about Te Papa's reception studies (Levy & Windahl, 1984) of its primary audience

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[2] See for example such items of popular culture as the character of Fred Dagg, the novels of Barry Crump, and the "Bugger!" television advertisements for Toyota cars.

In presenting content, any design team has to adapt 'reality' to the prevailing social sensibilities of its projected audience. The Gallipoli campaign is part of 'difficult heritage' (Leopold, 2007; Logan & Reeves, 2009) in Aoteroa-New Zealand, and some of the content of the exhibition is unavoidably disturbing. On the other hand, contemporary audiences are regularly exposed to the suffering of others because tragedy is an effective method to create engagement (Kyriakidou, 2015), and scenes of tragedy and adversity are thus part of everyday consumption experience (Boltanski, 1999). Although the distant 'other' whose pain is exposed to the gaze of an audience is most usually contemporaneous with the audience, that is not always so. In the case of *Gallipoli,* the geographical distance is increased by a chronological one, and despite the passages of 100 years, the invitation to *Gallipoli's* visitors is to enter a state of "affective witnessing" (Kyriakidou, 2015, p. 2) and identify empathically (Tester, 2001) with the distress "in" (Kyriakidou, 2015, p. 2) the exhibition. It seems likely that the search for audience underpins the pathos and nobility characterising the exhibition.

This mode of presenting difficult heritage is amply relevant to the way modern audiences experience distant suffering, and it seems unlikely to dislocate visitor satisfaction. The eight New Zealanders who 'star' in the exhibition are ideal victims (Höijer, 2004) to capture a contemporary audience, being easy to relate to in the sense that they do not present tricky character defects. Even Private Jack Dunn, condemned for dereliction of duty, made an error that is easy to understand and forgive: he was not guilty of cowardice or betrayal; rather, he fell asleep because of sickness and exhaustion.

Thus, in the drive to make *Gallipoli* accessible, the suffering of the Anzacs has been softened. Appeals were made to national pride through heroism and patriotism, and although the context was war, war itself was minimised. It can be argued, then, that the integrity of Te Papa's stated intention to recount the Gallipoli campaign has been tempered and even marginalised by the organisational need for audience numbers.

5.3.3 *Technology and* Gallipoli, *the text*

Technology plays a big role in increasing the accessibility of exhibitions and collections (Knell, 2003; Lange, 2007; Rentschler, 1999), and even before the exhibition opened, the partnership with Weta Workshop, known world-wide for the excellence of their special effects (Thomas, n.d.), was likely to captivate potential audiences.

The use of the sort of technologies for which Weta is famous is now a fundamental part of any agenda of attracting an audience (Knell, 2003; Lange, 2007) and contribute to 'edutainment' which Gilmore and Rentschler (2002) assert is at the forefront of audience demands. Te Papa is among the museums who have a strategy for including digital content in their exhibitions in order to remain relevant and meet contemporary audience expectations for entertainment (Te Papa Statement of Intent, 2013). The association with Weta Workshop worked at two levels: first and most obvious, as a source of interesting technology for the exhibition, but second, as a major marketing tool for *Gallipoli* and for Te Papa itself.

The exhibition contained a number of digital platforms that used technology to engage and excite and combine education with entertainment. Of all the digital technologies in *Gallipoli,* perhaps the most successful in finding a balance between education and entertainment was a blank 3-D landscape of Gallipoli onto which events could be projected from below, along with audio tracks of the main characters narrating their stories. The technology was effective: it held audience attention on an emotional level, as well as teaching about specific moments in the campaign.
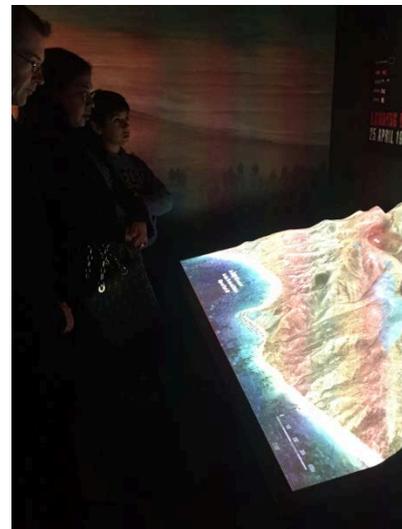
Levenson (1998) argues that the new content-driven technologies are simply a different way of presenting the information that traditionally printed in catalogues and gallery notes. In this case, however, the technology did not simply make information straightforwardly available, it also worked on affect. The audio tracks

were acted, not just read aloud: the exhibits tapped into pre-determined emotions in the audience. In this respect at least, *Gallipoli* was more edutainment than education.

Some of the exhibits contained other edutainment attractions. The second room of the exhibition, *Order from Chaos,* examined the role of snipers, and used static communication devices such as wall text to show the effects of certain types of ammunition. The key attraction in this room, however, was a shooting station where visitors could use a periscope rifle to shoot at the enemy. The station allowed visitors to hold the gun physically and use the digital visuals to aim and shoot at targets who died when they were hit. With its overtones of video games, the shooting station seemed to incorporate more entertainment values than educative ideals, though it would be possible, of course, to argue that it is educational to know that such a gun existed and how it worked. In terms of the design of the exhibit, however, the truly educational material is placed before the shooting station, highlighting how the exhibition moves between the traditional role of education and the contemporary 'add-on' of entertaining. Furthermore, the videogame element of the shooting station problematised death as something permissible to deliver to the enemy, but unacceptable for the Kiwi allies.

I have already said that the alliance with Weta Workshop for technology doubled as a marketing ploy for *Gallipoli: the Scale of our War*. Contemporary museums are audience-oriented, and anything that will pull visitors contributes to the financial well-being of institutions and their continuing ability to deliver on their social contract (Lange, 2007; Rentschler, 1999). The partnership with Weta Workshop perhaps gave Te Papa a competitive edge over other centennial exhibitions seeking audiences. Interestingly, however, it was not the high-tech parts of the exhibits that were most intriguing to visitors, but the static forms of the

main characters whose stories form the backbone of the exhibition. The models
were featured on all the promotional material as well as being mentioned
extensively in sponsored articles: they were described in terms of attractive statistics.
For instance, the figures were 2.4 times lager than life, and each weighed between
90 and 150 kilogrammes; more than 400 kilogrammes of silicon was used to create
the skin, and the figures had human hair and wore accurate replicas of the Anzac
uniform. The super size of the models, admittedly a technological achievement,
indicates the way audiences are intended to regard the Anzacs throughout the
exhibition: though 'ordinary', the Kiwi soldiers are larger than life and their stories
endure beyond death.

News of the technological virtuosity of the exhibition may have increased the
numbers of tourists who visited *Gallipoli*. Perera (2015) contends that websites and
digital platforms, in conjunction with static exhibitions, increase museum tourism as
visitors are able to become acquainted with what institutions offer and then can
plan their physical visits. So, thanks to technology, *Gallipoli* had a possible audience
of considerable but unknown breadth, which makes some sense of the relatively
uncontroversial way that the theme of war was handled. The heavy focus on 'Kiwi'
attributes does not necessarily immediately engage overseas viewers, but the key
stakeholders are the groups of local and remote citizens (Benediktsson, 2004) who
may benefit just as much from an online presence as tourists from abroad. The
theme of national identity, interlocked with technology, remains relevant.

5.3.4 Bi-culturalism: where is Aotearoa-New Zealand in Gallipoli?

The Te Papa Tongarewa Act (1992) codifies Te Papa's mission to fully represent New
Zealand's culturally-diverse society by working in partnership with *tangata whenua*
(Māori, the indigenous people) and *tangata tiriti* (the people in New Zealand by the
right of the Treaty of Waitangi) (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 1992; Te Papa:
Our History, 2016). Te Papa has to walk a fine line to accomplish its bi-cultural goal,
as many New Zealanders now tend to the opinion that Aotearoa-New Zealand is
multicultural rather than bi-cultural (Message, 2005; Moss 2004), and though the

museum's 2013 Statement of Intent shows a shift toward a broadly-inclusive multicultural framework, the Board of Trustees maintains a formal bicultural policy. The question that guides this last section of the critical reading is "How is Te Papa's policy bi-cultural policy revealed within the framework of *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War*?"

The exhibition does not take long to read for bi-culturalism: seven of the eight 'stars' are Pakeha, and only one is Māori. This may match the cultural mix in the contingent from Aotearoa-New Zealand, but it seems to downplay the presence of Māori. In fact, in the first three rooms of the exhibition, the only mention of Māori is a small corner in the first exhibit that describes the way a Māori contingent was gathered together, in the face of opposition from some leaders who did not believe that Māori should fight for the British Crown that had wronged them barely 50 years earlier. *Te Reo Māori* is an official language of Aotearoa-New Zealand, but this was the only place, until the fourth room, that featured Māori in the wall text. As a proportion of the whole exhibition, the Māori contribution seems less a feature than a 'featurette', because after *Chunuk Bair*, there is little more mention of Māori and their part at Gallipoli. The exhibit is out of balance in the overall exhibition, and furthermore, it is a representation that seems to tell the pakeha and Māori stories as separate rather than intertwined in the making of Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Chunuk Bair tells the story of a Māori soldier, Private Rikihana Carkeek. *Chunuk Bair* begins with Carkeek, and Māori content saturates the exhibit: the *haka* is prominent as wall text explains at length how the Māori battle cry created camaraderie amongst the Anzacs before their attack on the Turks. The *haka* is played repeatedly at a low level in the quiet room, and the exhibit featuring Private Carkeek working the machine gun section is highlighted. Read in this way, the inclusion of the *haka* smacks of cultural appropriation: the use of a well-known cultural form that is powerfully evocative and furthermore, has strong associations with victories on the rugby field. No doubt the familiarity of the *haka* did impart a sense of camaraderie

among compatriots, as the exhibit says, but the emphasis on it turns attention away from the history that made many Māori leaders at the time discourage their people from participating in this war.

The representation of Private Carkeek as a heroic fighter is undisputable at a personal level, but the Māori warrior can also be read as a cliché in the context of a war that cost the Māori people a generation of leaders (King, 2003). This exhibit uncritically accepts the image of the martial Māori, the "natural warrior" (Belich, 2014, para. 6) fighting for king and country: what it does not do is critique Private Carkeek as a member of a displaced race in a colonised land. In fact, the absence of wall texts fully bi-lingual in *te reo Māori* and in English, the use of the *haka* as a motif pinned to the one Māori story, and the miniature presence of Māori in the exhibition, all combine to suggest that Māori have been marginalised here. By using aspect of the culture and history but not telling a whole story, Māori have been denied their cultural citizenship (Pakulski, 1997; Stevenson, 2003).

Māori are not the only people to be marginalised within the exhibition: women too are given a subordinate role. The part of women in the war effort is not mentioned until the second-to-last exhibit, *Saying Goodbye*, which suddenly inundates viewers with information about women and their role in the war. Women too are built around predictable stereotypes: Lottie de Galais is the first woman to be featured within the exhibition, and she is shown grieving for her dead brother. The exhibition shows the men as heroic; Lottie is distressed and not strong enough to hold her emotions together. Women worked as ambulance drives in World War I, but Lottie de Galais was a nurse, arguably a stereotyping of women, who are often seen in service roles rather than in positions of command (Health Guidance, 2016).

Afterthoughts

In these scriptive readings (Monin, 2004), I have moved through the dominant reading to the reflexive reading, and then on to the critical reading. Each type of

reading has its own purpose in the examination of a text. The dominant reading, for instance, is a paraphrasis, a constructive reading that clarifies and re-states the text, comparing it with nothing but itself. In other words, the dominant reading finds the things that the text says about its purpose and being. In the dominant reading I offered in this chapter, I 'walked' my analysis through the exhibition from entry to exit, both noting the features of the individual exhibits, and also considering the exhibition as a whole. This reading showed a high-budget commemoration of an important moment in the history of Aotearoa—New Zealand, and also captured audience reactions to the exhibits. It showed the exhibition as persuasion in action, in that it pulled on particular emotions in the audience.

The second reading was my reflexive reading, in which, following Monin (2004), I attempt perpension. This unusual word simply means 'a careful evaluation in the mind', and its purpose in the readings is to consider the internal resources that are brought to bear on a text. I found I was deeply influenced by my cultural capital as a New Zealander, and that my emotions were more susceptible to the manipulation of the exhibit design than I expected.

The third and critical reading should consider the text for performance, perspective and persuasion (Monin, 2004), and in this way deconstruct the text so that it can be re-constructed in another mode of understanding. To this end, I read and re-read the exhibition until I saw four main patterns in it: national pride, accessibility, technology, and bi-culturalism. Within each of these areas, I have tried to uncover the perspectives that were operating below the surface level, and I have considered the performance of the exhibits in terms of affect. Both of these factors contributed to an understanding that the exhibition is, covertly, an effort in persuasion.

Gallipoli: the Scale of our War was purpose-built to carry a version of the Anzac heritage that is palatable, at least at the level of a surface reading. However, the representation of Māori and women in the exhibition tend to reinforce the stereotypes of a particular type of pakeha male, and it is the masculine attributes of the 'good Kiwi bloke' that dominate the depiction of the national character. Williams (2003, p. 189) argues that this type of representation involves "an obvious

tension between … representing a strategy of unitary national consciousness, and … [paying] homage to cultural difference and diversity". Te Papa's struggle to resolve this tension allowed the identity of a white male settler to dominate the exhibition. I think that the failure to offer balanced view of the national character is partly because the museum has to pursue audience as a primary mission.

Chapter 6

Discussion

The purpose of this research was to examine *Gallipoli: the Scale of our War* with two ideas in mind. The first idea was to see the way that the exigencies of the 'new' museum (Davidson & Sibley, 2011; Flemming, 2004; Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002b) are expressed in an exhibition that purports to be "*the* national exhibition" (Dr Pugsely, speaking about the exhibition, Eventfinda, 2015, emphasis added), an exhibition that "… will set the tone of how New Zealanders remember the Gallipoli campaign for the 21st century" (*ibid*). In fact, it was *Gallipoli's* lofty aspirations that gave me the second idea that occupied me in this research, which was about the version of national identity that such an exhibition could and would offer to the nation. These two ideas came together in the following research question: "*In what ways do the exigencies of a 'new' museum affect representation in Gallipoli: the Scale of our War, and connect to the 'imagined reality' of New Zealand national identity?*" In this chapter, I will discuss the conclusions I have been able to draw from the scriptive readings I carried out, with a view to answering the research question.

6.1 *Unpacking* Gallipoli: the Scale of our War

This section of the chapter is in three parts, following the structure of the research question. Thus, section 6.1.1 deals with the exigencies of the 'new' museum; section 6.1.2 consists of a discussion of the relationship between the 'new' museum and

representation within *Gallipoli;* and finally, section, 6.1.3 opens up the issue of national identity in the text.

6.1.1 The exigencies of a 'new' museum…

When I worded the research question to include the word 'exigencies', I did so advisedly, because the scholarship on museums shows a deep divide between, on one side, a boosterish attitude towards increasing audience numbers by heightening the appeal of the collections and exhibition (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002a; 2002b), and on the other, the feeling that museums are systematically dumbing themselves down (Flemming, 2004; Templer, 2008). 'Exigencies' is a powerful word, connoting actions in response to need, perhaps actions that are therefore accompanied by a sense, if not of compulsion, at least of obligation. In this research question, then, I sought to imply that whether they like it or not, 'new' museums are obliged by internal and external policies to act in such a way that their collections and cultural material is rendered acceptable and available to the widest possible audience.

The exigencies of 'new' museums require that exhibitions educate *and* entertain, that they are appealing *and* serious, that they offer robust interactive exhibits *and* conserve the collection for the future. Responding to complex and conflicting exigencies may open museums to accusations of 'selling out' by reducing the complexity of material and eliminating subtlety and nuance in the story-telling, but it is the reality of the sector that arts have been marketised and culture democratised (Alcaraz & Mort, 2009; Alexander, 1999; Ames, 1989; Templer, 2008). Furthermore, demands to be appealing, once acted on, have to be continually serviced if the museum is to maintain its share of the crowded leisure market. Thus one 'blockbuster' exhibition follows another, education moves closer to entertainment and transforms into 'edutainment', and the buildings themselves become attractions, 'facilities' in which it is possible to buy a T-shirt, view a collection, attend a conference or get married.

As an example of a 'new' museum, Te Papa did not evolve gradually from being an 'old' museum to being a 'new' museum, but instead, was conceptualised from the very beginning as a business-oriented service organisation that was not fully

supported by public money and had to generate one third of its operating budget from its entrepreneurial activities (Davidson & Sibley, 2011; Volkerling, 1996). Thus, the specific 'exigencies' that pertain to its exhibitions also relate to its organisational survival: for Te Papa, it is necessary to be a 'new' museum or no museum at all (Davidson & Sibley, 2011).

This reality plays out in the dominance of a certain 'show and tell' character in the design of its exhibitions, by which I mean that the material has to presented so that it can be grasped and enjoyed by audiences ranging in age from primary school to grandparents and from New Zealanders bringing substantial cultural capital, to tourists for whom Aotearoa-New Zealand is unknown and in need of explanation. Such a breadth of audience inevitably increases the possibility that material will offend someone, and tends to place exhibitions on a middle ground where a number of imperatives can be served, but possibly not resolved. The point of view put forward in exhibitions in 'new' museums is therefore likely to incline towards uncontroversial (Templer, 2008), even if the subject itself is unpleasant, by which I mean that the content will be accurate but its truth may be narrow.

6.1.2 *…affect representation in Gallipoli: the Scale of our War*

A 'landmark' exhibition such as *Gallipoli: the Scale of our War* could tell many stories, but in the environment of 'new' museums, the voice that spoke was never likely to be strident or unduly challenging to audiences (Templer, 2008). The exhibition features eight different New Zealanders, but there is a sense in which the eight individual 'characters' are also avatars for the nation now, chosen because they each in some way represent the Aotearoa-New Zealand that meets audience specifications. These are the New Zealanders that the nation would like its forbears to be, or would enjoy having as neighbours.

The overwhelming message of *Gallipoli* was that of national pride, which is built and reinforced at every stage of the exhibition. National pride is presented without irony, given that the Anzacs were defeated at Chunuk Bair. In fact, it is the representation of failure that is most significant here, for it seems that at *Gallipoli,* losing is not important, so long as the loss is honourable, and to a worthy enemy. The exhibition

makes losing into a form of victory, long-term, and based on moral rather than actual outcomes, but victory nonetheless. The territory and personnel that were lost are factually present in the exhibition, but with none of the emotional weight that is assigned to the representation of failure transformed into triumph.

In the story of national pride that unfolds in *Gallipoli,* a key theme is human virtue, built as the character of 'an honest Kiwi bloke' (King, 2003). The attributes for survival in the appalling conditions of Gallipoli are assigned to the preparation that being an 'ordinary' New Zealander affords, which increases the sense of pride in belonging to Aotearoa-New Zealand, a nation where the way of life imparts admirable attitudes and skills. Logic compels the thought that the ordinary New Zealanders who went to fight at Gallipoli would have all profited to a greater or lesser degree from their upbringing in Aotearoa-New Zealand, but the representation of 'Kiwi-ism' in *Gallipoli* suggests that being a New Zealander is an equitably universal benefit.

6.1.3 … and connect to the imagined reality of New Zealand national identity?"

When a major exhibition commemorating a day of national importance is mounted at the national museum Te Papa Tongarewa, and advertises itself as shaping the next century of opinion about the Gallipoli campaign, the version of national identity that it offers needs to be able to withstand scrutiny. An early view of Aotearoa-New Zealand as an egalitarian land free of racial disharmony and class distinction (King, 2003; Mikaere, 2011; Sibley & Liu, 2007) produced a model of national identity that was essentially masculine, emphasising practical skills and physical prowess that could be demonstrated in sporting success. Although this view of Aotearoa-New Zealand is one-sided, in that it derives from the colonists alone, and includes no opinions from the colonised, it is the view that has been adopted in *Gallipoli*, and out of it has come an unproblematised representation of national identity. This seems to be the vernacular view of New Zealanders, celebrated in popular culture as *Fred Dagg* and other laconic men-of-the-land.

In fact, even at the time the Anzacs were fighting in Gallipoli, this concept of Aotearoa-New Zealand was known to be flawed (King, 2003), though it gained such a wide-spread acceptance that it was hard to combat. It is perhaps the least pleasing function of the exigencies of 'new' museums that such a narrow view prevailed in the making of *Gallipoli*, because the white, male 'settler' identity that is disseminated in the exhibition ignores the very real cultural inequalities that existed in 1915 and continue to exist in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Pakulski (1997, p. 77) points out that cultural citizenship confers "…rights to unhindered and dignified representation, as well as to the maintenance and propagation of distinct cultural identities and lifestyles". *Gallipoli* certainly achieves these rights of representation for the Pakeha-centric view of Aotearoa-New Zealand, but the representation of Māori suffers in this treatment. Te Papa was brought into being as an organisation in which bi-cultural representation was to be a priority, and *Gallipoli* fulfils the organisation's obligations: in *Chunuk Bair*, Private Carneek works the machine gun while the *haka* plays in an endless sound loop. The weight of Māori presence in the exhibition is very slight, and what there is, though moving, seems both predictable and reductive. For instance, it is historically correct that the *haka* was performed at Gallipoli, but it is not so clear that the *haka* in *Gallipoli,* even in conjunction with the full *Chunuk Bair* exhibit, provides sufficient symbolic presence to represent the Māori people and and ensure their cultural citizenship. I noted in the scriptive reading, for instance, that the wall texts in the exhibit rooms use only English. The word 'tokenism' is ugly, but it comes to mind, because *Gallipoli's* representation of Māori does not show the real importance of Māori culture in the making of the nation, or the way it entwined with the settler identity to give a new account of national identity.

Overall, then, how does *Gallipoli* connect to an imagined national identity in 2015? The answer, of course, could never be properly known unless a compulsory longitudinal survey of the whole nation was carried out, but applying Anderson's "imagined community" (1991, p. 6) to Aotearoa-New Zealand offers some clues. For instance, the 'settler identity' seems very familiar, and King (2003) underlines the fact that many New Zealanders *feel* rural although 85% live an urban life. Then too,

the depiction of the 'authentic Kiwi' is a sympathetic one. It seems that even as viewers respond emotionally to the exhibition with a sense of pride in the nation, they know intellectually that this is not the story of national identity that would be told if Gallipoli were to be re-enacted in 2015. National identity now needs to embrace traits that derive from the combining of Māori and Pakeha cultures into a bi-cultural model, and even beyond that, perhaps, into a paradigm of multi-culturalism.

Anderson's (1991) notion of "imagined community" (p. 6) conceptualised strong horizontal links among contemporaries, but *Gallipoli's* story of national identity extends the imagined connections vertically through time as well. Oddly, this might constitute evidence of some Māori thinking in the exhibition, in that Māori believe in 'walking backwards to the future'. If this is the case, then the version of national identity that *Gallipoli* delineates, though never complete or fully accurate even in the context of World War I, will continue to connect this truth of Aotearoa-New Zealand to the future.

Afterthoughts

Finally, *Gallipoli: the Scale of our War* must be read as a persuasive text, despite its ostensible intention to entertain and educate. Persuasion occurs best when audiences and persuaders share "consubstantiality" Burke (1969, p. 21), which produces communicative cooperation between the two parties to the message. In brief, it elicits feelings of identification with the message and makes audiences complicit in their willingness to accept and believe.

Consubstantiality can be developed with an audience by showing them the ground they hold in common, by creating a common enemy and by uniting the audience and the rhetor as a single entity, a transcendent 'we'. In relation to the question that has shaped this thesis, it is in Te Papa's best interests to achieve consubstantiality, and *Gallipoli* uses all three techniques to ground visitors within the prevailing philosophy of the exhibition. Common ground is created in part by the subject matter, which is familiar to all New Zealanders at some level through Anzac Day commemorations, and also through the treatment of the eight main characters, who are elevated to

starring roles, yet remain recognisably and resolutely 'ordinary'. The Turkish army provided a common enemy, and at the same time increased the dimensions of the common ground, because the enemy was shown to fit with the ideals of the settler identity as noble and worthy of the win. As the audience began build identification with the New Zealanders, the dreadful conditions, the death, loss and suffering were all also shown as common enemies, further embedding the consubstantiality that persuasively presented the ethos of *Gallipoli.* Finally, the exhibition shows that 'we' all suffered at Gallipoli and because of Gallipoli. The 'transcendent we' that is the exhibition's view of Aotearoa-New Zealand unites the nation in Anderson's (1991, p. 6) "imagined community".

6.2 Limitations of the project and future research ideas

A master's thesis has limited scope of both time and words, and does not allow for a long study, nor one that applies different methods of analysis to a data set. If I had been able to take more time, I would have interviewed visitors to *Gallipoli* to ascertain their readings of the exhibition, especially in connection with my own main finding that the exhibition sought to arouse feelings of national pride. As it is, I have only anecdotal evidence to support my own reaction, in that a colleague who attended the exhibition told me that after her visit, people were stopped by museum staff collecting visitor reactions. She said that everyone talked about how proud they were of 'our boys' and of 'being Kiwi'. If the limitation of time and scope were removed, I would undertake the bigger research project I have mentioned here, with a view to answering a specific question about perceptions of national pride. Another obvious extension of the research would be to interview museum staff about their awareness of the 'new' museum environment in which they work, with a view to evaluating its effect on their curatorial work.

The study was limited also by the fact that I analysed only one text. It was never my intention produce generalisable findings, but a greater depth to the dataset would add substance to the discussion.   With more time, I would apply Monin's (2004) scriptive reading to other commemorations of the Gallipoli centenary. Auckland Art

Gallery, for instance, mounted a display of poignant black-and-white photographs of the Anzac memorials in small towns in the 'heartland' of Aotearoa-New Zealand. The contrast between the high-tech, 'blockbuster' approach taken by Te Papa and the elegant but low key exhibition at the art gallery could not be more marked. A comparison of two such texts might produce significant insights into the notion of national identity.

Finally, though scriptive reading (Monin, 2004) had great utility for my research purpose in this project, I am aware that the method has features that could be classed as limitations. The dominant reading tends towards a rather linear and descriptive approach to the data. Further, in the critical reading, the conclusions almost inevitably unfold along with the reading: it is impossible not to intertwine data and interpretation. For this reason, in future research I would choose to triangulate with another method of analysis, although I would not entirely abandon scriptive reading. It is an extremely flexible method, being adaptable across different sorts of texts.

6.3 Conclusion

When I began this research project for my master's degree, I knew what interested me, but had no idea what I would discover. What I did find surprised me. I attended the exhibition knowing quite a lot, in an abstract way, about the museum sector and the pressures on it, and I expected to be immune to Gallipoli's thoughtful choreography. As I have already said, though I was aware of the forces at work and the reasons behind the forces, I was susceptible to the persuasion in the text. I have wondered since why that was, and I have concluded that *Gallipoli* speaks of universal themes, and responses are socially conditioned and also universal. Despite the academic knowledge that accompanied me on my three visits, my reactions fell into the same range as those of other visitors.

When this is put into perspective against the research question, it probably means that visitors will appreciate an exhibition for its capacity to move them. What is moving will change with the epoch. It is easy, in a thesis, to criticise *Gallipoli* for

situating itself so that its content is easily accessible to all comers, and for telling only one truth about the campaign, but no exhibition could ever tell every truth about a topic. Perhaps, outside the thesis, the balanced view would be that at least the people who go to the exhibition learn something of war and of Gallipoli, and that the people who served there will never be forgotten.

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