Once More, With Feeling:

An enquiry into The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa's

exhibition *Gallipoli: The scale of our war*

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Abstract

This thesis examines The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa's exhibition *Gallipoli: The scale of our war*. Conceived in partnership with Weta Workshop and formulated during a period of institutional uncertainty, *Gallipoli* was ostensibly created to commemorate the centenary of the First World War. This research investigates what this exhibition and the methodologies and practices deployed in its development reveals about how Te Papa interprets its public service role, and concludes that *Gallipoli* signals an intensification of its hegemonic function.

Marked by a discursive engagement with critical museology and theoretical perspectives pertaining to the ethics of memorialisation and practices of governmentality, in this thesis a transdisciplinary approach is adopted. Employing a qualitative and grounded theory methodology and inductive processes, anchoring the research are interviews with Te Papa staff and *Gallipoli* visitors, documentary evidence, exhibition 'text' analysis and autoethnographic reflections.

This thesis suggests that *Gallipoli* is characterised by a distinctive 'affective public pedagogy'. Further to this, it is argued that *Gallipoli* not only has significant implications for Te Papa's pedagogical functions, but also for conceptions of subjectivity, citizenship and nationhood in New Zealand in the twenty-first century. It is contended that recent developments at Te Papa have further problematized its exogenous and endogenous relations of power, and that the ritualised practices of affect afforded by *Gallipoli* are ideologically prescribed. It is also determined that Te Papa's legislative responsibility to be a 'forum for the nation' requires reconsidering.

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All images collection of the author unless otherwise stated.

PROLOGUE

Encountering *Gallipoli*

Figure 1.1: Lieutenant Spencer Westmacott, 2015.

Wellington's harbour sits under a lowering sky. It's mid-morning in mid-winter and the sea is the colour of lead. In front of me, as if risen from the water – like some sort of space-age Atlantis – is the hulk of Te Papa Tongarewa.

I enter the Museum. Stepping from the escalator, I'm confronted by a hundred or so murmurous visitors stretched out in a snaking queue before the silhouette cut-out of a New Zealand soldier and beneath *Gallipoli: The scale of our war* spelled out in massive sans-serif font.

With a wave of ten or so others I step across *Gallipoli's* threshold and am immediately greeted by a giant khaki-clad figure, lying prone, and pointing a pistol over my head, a dramatic Hollywood score, sounds of battle and a voice proclaiming "Good boys. I felt a glow of pride". It almost feels carnivalesque, but I'm on guard, painfully conscious of 'what I'm doing here' and knowing full-well that the story has a tragic

ending. Within minutes, my 'companions' are increasingly hushed and I begin to feel the closeness of their bodies. Every time I look up I seem to catch someone's eye. It's oppressive, claustrophobic.

I'm propelled through the labyrinth, through the chronologically unfurling tale of New Zealand's Gallipoli campaign. In each 'bell-jar' I am met by a giant or huddle of giants, and in each 'annexe' – which seem sepulchral but sci-fi – I find wall texts, touch-screen kiosks, photographs, military paraphernalia, videos: a cornucopia of dates, battles, deaths.

While certain that their suffering was real – the care with which each hyper-real giant has been fashioned confirms this – and while equally certain of what it was they suffered from – the text catalogues precisely the methods of death or ailment – I am given little insight into the bigger "why" of their suffering.

Part way through, I stop and take down a few hurried notes. When I looked over them later two stood out. The first read: why are they telling me *this?* And the second: why do they want me to *feel* like this?

An hour after entering, I descend down and around a horse-shoe basin holding one last giant figure in a sea of paper poppies strewn by visitors on their way out and exit through the gift-store.

Once More

Introduction

And overpowered by memory

Both men gave way to grief.

<div align="right">Homer, 1990, p. 605</div>

In April 2015, *Gallipoli: The scale of our war* opened at The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. A central showpiece in New Zealand's First World War centennial commemorations, it was created in partnership with design and special-effects company Weta Workshop and is said to be an 'emotional journey' that will 'take you back to Gallipoli' (Te Papa, 2014e).

> The worlds of movies, model-making, and museums combine to take you on an immersive journey through the battlefields. Follow the action on 3-D maps and projections, and hear the enemy fire. View photos taken by soldiers on the front line. See the weapons used in combat, and explore the terrible havoc they wrought. [...] Experience the triumphs and countless tragedies of this 8-month campaign through the eyes and words of the ordinary New Zealanders who were there. [...] Some say the Gallipoli campaign marked a turning point in shaping who we are as a nation. One hundred years after the event, it's hard to say where memory meets myth. But we can experience the stories of those who were there, and reflect on what they mean for us today (Te Papa, 2015a).[1]

Framed against a backdrop of the ongoing global 'memory boom', the 'triumph' of neoliberalism, and shifting museological agendas, *Gallipoli* is an important event in the history of museums, exhibition-making and commemorative practices in New Zealand.

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[1] This was how *Gallipoli* was advertised on Te Papa's website prior to opening.

The development of the exhibition occurred during a time of uncertainty at Te Papa, with a major organisational restructure in 2013 and CEO Mike Houlihan departing suddenly in May 2014. However, between opening and April 2016, over 700,000 visitors passed through *Gallipoli*, making it the most visited exhibition in Te Papa's history (Te Papa, 2016b; TVNZ, 2016). As the exhibition runs until 2019, the institutional expectation of having one million visitors will surely be surpassed. Additionally, it has also been suggested that '*Gallipoli* is poised to influence the way that Te Papa implements exhibition development and delivery over the next five years and beyond' (Ross, 2015, p. 30).

This thesis considers what *Gallipoli* may reveal about how Te Papa interprets and performs its pedagogical functions and conceives of its public role. It does so by inquiring into the historical processes and cultural contexts that shape Te Papa; the epistemes, policy objectives and relational politics informing the exhibition's development; the responses and behaviours of visitors – including those of the author – to the exhibition; and into the cultural assumptions it promulgates. That is, into what it *does*: into the realities and relationships it reflects and produces.

That my focus should fall on *Gallipoli* was due in no small part because of an interest in the work of German author W. G. Sebald and his literary enquiry into the ethics of mourning and memory, of testimony and bearing witness (Santner, 2006; Long, 2007).[2] In this thesis I explore how practices of memorialisation, particularly those relating to the collective trauma of war and its aftermath, are employed as cultural instruments. Of them being, firstly, *pedagogical catalysts* and *therapeutic events* as set out in certain strands of current museological theory. And secondly, and more importantly here, *devices* of social management or 'governmentality' in the Foucauldian sense.

With regard to the latter, and as Tony Bennett writes, 'there is nothing new in the suggestion that museums are usefully viewed as machineries that are implicated in the shaping of civic capacities' (2005, p. 522). There is, however, a widespread perception that museums *have* changed considerably in recent years. Indeed, since the 1980s and responding to challenges, for example, from postmodern and post-colonial critiques, museums have been distinguished by discourses of multiculturalism and

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[2] Although absent from the text, Sebald serves as a 'spectral' guide in this study.

democratisation. Over this period they have also had to adapt to neoliberal agendas and the corporatisation of public services; funding bodies now expect them to be 'accountable in both capitalist and in social terms' (Arnold-de Simine, 2013, p. 2).

Furthermore, in order to 'keep pace' in an age of instant obsolescence, to remain relevant and appealing, 'new' museums are often typified by spectacular architecture, interactivity, and the use of intermedial practices and multimedia technologies. Critics of these shifts suggest they have become high-cultural analogies of theme parks and shopping malls (Arnold-de Simine, 2013). Te Papa, which was forged out of the ferment of postmodernism, neoliberalism and biculturalism, is widely perceived to be a model of just such a new museum (Williams, 2003; 2006; Message, 2005; 2006; Wedde, 2006).

As New Zealand's national museum, Te Papa has an explicit if ill-defined and unstable nationalistic agenda and statist function. For example, The Te Papa Act 1992 states that the Museum should be 'a source of pride for all New Zealanders', while Te Papa's legislative remit and corporate character is lent vernacular expression on its website:

> [Te Papa is] renowned for being bicultural, scholarly, innovative, and fun. Our success is built on our relationships with and ability to represent our community. [...] We also have thriving commercial enterprises […] (2015b).

There is, in other words, no secret agenda waiting to be revealed. Therefore rather than simply substantiate what is already evident I also seek out spaces of *breach* and consider the relationships – the divergences and correspondences – between Te Papa's public remit, its institutional rhetoric and its actual representational strategies.

In this thesis, *Gallipoli* is initially perceived to be distinguished by a series of collisions, with two of the most conspicuous being between social history epistemologies and practices of public memorialisation, and a three-way schism involving an overtly didactic agenda, a pedagogy premised on 'affect', and a philosophy of 'authorial dispersal'. With regard to its 'affective pedagogy', this is illustrated most vividly by the desire for the aforementioned 'emotional journey'. Institutional disjunctions are also discerned, particularly between its new corporate vision of 'Changing Hearts, Changing Minds, Changing Lives' (Te Papa, 2014k) and its responsibility to act as 'a forum for the nation' as set out in the Te Papa Act. A further structural conflict is highlighted by Ian Wedde (2006) when he notes that Te

Papa is required to return both a commercial dividend on the state's investment and a cultural result in terms of the public good. At the heart of this thesis is an exploration of how these *seemingly* divergent methodologies and objectives played out in the development of the exhibition, how they are revealed in the exhibition itself, and what the wider implications of such tensions may be.

That these tensions are indicative of wider complexities within new museums and new museology seems clear. For instance, in 1971 Duncan Cameron asked whether museums were 'temples or forums', and today his question seems as relevant as ever. For example, in 2009 Carol Scott wrote that 'Museums have symbolic value as sites of commemorative events and they provide spiritual value through generating experiences of wonder, awe, and meaning' (p. 200). Three years later, Fo Wilson contended that 'The idea of the museum as a secular, ceremonial temple that Carol Duncan posited in her essay *Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship,* is starting to wear down in the new century' (2012, p. 219). And, to continue with this dialectical seesaw, in 2013 the Museums Association of Great Britain released a statement declaring: 'Museums need to become places where emotion is encouraged, where stories are told and where a visceral response is preferable to an intellectual one – more like places of worship' (as cited in Bedford, 2014, p. 50).

Further to this, although museums have seemingly become discursive and democratic spaces (Weil, 2002; Scott, 2009), their instrumental function is also increasingly evident, as witnessed by the demands of funding agencies for active public service. This paradox – of the museum privileging the experience of the individual while simultaneously having a more pronounced instrumental role – is neatly captured by Michel Foucault when he writes that such a scenario may be perceived as 'kind of political 'double-bind' which is the simultaneous individualization and totalization of modern power structures' (as cited in Dibley, 2005, p. 22). It is therefore suggested in this thesis that this embrace of social responsibility signifies a new take rather than a withering of museums' hegemonic function.

Foucault's paradigm of governmentality may be defined as: 'The deliberations, strategies, tactics and devices employed by authorities [...] to govern without governing *society,* to govern through regulated choices [...]' (Rose, 1996, p. 328). Te Papa's 'affective public pedagogy' is understood in this thesis as an instrument of

governmentality, and it is suggested that via its ritualised affective atmosphere the exhibition repositions the Gallipoli campaign in the national imaginary. Furthermore, it is contended that if Te Papa's specific aim is to 'change hearts, minds and lives' and museums play a vital role in 'constructing the subject', then this exhibition, as an expression of this desire and example of this function, has implications with regard to contemporary formations of subjectivity and citizenship in New Zealand in the twenty-first century. It is also argued that *Gallipoli's* exhibitionary methodologies and developmental practices – its 'distributed co-creation' – are symptomatic of an institution not simply ensnared by neoliberalism but representative of it.

In this thesis I make use of a transdisciplinary approach and bridge between the fields of museology, memory studies and critical public pedagogy. Employing a qualitative and inductive methodology, this thesis is not only structured around processes of emergent analysis but is composed in a way which mirrors the path of discovery taken during the course of the research. In other words, an iterative and improvisational approach is adopted. It must also be noted that 'storytelling' is dependent on processes of selection and exclusion (whether intentional or otherwise), and this is as true for exhibitions as it is for this thesis: both are inevitably riddled with lacuna.

Background

The late twentieth century, which saw the emergence of postmodernism and neoliberalism, the 'end of history' and a movement from Fordism to more elastic patterns of labour, accumulation and consumption (Harvey, 2011), was also gripped by what has been dubbed a 'memory boom'. This 'memory epidemic' (Huyssen, 2003) has continued into the twenty-first century and at first blush seems perplexing given the significance of immediacy and disposability in both contemporary cultural and economic formations.

> It is hard to know exactly how to read this phenomenon – how to judge its social and cultural meanings, as well as its political valencies, and how to situate its explanation, or historicise it occurrence. But its presence is palpable (Eley, 1997, p. vii).

Concomitant to this have been attendant rise in testimonial cultures, trauma discourses and memorialising rituals.

My understanding here is that practices of memorialisation cannot be 'severed from authorial subjectivity, indeed, from politics' (Walkowitz and Knauer, 2004, p. 1). Furthermore, this study labours under the assumption that the construction of historical narratives – whether through traditional historiographical methods or through 'acts' of memory – reveal as much about the present as they do the past (Kavanagh, 1999; Whitmarsh, 2001). Or, as Jenny Edkins writes, history 'is produced in the present rather than preceding it' (2003, p. 34). Historical remembrance, as Jay Winter puts it, is 'a discursive field, extending from ritual to cultural works of many different kinds [with a] capacity to unite people who have no other bonds drawing them together' (as cited in Sumartojo and Wellings, 2014, p. 2).

Memorialisation thus functions to reinforce and reiterate ideas of, for example, the 'imagined community' of the nation state (Anderson, 1991). According to John Stephens, the memorialisation of *war* occurs within a matrix of 'sorrow, citizenship and identity' (2010, p. 637), while Edkins maintains that 'trauma is fundamental to the production of political community' (2003, p. 42). For Paul Williams, public memorialisation is promoted as an effective *ethical apparatus* for producing 'a range of desirable social responses – from allowing victims to mourn, to forgiving perpetrators [...] to imparting to all of us values that might make us better human beings' (as cited in Arnold-de Simine, 2013, p. 36). Facilitating and engendering practices of public memorialisation is, needless to say, a central function of museums.

In this way, museums may be perceived as theatres in which the cultural trends, conflicts and contradictions of the past and of the present moment are performed and played out (McLean, 1999; Luke, 2002; Preziosi and Farago, 2004a).[3] Museums shape collective values and cultural understandings and have the capacity to affirm *and* challenge social realities (Luke, 2002; Preziosi and Farago, 2004a). They are also, in Ben Dibley's words, and in Althusserian mode, 'institutional sites that subjectivize subjects' (2005, p. 5). For Henry Giroux, culture produces and regulates power: '[…] power is a central element of culture just as culture is a crucial element of power'

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[3] When writing of museums, I mean state or publicly funded institutions and am also referring primarily to museums of history.

(2010, p. 489). It is from this perspective that I inquire into the particular 'culture of remembrance' that Te Papa has engendered in this exhibition.

Gallipoli, if conceptualised as a temporally constrained and spatially sited cultural artefact or text, may be read as a 'statement of position. It is a theory: a suggested way of seeing the world' (Macdonald, 1996b, p. 10). And yet such a hermeneutical reading seems to be problematized by the exhibition 'text' being the product of multiple epistemologies pushing up against one another. This is not, however, a problem particular to this exhibition. As cultural formations – as sites and events which 'house' diverse cultural practices and discourses – exhibitions, and museums more generally, are 'products of an ongoing struggle by individuals and groups to establish what is real, to organize collective interests, and to gain command over what is regarded as having authority' (Luke, 2002, p. xxiv).

For Robert Lumley (1988), museums 'map out geographies of taste and values [...]' (p. 2). Although a benign picture, the inference is anything but, and as Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago argue, museums 'locate and orient our desires within the trajectories of an imagined past' (2004b, p. 6). There is also more to them than the 'documenting, monumentalizing, or theme-parking of identity, history and heritage. Though they are commonplace in our cultural landscape, they are far from 'natural'' (Preziosi and Farago, 2004b, pp. 3-4). Nor, for that matter, are they 'neutral', and it must be emphasized here that museums:

> […] serve as theatre, encyclopaedia and laboratory for simulating (demonstrating) all manner of causal, historical, and (surreptitiously) teleological relationships. As such, museums are 'performances' – pedagogical and political in nature [...] (Preziosi and Farago, 2004b, pp. 4-5).

Museums, Pedagogy and Affect

In this thesis, practices of public memorialisation – such as museum exhibitions commemorating historic events – are viewed as being correlative to public pedagogy, are understood as pedagogic events. Museums, it is argued, 'enact' a form of public pedagogy. By which it is meant they provide visitors a selectively constructed (if

'tensioned') social, cultural, and political imaginary and establish *positions* from which visitors are invited to perceive the world (Trofanenko and Segall, 2014). For the purposes of this study, public pedagogy is taken to mean both the purposive educative function of the museum and its role as an ideological apparatus in state/cultural terms: it is seen as both an active (instrumental) *function* of the museum and an incidental (or unconscious) *outcome.*

Brenda Trofanenko and Avner Segall suggest that exploring pedagogy in the context of museums:

> [...] opens up the possibility of examining not only how people and issues are represented in museum exhibits but also how audiences are constructed and constituted as they are invited, pedagogically, to feel, value and learn about the world in certain ways (2014, p. 2).

Here, my focus falls not on the transformative potential of 'critical public pedagogy', but rather on the hegemonic function of what Giroux has described as the 'corporate public pedagogy of neoliberalism' (2010, p. 487). According to Giroux (2010), the public sphere is today marked by new sites and practices of pedagogy brought about by a confluence of new media technologies and growing concentrations of corporate power.

Running parallel to this is an enquiry into *affective public pedagogy* and its relationship with practices of governmentality. Silke Arnold-de Simine (2013) explains that affective pedagogical practices in museums are intended to afford visitors opportunity:

> […] to gain access to the past through the eyes of individuals and their personal memories, by 'stepping into their shoes,' by empathising and emotionally investing in their experiences, (re)living a past they have not experienced first-hand and thereby acquiring 'vicarious memories' (p. 10).

The *promise* of affective pedagogy is that it serves as a 'spark for learning' and leads to better – and *embodied* – historical understanding (Arnold-de Simine, 2013; Witcomb, 2013).

A discursive engagement with 'affect', especially in relation to its utilisation as a pedagogical tool, striates this thesis. Michelle Henning explains that affect refers to:

[…] subjective feelings both psychological and physiological. It encompasses more than physical sensation, but is also distinguished from emotion. […] According to the cultural theorist Brian Massumi, affect […] is experienced as 'moments of intensity' (2006, p. 157).

To clarify, affect is said to be 'pre-discursive', while emotion – affect's 'symptom' – captures 'affect and turns it into something which can be expressed, or given meaning' (Henning, 2006, p. 157). However, and following John Proveti (2009), I understand emotion *and* affect to be culturally shaped, to be situated within and responsive to relational networks of somatic and social processes and practices. Here it is also argued that social formations such as museums establish 'affective regimes' and that affect intertwines with their 'cultural circuits of value […]' (Wetherell, 2012, p. 16).

Objectives

Underpinning this research is the question: what are the implications of Te Papa employing what I term an *affective public pedagogy* in its commemorative exhibition *Gallipoli: The scale of our war?* Coalescing around this are a number of additional questions, including but not limited to:

1. What values, conventions and ideologies are inscribed in and promulgated by this exhibition?

2. How are subject positions engineered within the exhibition, and what types of participation and engagement does the exhibition encourage and allow? Are visitors able to make new 'sense making paths' or is it that their encounters are essentially 'pre-figured'? Put differently, what is Te Papa's vision founded upon and what sort of 'subjects' does this vision predict and create?

3. Affective and participatory encounters now occupy a privileged position in museological pedagogy and *Gallipoli* is positioned in this study as being part of this 'new wave' which encourages empathetic encounters with the past (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007b; Golding, 2009; Bedford, 2014). Here, the question of whether such practices signify a (theorised) return to earlier museological agendas is raised. Further to this, it is often taken for granted that affect and

empathy are in and of themselves worthy aspirations (Edkins, 2003; Arnold-de Simine, 2013), and this study circles around the question of whether the 'emancipatory potential' they have been afforded is a mirage.

Theoretical Framework

In this thesis, museums are perceived to be part of wider institutional circuits and are identified as sites for the 'classification and ordering of knowledge, the production of ideology and the disciplining of the public' (Henning, 2006: 1). In light of this and in order to contend with *Gallipoli's* and Te Papa's ideological complexity, an array of theoretical perspectives are sought out and deployed and a transdisciplinary approach is adopted. Transdisciplinarity may be parsed as an integrative research strategy that crosses and 'thinks across' disciplinary boundaries (Szostak, 2012). In this study I draw, for example, upon: the work of Michelle Henning and Timothy Luke, both of whom apply media theory to museology; the critical cultural theory of Hal Foster and Andreas Huyssen; the critical museology of Tony Bennett; the memory studies approach to museums adopted by Silke Arnold-de Simine; the psychoanalytic literary theory of Eric. L. Santner; and Henry Giroux's theorising around public pedagogy. This patchwork of theoretical perspectives works to provide a poststructuralist and critical theory framework for the study.

Research Ethics

This research project was approved as 'low risk' by MUHEC – Massey University's Human Ethics Committee. Ethical issues – particularly those relating to commercial, institutional and personal sensitivities – were discussed thoroughly with Te Papa staff and ethical parameters were established prior to the commencement of the study. In order to develop and maintain relationships of trust with institutional participants it was necessary to operate in a transparent and responsive manner. Principles of informed and voluntary consent for individual participants were observed and institutional participants were given opportunity to read and amend their interview

transcripts. Further to this, the penultimate draft of the thesis was sent to Te Papa for comment.

Methodology

Given the nature and purpose of my inquiry, a qualitative research method was chosen. In order to obtain 'rich data' (Charmaz, 2014), I make use of an inductive – grounded theory – methodology and adopt ethnographical, autoethnographic and critical hermeneutical practices. Interviews with members of the *Gallipoli* team and visitors to the exhibition, visitor observations, documentary evidence, exhibition 'text' analysis and personal reflections form the foundation of this thesis.

Grounded theory is not a theory at all but 'a method, an approach, a strategy' (Punch, 2005, p. 155) and one which utilises a 'constellation of methods' (Charmaz, 2014, p. 14). The essential idea in grounded theory is that theory will be developed inductively from data. Grounded theory is a systematic yet flexible approach to qualitative research and is concerned with *theory generation* rather than *verification:* 'Grounded theory begins with inductive data, invokes iterative strategies of going back and forth between data and analysis [and] uses comparative methods' (Charmaz, 2014, p. 1).

Meanwhile, the overarching characteristic of an ethnographic approach 'is its commitment to cultural interpretation. The point of ethnography is to study and understand the cultural and symbolic aspects of behaviour and the context of that behaviour' (Punch, 2005, p. 152). In this way, *Gallipoli* is considered a 'networked' phenomenon. My position as researcher is also foregrounded by way of the adoption of an autoethnographic methodology. Such an approach acknowledges that the researcher is not an objective or politically neutral observer (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

Critical hermeneutics is defined by Shirley Steinberg as an approach which seeks – through careful 'textual' analysis of phenomena – to understand and uncover 'the sediments of meaning and the variety of intentions that surround social, political, and educational artefacts' (2012, p. 244). Grounded in post-structuralist and deconstructive theory, critical hermeneutics looks for hidden structures and suppressed and multiple meanings in social and cultural 'texts' (Steinberg 2012). As an interpretive strategy, it

moves between the abstract and the concrete: between individual experience and larger social forces and vice versa. Although the exhibition 'artefact' is the crucial source of evidence in this study, the relational interplay between Te Papa, institutional actors, the public, the researcher and wider social contingencies are considered equally integral.

Research Methods

Data collection

Grounded theory necessitates an evolving and responsive method of data collection (Punch, 2005). In this context, this involved repeated visits to the exhibition and an open-ended and 'interpretivist' process of 'to-and-fro' between data collection, review of secondary sources and analysis.

Documents

Documentary evidence was analysed as part of the study. This included: exhibition planning and development documents; funding application proposals; marketing material; and Te Papa policy documents and reports. A hermeneutical – meaning *textual* and *interpretative* (Schwandt, 2011) – approach to document analysis was adopted.

Interview participants and recruitment

Selected Te Papa staff involved in the creation and execution of the exhibition were interviewed, as were Weta Workshop CEO and *Gallipoli* Creative Director, Sir Richard Taylor, and military historian and exhibition Historical Director, Dr Christopher Pugsley. These participants were chosen for the purposes of assembling an expansive conception of the practices underpinning the exhibition and its delivery. Te Papa staff interviewed included: Lead Curator, Kirstie Ross; Curator Māori, Puawai Cairns; Creative Lead, Ben Barraud; 2D Lead Designer, Nick Clarkson; Lead Writer, Frith Williams; Digital Content Producer, Prue Donald; and Audience Engagement Facilitator, Lucy Moore. These open-ended interviews were conducted over a three month period beginning in December 2015.

Thirty targeted but randomly sampled adult visitors to *Gallipoli* were also interviewed upon exiting the exhibition. Regarding the strategy used to achieve this, the first visitor exiting the exhibition and passing my 'station' at a set time (the same each day) was approached and invited to participate in the study. These interviews occurred over seven consecutive days in January 2016, with four interviews taking place on five of these days and five on two. Of the visitor-interviewees, twenty were from New Zealand, four from Australia and six from elsewhere in the world. Comparisons based on the gender and age of these participants are not made, principally because such demographic information was not considered apposite within the research agenda. For the sake of anonymity, within the thesis the visitor participants are referred to by a sequential number in order of date and time of interview: from V01 to V30.

Interviews

The in-depth interviews with members of the *Gallipoli* exhibition team were primarily a means of gaining insight into the developmental process and objectives of the exhibition. Although these interviews are context-bound, they are understood as sites of and occasion for producing reportable social knowledge (Bloor and Wood, 2006, p. 105). Meanwhile, the evolving context of the research situation demanded assuming a flexible approach with these interviews.

In order to seek to understand the experiences visitors had in the exhibition, thirty semi-structured and open-ended exit-interviews (five to twenty minutes each) with adult visitors were conducted. The main purpose of these interviews was to reveal visitors' understandings and perspectives of the exhibition, and, concomitantly, to build a picture of how the exhibition was 'acting on' visitors. For these interviews it was necessary to provide opportunity for an open discourse and to be attentive to their 'affective responses'. As Matthews writes: 'These affective responses reply to the sign systems through which museums recruit us to their message, but are often lost from research accounts that rely primarily on a representational analysis of exhibit structure and display' (2013: 273).

Visitor observations

Unobtrusive 'nonparticipant' (Angrosino, 2011) behavioural observation of adult visitors as they encountered and engaged with the exhibition was carried out over seven consecutive days in January 2016. For these observations I deployed and

adhered to the protocol developed by Museum Studies and MUHEC. Due to *Gallipoli's* layout, each day I observed visitors in specific areas of the exhibition rather than tracking them over the course of their visit. These ethnographic observations (Bloor and Wood, 2006) were a means of building an impressionistic account of visitor movements, interactions and behaviours within the exhibition.

Autoethnography

In order to 'go through' the affective experience of *Gallipoli* – and to be 'an audience member' – I undertook periodic (and both 'formal' and informal) visits to the exhibition. Fieldnotes, observations and personal reflections were recorded as part of this process. Furthermore, the autoethnographic approach was also a means of *locating* and *looking* 'at the self' (Hamilton, Smith and Worthington, 2008, p. 17) within the broader research context.

Data analysis

A method of *emergent analysis* was used when interpreting the data, an approach which allows the method of analysis to follow the nature of the data itself. Punch writes that grounded theory analysis 'uses the power of abstract theory to transcend the empirical data, and to connect seemingly disparate phenomenon' (2005, p. 212).

Limitations

As a case study, that is, 'a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context' (Punch, 2005, p. 144), this thesis is based on the primary evidence of a single – time specific and limited – body of research and cannot therefore be defined as a reasonable sample from which to make any reliable generalisations. This is mitigated by drawing on and employing comparisons from secondary literature and by the primary focus of the study being Te Papa itself. Meanwhile, the 'partiality' of the research data is deployed as a methodological instrument: an inductive and critical hermeneutic approach foregrounds complexity and ambiguity and does not seek 'final proof or certainty' (Steinberg, 2012, p. 244). Also important to note is that the role of Māori in the exhibition is only tangentially addressed in this thesis. However, I suggest that the way in which Māori are represented in *Gallipoli* should form the basis of further study.

Outline of Thesis

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Each chapter begins with a brief 'prelude' in which I reflect on my encounters with Te Papa and with *Gallipoli*. The first – contextualizing – chapter explores some of the recent 'turns' in museology , addresses the origins of the 'memory boom' and its consequences for museums, and examines the centennial commemorations of the First World War. Chapter two surveys the history of Te Papa and charts the development of *Gallipoli*. In the third chapter I provide an overview of public pedagogy and pedagogical practices in museums, before turning to consider visitors' experiences of and responses to *Gallipoli*. The fourth chapter is devoted to analysing *Gallipoli*. Finally, the fifth chapter weaves together the various threads of which the thesis is comprised.

The Past Is No Longer Another Country

Prelude – It could be otherwise

What's your story? It's all in the telling.

<div align="right">Solnit, 2013, p. 3</div>

I was born in 1983 in a small coastal community just north of Nelson. A Pākehā child and the son of English emigrants.

I grew up during the neoliberal 'reformation' though I have little sense – little memory – of that. My first years were sheltered. A dirt road outside the front door, the sea outside the back. No TV. A mum who made her life ours. A dad who was – and is still – a furniture-maker working from home. I didn't grow up with the feeling that anything was being withheld from me.

It wasn't until sometime in the mid-nineties, and perhaps catalysed by my activist older brother giving me an 'anti-student loan' t-shirt and talking about this thing called 'Marxism', that I had some notion that the world had been – *and could be* – different.

Introduction

That the museum is mostly ruined as a coherent system in [the] public sphere is generally assumed...

<div align="right">Foster, 2015, p. 34</div>

That the museum 'is mostly ruined as a coherent system', and sidestepping the question of whether it has ever been wholly 'legible', in no way suggests it has atrophied as an influential and persuasive institution and *idea* on the global cultural landscape. In fact, its conceptual slipperiness and functional diversity – its very

incoherence and *indeterminacy* – has, it could be argued, strengthened rather than weakened its position of power in society. Such nebulousness is lent illustration by Preziosi and Farago: 'Is a museum an answer or a question? Fact or fiction? An effect or a proposition mooted' (2004b, p. 8)?

Seemingly less interested in riddling though equally provocative is Viv Golding, who asks: 'What is the role of the contemporary museum? [Can it] "speak truth to power"' (2009, p. 2)? Golding's words must be taken as somewhat ironic given that museums have occupied – and continue to occupy – positions of power in society. I therefore take it that she means: "Can museums speak truth to themselves?" Such knowing self-reflexivity is de rigueur in contemporary museological parlance, with museums moving, as Eilean Hooper-Greenhill writes, with 'nimble flexibility and creative fluidity to respond to the conditions of post-modernity' (2007b, p. 1).

Postmodernism, or the 'incredulity towards metanarratives' in Francois Lyotard's (1984) famous phrase, is read here, as Fredric Jameson (1991) put it, as the 'cultural logic of late capitalism'. Moreover, the postmodern moment is understood to be framed:

> [...] by an increasingly complex and layered dialectic of privilege, expert knowledge, and prescriptive meaning-making on the one hand, and access, popular culture, and the negotiation of meaning on the other (McLean, 1999, p. 103).

With regard to museums within this matrix, Anthony Shelton describes them as today being driven by 'the delivery of external institutional objectives broadly related to social engineering policies and subordinated to [...] market forces' (as cited in Basu and Macdonald, 2007, p. 18).

And yet as Kylie Message argues, new museums act 'self-consciously' as political agents and play 'an advocacy role in the reconstruction of cultural identity [...]' (2006, pp. 198-199). What I am interested in here is whether the adoption of such reflexive philosophies could be characterised as an elementary act of what Peter Sloterdijk (1988) has termed 'cynical reason'. Slavoj Žižek puts it like this: 'They know full-well what they are doing, but still, they are doing it' (2008, p. 25). In other words, the undeniably spectacular changes witnessed in museums and museology over the last few decades need to be read against the grain. In the sense of Jean-Baptiste Alphonse

Karr's aphorism, *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose,* or: the more things change, the more they stay the same.

The intention of this chapter is to contextualise my subsequent examination of *Gallipoli* and inquiry into Te Papa more generally. I begin by considering some of the key 'turns' in museology over the last four decades, before addressing the genesis and implications of the 'memory boom'. The chapter culminates in a consideration of the centennial commemorations of the First World War.

I   Old Museums, New Museums, Post Museums

Moralising, optimistic: old museums

Since their modern inception in the early nineteenth century, museums have been imagined as sites for 'public good'. Historically, this equated to the collection and preservation of cultural artefacts and the provision of edifying cultural experiences. Put somewhat differently, museums were designed as part of the 'moral technology' of nation-states. Theirs was a socializing and 'civilizing mission' and they became critical sites for the production, dissemination and maintenance of disciplinary bodies of knowledge (Poulot, 1994; Bennett, 1995; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007b; Arnold-de Simine, 2013).

Functioning as both adhesives and emollients, museums worked to meld together disparate peoples and to ameliorate social strains (Jones, 2010).[4] For Huyssen (1995), the modern museum served as catalyst for the articulation of 'tradition and nation, heritage and canon [and] provided the master maps for the construction of cultural legitimacy in both a national and universalist sense' (p. 13). They were crucibles for the 'reaffirmation of the faith' (Cameron, 1971, p. 17). Faith, that is, in the teleological promise of the enlightenment and its progeny: the nation state, capitalism, rationalism, scientific mastery and the individual.

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[4] Preziosi and Farago write of the 'inseparability of museology, colonialism and imperialism (and their consequent moral, social and epistemological effects and affordances) [...]' (2004b, p. 3).

Put simply, critical museology – which despite my broad-brush approach must be regarded as a complex series of refrains – has tended to perceive the modern museum as acting to turn visitors into *subjects*: 'impressing a particular ideological content and reinforcing existing power relations' (Henning, 2006, p. 100). Although appearing reductive, and in contrast to Andrew Dewdney, David Dibosa and Victoria Walsh's (2013) argument that under the conditions of 'hypermodernity' the explanatory power of such theories have reached their limit, it is the contention of this thesis that despite variances in methods, dramatic cosmetic shifts, and being problematized by the ongoing diffusion of power structures and practices, this remains the case today.

In his book *The Birth of the Museum* (1995)*,* Tony Bennett contended that the modern museum was fashioned as a regulatory apparatus for the exercise of new forms of disciplinary power. The Foucauldian premise of Bennett's study was that public culture was a means of regulating and synchronizing social behaviour and endowing individuals with the capacity for self-monitoring and self-regulation. For Foucault, 'discipline requires that people interiorize social norms and become self-policing' (Henning, 2006, p. 112).

> He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection (Foucault, 1995, pp. 202-203).

Central to Bennett's enquiry into the genealogy of the modern museum was the question: 'In what did this enlistment of culture for the purposes of governing consist' (1995, p. 19)?

Following Foucault, Bennett stressed that in the modern period the instruments of government shifted from being explicitly coercive to encompass a range of sinuous tactics and practices, including through the auspices of the museum. Modern museums, Bennett argued, served as spaces of representation in which to 'enlighten' people about correct values and customs, and as spaces of 'emulation' in which civilized 'forms of behaviour might be learnt and thus diffused more widely through the social body' (1995, p. 24). The museum was thus a space of observation and regulation in which

the visitor's body was 'taken hold of and [...] moulded in accordance with the requirements of new norms of public conduct' (Bennett, 1995, p. 24).

Museum-going was conceived by Bennett as a spatial practice; by following an 'itinerary' through the exhibition space, visitors came to *enact* and concurrently *embody* the exhibition narrative. Visitors thereby came to 'perform' the prompts and injunctions of the exhibitionary arrangements. For instance, the visitor walks through the Jardin des Plantes in Paris (to use one of Bennett's examples) just as they would *think through* the steps of a 'classificatory arrangement of information' (Brown as cited in Bennett, 1995, p. 185). Henning puts it like this: 'These itineraries make the narrative content of the exhibits materially embodied, 'a matter of doing as much as seeing' [...]' (2006, p. 103). In this way, Bennett identified the co-ordinated movement of visitors as part of an endeavour to produce *new forms of citizenship* (Henning, 2006, p. 103). The modern museum – which privileged particular subject positions and validated certain behaviours and practices of spectatorship – was thus a site for 'mass education', a device for the interpellation of subjects into socially prescribed roles and a technology of panoptic mastery and the disciplinary gaze (Bennett, 1995; Henning, 2006; Dewdney et al., 2013).

Future tense: the arrival of the new museology

In his recent book *Bad New Days,* Hal Foster (2015) proposed that the very fabric of life has taken on a new and insecure intensity and that it is typified by a state of precariousness:

> [...] *precarious* derives from "the Latin *precarius,* obtained by entreaty, depending on the favour of another, hence uncertain, precarious from *precem,* prayer." This definition underscores that this state of insecurity is a constructed one, engineered by a regime of power [...] (p. 103).

Whether this precariousness is a recent phenomenon is debatable.[5] Nevertheless, this state of insecurity, which has been constructed via the promotion of perils both

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[5] As in, turbulence is a defining feature of capitalism itself (Harvey, 2011). Žižek explains that its 'dynamics of perpetual self-revolutionizing' means capitalism's normative state is one of crisis: 'Crisis is in capitalism internalized, taken into account, as the point of impossibility which pushes it to

imagined and real – most notably that of neoliberalism – and compensated for by, among other things, it being marketed as 'freedom' (Henning, 2006), has had profound consequences for museums and their pedagogical functions.

Neoliberalism, which is positioned here as the dominant paradigm underpinning late capitalism, may be defined as 'The elevation of capitalism, as a mode of production, into an ethic, a set of political imperatives, and a cultural logic' (Thompson, 2005, p. 23). David Harvey argues that neoliberalism is:

> [...] in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices (2004, p. 2).

It has precipitated a deepening penetration of market relations into political and social institutions as well as into cultural consciousness itself (Harvey, 2004; Thompson, 2005), and has occasioned 'a synergistic spiralling of wealth and poverty' and a dialectical dance of 'homogenization and difference' (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2001, p. 27).

For much of the twentieth century, the role of museums, which was based on a consensus that culture was a good thing in and of itself, was little disputed. From the late 1970s, and due to a changing social, cultural and intellectual climate, museums' 'exclusionary practices,' which were foregrounded most strikingly in the work of Bourdieu and Darbel (1990), began to be called into question. Museums were now perceived to naturalise and authenticate power structures (Lavine, 1992; Sandell, 2012) by way of representational discourses that appeared both inevitable and neutral (Merriman, 1991). This period also saw the rise of economic rationalism and neoliberalism. For museums, this meant that they were expected to provide evidence of social value and to compete in the culture and leisure industries. They became subject to 'economic analysis, managerialism and accountability' (Hooper-Greenhill,

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continuous activity' (2008, p. xv). This crisis is found in the ceaseless production and consumption-destruction of commodities: in the 'new' becoming obsolete at the moment of its conception.

2007b, p. 18). Arising alongside and out of this ferment were the 'new museology' and the 'new museum'.

Since the advent of new museology, which arrived in the 'Anglo' imagination with the publication of the Peter Vergo edited *The New Museology* in 1989, and which I consider to have emerged both as an adjunct to and a reaction against neoliberalism, museological literature has been obsessively self-reflective (McLean, 1999; Ross, 2004). Haunted by the spectre of irrelevance, disputations over the purpose and value of museums have proliferated, with the question of whether they can 'make a difference' taking centre stage (Weil, 2002; Golding, 2009; Black, 2012). Led by theorists such as Stephen Weil, Robert Janes and Richard Sandell, scholarship focused on the purpose of museums has come to dominate museological discourse, while a survey of recent literature reveals a frenzy of redemptive narratives (Dibley, 2005).[6]

In other words, museums have sought to reinvent themselves as sites of sociability *and* civic service (Weil, 2003; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007; Message, 2007; Anderson, 2012; Janes, 2012). For example, by democratizing and demystifying their 'authoritative function', emphasising the experience and needs of visitors, and by seeking new audiences (Dean, 1994; Barrett 2011). This final shift – the search for a 'new public' – is paradigmatic of the tensioned space museums now operate in. By which I mean, on the one hand the expectation that museums demonstrate 'evident worth' has typically been sought through the pursuit of higher visitor numbers (Henning, 2006), and achieved by shifting to being corporate orientated organizations in which visitors – now conceived as *consumers* – are offered a range of exciting 'leisure opportunities' (Wilson, 2012; Dewdney et al., 2013). While on the other, it is illustrative of a genuine desire to engage hitherto excluded individuals and communities.

The much heralded outcome of this 'reimagining' is that museums have become 'icons of new and emerging consumer cultures [...] have actually become signs of the 'the new'' (Healy and Witcomb, 2006, p. 1.2). Although attacked as a symptom – and author – of cultural ossification in the 1970s and 80s, since the 1990s the museum has

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[6] They have been variously described as: therapeutic sanctuaries and sites for social healing (Greene, 2006; Golding, 2009; Janes, 2012), cultural exchange (Lavine, 1992l; Sandell, 2012), contemplation, fantasy and spiritual experiences (Weil, 2002; Henning, 2006); discursive forums and agents of democratic change (Gurian, 2006; Healy and Witcomb, 2006; Barrett, 2011; Black, 2012); theatres for the performance of identity (Garoian, 2001); and as 'safe places' for the presentation of controversial subjects (Cameron, 2006; Golding, 2009).

undergone a transformation from being the 'whipping boy to [the] favourite son in the family of cultural institutions' (Huyssen, 1995, p. 14). No longer are they perceived as the aggregate of their collections, but rather in terms of the knowledge they share and the experiences they offer (Stam, 1993; Hein, 2000). They are today envisioned both as 'soup kitchens' (Gurian, 2010) and 'information brokers' (Shelton, 2006).

It not only seems that many museums appear to have risen to Harold Skramstad's provocation that they are 'pointless unless solving real problems' (as cited in Weil, 2002, p. 70), but museological rhetoric insists that they are also shifting from being monologic sites of authoritarian discourse to spaces which encourage dialogical knowledge creation and polyvocal discourses (Dewdney et al., 2013). New museums aspire to be relevant, popular, 'demotic spaces dedicated to representing a variety of experiences and modes of citizenships […] which privilege democratic discourses of participation and access' (Message, 2007, p. 235). Various methods are used to achieve these aims. For example, via the development of ever more innovative exhibitionary practices and by reconceptualising the focus of the museum from the collection to the visitor. What this means is that the *object* – formerly the *sine qua non* of museums' existence – has been superseded by the *experience* of the visitor. A 'turn' which suggests that the 'object' has become, essentially, the subject. It is an inversion which has generated a lot of debate, but as Henning contends, 'the move away from artefacts is not a rejection of somatic and sensory address to the visitor; rather it involves a greater emphasis on the visitor's own perceptions and body' (2006, p. 91).

Although critical museology would suggest that the visitor has always been at the centre of museums, certain proponents of the new museology stress that there has been a *positive* shift in this regard. What I would cautiously submit is that this signifies a *completion* of the work of the modern museum. In that 'subjectifying subjects' is no longer an implicit function but an explicit one; signalling an expansion of the museum's biopolitical and panoptic regime. For instance, museum visitors today are not only expected to *actively participate* in interactive 'meaning-making' activities (which remain circumscribed by the institution), but are continually counted, surveilled and assessed.

Past tense: the departure of the new museology?

One of most notable developments in recent museological theory is Dewdney, Dibosa and Walsh's paradigm of 'post-critical museology' (2013). Arising out of collaborative research conducted at Tate Britain in London, it entertains as central a movement past the new *and* critical museology. The authors argue that it is 'no longer productive to think of the museum in isolation, either as a kind of monolithic relic from the nineteenth century, nor simply as a modern corporation' (2013, p. 220). Formulated via an inquiry into museums' connections to new patterns of global migration and proliferating 'media ecologies', they propose a conceptual reconfiguration of the relationship between the museum and its 'publics'.

Museology, they suggest, has consistently 'misrecognized' the audience as an abstraction 'which stabilizes museum-audience relationships on a "contributive basis"' (Graham, 2015, p. 102): 'The contributive museum presupposes uni-directional flow. Tribute goes to the centre, while an established set of values is disseminated to the margins' (Dewdney et al., 2013, p. 157). Critical museology has thus failed to adequately address the complexities underscoring interactions between visitor and museum. The visitor, they argue, cannot be considered simply a passive receptor and nor can the museum be understood as inevitably hegemonic.

Jean Baudrillard once wrote that 'The Museum, instead of being circumscribed in a geometrical location, is now everywhere, like a dimension of itself' (as cited in Macdonald, 1996b, p. 1). This seems to capture precisely what is meant by the 'distributed museum.' As the denouement of 'post-critical museology', it is premised on the 'rhizomic diffusion' of the museum – spatially and conceptually. The distributed museum, as a 'hybrid forum', is 'transcultural, transvisual and transmedial […] a resource to extend lines of difference' (Dewdney et al., 2013, p. 233). Although post-critical museology is *idealised* as transformative, I believe that it is best perceived as a conceptual model for understanding the *project* of authorial dispersal in the museum.

That this transfer of responsibility – whether in new museology or the distributed museum – from author or producer to visitor or consumer, and the adoption of flexible practices mirrors more widespread shifts in economic and cultural life seems clear. As

Henning writes, increased flexibility in capitalist labour relations and production is 'connected to the 'hybridization' of the museum, as museums increasingly find that the way to compete in a global marketplace of attractions is to 'exploit the plasticity of the museum idea'' (2006, p. 152). Museums have become financially entrepreneurial; harnessing their 'knowledge economies' in the pursuit and creation of new markets and products. In discussing this commodification of culture and heritage, Nick Merriman draws on Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno's seminal work *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, and contends that the culture industry 'gears itself almost entirely to the development of cultural forms which are compatible with the preservation of capitalism' (1991, p. 13).

Another issue in this vein is highlighted by Henning when she notes that 'Marketing and corporate branding have come to dominate museums. It is now extremely difficult to disentangle [...] institutional, corporate and state interests' (2006, p. 152). With regard to their now 'democratized politics of representation' and imbroglio of vested interests – with them being 'distributed' and 'hybridized' – it has, as Henning suggested, become increasingly challenging to ascertain the power relations that lie behind and thread through them. An optimistic version of this situation is offered by Max Ross (2004), who suggests that they are shifting from being *legislators* to *interpreters* of culture. A position echoed by Dewdney, Dibosa and Walsh when they write of the 'demise of singular forms of cultural authority previously mediated by traditional institutions' (2013, p. 205).

Today, 'power' appears both more dispersed *and* concentrated (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2001; Berardi, 2007; Harvey, 2011; Žižek, 2014). A situation which Jean and John Comaroff refer to as a 'promiscuous hybrid of accommodation and refusal, power and parody, embodiment and detachment' (2001, p. 38).[7] For museums, this has meant foregrounding their political function, but typically doing so in an 'aspirant' fashion. Carol Scott's (2013) paradigm of 'public value' being one such example. Meanwhile, Tom Hennes argues that 'Most museums operate within an established canon that can be questioned only at the risk of de-legitimising the institution within its community of expertise or among its political supporters' (2012, p. 131). When the

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[7] The 'hypermodern age', as Gilles Lipovetsky styles the contemporary epoch, 'simultaneously manufactures order and disorder, subjective independence and dependence, moderation and excess' (2005, p. 50).

'canon' is increasingly entangled with exogenous forces outside its traditional scope – with corporate partnerships for instance – 'de-legitimisation' becomes unthinkable.

In 2004, Preziosi wrote that 'At this juncture it is often difficult to distinguish museum practices from the entertainment, tourist, and heritage industries; department stores and shopping malls' (as cited in Dewdney et al., 2013, p. 7). Coalescing within museums are commercial, political and social interests and investments, and the literature demonstrates that they are complex and inevitably ideologically compromised institutions with a range of intended and unintended purposes and functions (Weil, 2002; Arnold-de Simine, 2013). Further to this, and as Margaret Lindauer argues:

> A combination of modernist qualities (authoritative, elitist, exclusive and conservative) and post-museum qualities (discursive, democratic, inclusive, progressive) can probably be found in many museums at the turn of the twenty-first century (2007, pp. 305-306).

However, and in contrast to Ross (2004), I do not consider this to mean that the transition from the 'old' to the 'new' museology is simply incomplete. Instead, I perceive the 'new museum' to be something of a fiction. Which, consequently and following Preziosi and Farago (2004a), suggests that the function of the museum as part of the discursive formation in the Foucauldian sense remains under-theorised.

II   Memory, Trauma and the Museum

Memory and victimhood

What is as stake when we consider [...] the whole history of the 20th century under the sign of trauma, with the Holocaust increasingly functioning as the ultimate cipher of traumatic unspeakability or unrepresentability?

<div align="right">Huyssen, 2003, p. 8</div>

Huyssen has described the cultural landscape of recent decades as being marked by a 'phantasmagoria of loss' (2003, p. 24). Whether or not this loss is phantasmal in the sense of being *wholly illusory* is another question, but Huyssen goes on to suggest that it has been generated by 'modernity itself rather than its prehistory' (2003, p. 24).[8] This temporal phenomenon – which is marked by a sense of landmarks disappearing and of securities being unsettled – may therefore be seen to have been engendered by conditions specific to 'modern forms of life' (Eley, 1997; Moore, 2009). Is this *sense of loss*, then, which has spawned a flourishing of memory discourses, both 'reactive' and fundamentally compensatory? As in, it signals to a desire to hold on to the familiar, 'to fix and retain lineaments of a world in perpetual motion' (Eley, 1997, p. vii), while also providing a 'vision' of a world that is 'otherwise'. That is, and in Hobsbawnian fashion, is it that this 'sense of loss' is a prerequisite for the 'invention of tradition'? For example, Ben Wellings suggests that nationalism (an invented tradition) is and was a 'phenomenon [...] that is generated by change rather than continuity' (2014, p. 45).

At its simplest, the 'memory boom' may be perceived to have been produced by an anxiety about a loss of bearings for both the individual and the collective:

> Following the decline of post-war modernist narratives of progressive improvement [...] nation-states turned to the past as a basis for shoring up their legitimacy. The decline of utopian visions supposedly redirected our gaze to collective pasts, which served as a repository for repressed identities and unfulfilled claims. Without unifying collective aspirations, identity politics proliferated. And most often, these identities nursed a wound and harboured a grudge. The memory boom thus unleased a culture of trauma and regret [...] (Olick et al., 2011, p. 3).

One outcome of trauma becoming a key currency on the 'identity market' has been the increased privileging of narratives of victimhood. Ours has become a (rhetorical) 'post-heroic epoch'.

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[8] The Holocaust – perhaps the ultimate cipher of modernity itself – precipitated an intense interest in survivor and witness testimonies, with Primo Levi's *If This Is A Man* (1947) and Elie Wiesel's *Night* (1956) two of the most prominent examples. In a curious revision of Theodor Adorno's famous line that 'there can be no poetry after Auschwitz', instead we have witnessed an abundance of testimony: a *form* of vernacular and affective 'empirical' poetry.

Further to this, memory discourses are increasingly supplanting traditional historiographical discourses, and there is now an 'obsession with relating to the past through the framework of memory' (Arnold-de Simine, 2013, p. 19). Or, as Eley suggests: 'We are constantly being asked to place ourselves in relation to one kind of 'past' or another, and the public spheres of the contemporary world provide constant incitements to memory [...]'(1997, p. vii). Although the differences between memory and history are difficult to unpick (Huyssen, 2003), 'memory' is typically used to describe 'a way of relating to the past that is autobiographical, personal, emotional, sensory, based on lived experience (one's own or that of others) and requiring empathy and identification' (Arnold-de Simine, 2013, p. 15). Rather than being concerned with 'true history,' memory research is interested in 'lived history'. Key concepts within the literature of memory studies that are pertinent here include: prosthetic memory (Arnold-de Simine, 2013); vicarious trauma (Landsberg 2004); the empathy paradox (Clothier 2014); the therapeutic turn (Trofanenko 2011); and testimonial culture (Fried 2006).

The memory boom may thus be seen as a response to a situation whereby there is 'both too much and too little present at the same time, a historically novel situation that creates unbearable tensions in our "structure of feeling," as Raymond Williams would call it' (Huyssen, 2003, p. 23). Compounded, for example, by apocalyptic prospects with regard to climate change and fear over global terror threats, it is an age – and whether manufactured or not – of anxiety, and as Jeffrey Olick, Vered Vinitzky and Daniel Levy write, 'The problem of collective memory [...] arises [...] where collective identity is no longer as obvious as it once was' (2011, p. 8). Which, of course, is often given as a key reason for the rise and continued significance of museums (Bennett, 1995).

Memorialisation and the museum

Museums are institutional mediums for the dissemination of knowledge about the past (Kavanagh, 1999; Henning, 2006). They are sites for the creation of collective memories – for group understandings of the past, for communal and national 'imaginaries' – and are politically consequential because through the 'histories' they

choose to represent, they prescribe what is to be remembered and what is to be forgotten (Fried, 2006; Hennes, 2012). Their displays confer legitimacy on 'specific interpretations of history and attribute significance to particular events' (Whitmarsh, 2001, p. 1). As Henning puts it, museums are 'Memory machines. [...] they are a technical means by which societies remember, devices for organising the past for the purposes of the present' (2006, p. 128). For Hermann Lübbes (Huyssen, 2003), museums compensate for the instability and uncertainty of contemporary existence by offering traditional forms of cultural identity. What is missing from Lübbes' account is the fact that new museums have tended to not only embrace the idea of the fluid and 'post-traditional' postmodern subject but are themselves key players in the ever-increasing circulation of images, spectacles and experiences which characterise the postmodern condition. They have become emblems of this very uncertainty.

And yet despite these shifts, and as Bain Attwood argues, museums 'represent the past in corporeal and affective ways which engage many people and whom audiences consequently rank highly for their authenticity and truthfulness' (2013, p. 48). Moreover, as Arnold-de Simine contends (2013), museums are shifting from being 'sites of history' into 'spaces of memory.' They have become places of *recollection,* with visitors being transformed into 'secondary witnesses' equipped with 'prosthetic memories' (Arnold-de Simine 2013). Rather than being primarily cognitive spaces, museums are now designed as explicitly theatrical environments which emphasise the affective 'visceral, kinaesthetic, haptic, and intimate qualities of bodily experience' (Arnold-de Simine, 2013, p. 12).

Furthermore, it has been suggested that the distinction between memorials and museums is blurring (Arnold-de Simine, 2013). Typically, memorials are 'sacred' places for reverential commemoration and as such they are 'supposed to establish a community united in mourning', while in contrast, 'museums are educational institutions tasked with critical interpretation and historical contextualization' (Arnold-de Simine, 2013, p. 76). For Williams, this coupling suggests a growing 'desire to add [...] a moral framework to the narration of past events [...]' (as cited in Arnold-de Simine, 2013, p. 76). However, it is my contention that this is neither new and nor should it be considered surprising. What is striking is that rather than memorialisation being a covert function of the museum it is now becoming explicit. One reason for this is offered by Edward Linenthal, when he writes that 'There is today

a worldwide memorial landscape' and that it is now 'morally egregious to forget' (2001, p. xi).

It is important to note here that there are as many different purposes as there are practices of memorialisation (Moore, 2009). Memorialisation can be 'a stage for cathartic closure and critical reckoning' (Haskins and DeRose, 2003, p. 1), a site or event for reflection (Moore 2009), or a didactic device assisting in the establishment of communal identities and mythologies (Fried 2006). Memorialisation is thus an indicative *and* a subjunctive activity, and memorials are both inert *and* active spaces. Memorialisation, as a *practice of memory*, is the product of a multitude of impulses 'drawn together in the form of a collage, or approximation of a past event' (Winter 2006, p. 4). Or, as Winston Smith, the protagonist of George Orwell's dystopian novel *1984* put it: 'Day by day and almost minute by minute the past was brought up to date. […] All history was a palimpsest, scraped clean and reinscribed exactly as often as was necessary' (2008, p. 42).

III   Commemorating The First World War

Britain's commemoration of the Great War has lost all sense of proportion. It has become a media theme park, an indigestible cross between *Downton Abbey* and a horror movie.

Jenkins, 2014

The centenary of the First World War – a conflict which, *pace* Simon Jenkins, could be described as being *beyond all sense of proportion* – has witnessed a flurry of global commemorations. From Delhi to Wellington, London to Kaitaia, Vancouver to Invercargill, since August 2014 the cultural landscape has been littered with the pageantry of national mourning and memorialisation. Needless to say, the memory of war – the way it is recollected and performed – often forms a key part of a nation's or a community's self-image (Whitmarsh, 2001). Furthermore, Andrew Mycock, Shanti Sumartojo and Ben Wellings argue that national narratives are increasingly being reconfigured into emotionally charged versions of 'our history':

Official 'history' and vernacular 'memory' have been selectively mixed in the arena of identity politics by a range of actors who choose aspects of the historical past to buttress their own political goals (2014, p. 7).

What needs reiterating here is not only this merging of memory with history but the shift within war commemoration to the valorisation of victimhood and trauma rather than heroism or glory (Hutchinson, 2014; Cochrane, 2015).

Wellings contends that the upsurge in commemorative practices has occurred because the accelerated change associated with globalization and the neoliberal epoch – and the shift from *government to governance* – has required 'new (or renewed) integrating myths to bind the citizen to the self-weakened state' (2014, p. 49). He goes on to suggest that the commemoration of war plays a key role in these new 'post-nation-state' national narratives. Similarly for Linenthal, who maintains that the 'memorial environments' engendered by war commemoration have 'emerged as conspicuous points of moral orientation' on many national landscapes (2001, p. xiii).

In Australia, a nation in which Anzac is something of a 'civil religion' (McKenna, 2014), the centennial commemorations have been unsurprisingly lavish. A crucial point concerning the recent history of Anzac in Australia is made by Frank Bongirono (2014), who suggests that the increasingly 'inclusive' nature of Anzac – exemplified by a deluge of books exploring ethnic minority experiences of World War One – has resulted in 'criticism' of the war becoming unconscionable. This new spirit of tolerance and historical pluralism occludes the possibility of there being an 'outside' from which to offer critical perspectives, and the inclusiveness of the Anzac tradition thus threatens to become another sort of hegemony (Cochrane, 2015).

This also gestures to why, in post-colonial nations such as Australia and New Zealand, commemorating imperial wars on foreign shores has gained such traction.

> […] the resurgence of Anzac Day has occurred within the broader context of both nations' ongoing struggle to address the vexed history of conflict, conquest and settlement. Against this history, the Anzac legend has appeared less controversial and divisive, a far more malleable history for the purposes of national communion [...] (McKenna, 2014, p. 153).

There are, however, said to be significant differences between how New Zealand and Australia conceive of Anzac and Gallipoli. Most notably in that New Zealanders 'commemorate Anzac Day, while Australians celebrate it' (McKenna, 2014, p. 164). Nevertheless, a *New Zealand Listener* editorial from the 24th of April 2013 reported that UMR Research had found that only 8% of respondents rated February 6 New Zealand's most significant anniversary, compared with 60% who nominated Anzac Day. They went on to propose that it should 'hardly come as a surprise that [...] Anzac Day means more to most New Zealanders than Waitangi Day' (2013).

Figure 2.1: *Gallipoli's* Chunuk Bair mural, 2015.

In recent years there has been an incremental growth in the centricity of the *idea* of Anzac in New Zealand (McKenna, 2014). While previously primarily the reserve of the RSA, Anzac Day 'dawn services' now attract crowds of thousands up and down the country (TVNZ, 2015a). And yet, and as Mark McKenna pointed out, the way in which Anzac is imagined and performed in New Zealand *is* different to how it is conceived and enacted in Australia. In Australia, Anzac has heroic connotations, while in New Zealand it is more typically expressed in an idiom of 'romantic realism'.

> As recently as Anzac Day 2009, New Zealand's Prime Minister John Key went
> so far as to suggest the Anzacs had fought to maintain the country's economic
> advantage, miraculously securing New Zealand's wealth for a century to come.

The Anzacs, said Key, "were everyday people who rose to heights of sacrifice and, in doing so, preserved the living standards of all of us for generations to come" (McKenna, 2014, p. 161).

'Stoic sacrifice', I suggest, has become a key national remembrance trope, and martyrdom the central prism through which New Zealand's experience of Gallipoli is commemorated.

Further to this, Guy Hansen situates Anzac as a 'set of cultural practices rather than as a type of verifiable history' (as cited in Sumartojo, Wellings and Mycock, 2014, p. 20). The implication being that the facts are immaterial. Christopher Pugsley alludes to this when he writes that 'The Anzac experience is inextricably interwoven into how New Zealand and Australia see themselves as nations' (2004, p. 11). With regard to the Gallipoli campaign, Pugsley suggests that 'In New Zealand and Australian eyes, their two countries' manhood was first put to the test in battle at these landings' (2004, p. 301). Pugsley's comments gesture to the increasing ease with which the 'Anzac spirit' is evoked in New Zealand.

McKenna also argues that although it would be simplistic to suggest that 'a top-down process of government manipulation explains the resurgence of the Anzac legend', it would be equally naïve to think of it as a 'mysterious organic process' (2014, p. 162). In New Zealand, The Ministry for Culture and Heritage [MCH] has played a leading role in the centennial commemorations, with their 'WW100' project spanning 'official state ceremonies and legacy projects to community initiatives and personal projects' (MCH, 2015). The Lottery Grants Board, meanwhile, created a special fund for the purposes of the centennial commemorations, with $3 million allocated for distribution in the 2015/16 financial year alone. The MCH 'WW100' website states:

Through the WW100 programme we will: Commemorate New Zealanders' service and sacrifice in the First World War; explore how New Zealanders' war experiences helped to shape our distinct and evolving national identity and aspirations; [and] provide a living legacy of the war's impacts and on-going significance, so current and future generations are more informed (2016).

Service. Sacrifice. Distinct national identity. Living legacy. The heightened rhetoric is only amplified by the humdrum prose.

Summary

The past is no longer another country. The chapter's title plays on the opening line of
L.P. Hartley's novel *The Go-Between:* 'The past is a foreign country: they do things
differently there' (1997, p. 5). In contrast to Hartley, my adaptation gestures, firstly,
to the social construction of history and to its continual re-inscription, while also
alluding to contemporary expectations that the past 'come alive' and be made 'real'
for us. This desire to experience the past as if it were 'here and now' is, needless to
say, fulfilled most effectively by museums. It also signals to the *perpetual present* of
the neoliberal moment – to its agglomeration of past, present and future – and, finally,
and in speculative mode, to New Zealand's changing relationship to World War One
and particularly the Gallipoli campaign. And specifically, the impression that with the
incremental formation of Gallipoli as an 'originary national event', we – as Pākehā –
can lay claim to our own history and identity because "we have been traumatised too".
It is as if Gallipoli was on our shores, as if the landing on the beaches on the 25th of
April 1915 was not an invasion of the Ottoman Empire as part of an imperial war, but
a 'suicide into full identity', or, in more *biblical* terms, a 'necessary sacrifice'. Though
in more *liberal* terms, one without malice or victim other than ourselves.

CHAPTER TWO

An Emotional Journey: Te Papa and the Making of

Gallipoli

Prelude – Argonaut/argonaut

Exhibitions tend to be presented to the public rather as do scientific facts: as unequivocal statements rather than as the outcome of particular processes and contexts. The assumptions, rationales, compromises and accidents that lead to a finished exhibition are generally hidden from the public.

<div align="right">Macdonald, 1998, p. 2</div>

In endeavouring to uncover the motivations and concessions that led to *Gallipoli* I encountered some resistance.

Maggie Nelson, in her genre-bending 'memoir' *The Argonauts,* suggests that most writers she knows 'nurse persistent fantasies about the horrible things – or *the* horrible thing – that will happen to them if and when they express themselves as they desire' (2015, p. 114). For me, it was the horrible thing that would happen if I *discovered* the 'thing' I was seeking.

During the time I spent at Te Papa I veered between a sense of being on the trail of the 'golden fleece' (in *Argonaut* mode) and feeling like the paper-thin eggcases secreted by certain pelagic octopuses (in *argonaut* mode). An illustration accompanying Jules Verne's novel *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea* shows three explorers standing on a semi-submerged submarine surrounded by paper nautiluses. This engraving, with its muddle of predators and preyed upon, observers and observed, came to haunt me. A haunting, moreover, which I knew to be unfounded. My sense of being 'preyed upon' was simply a means of deflecting the discomfort I felt at prying into the work and lives – the *habitus* – of others.

Introduction

In this chapter I chart the history of Te Papa and map-out the development of *Gallipoli*. Because Te Papa's genesis and early years have been documented extensively, most notably by Paul Williams (2003; 2006), my focus here is primarily on aspects of its recent history and function relevant to this study. It must, however, be noted that attempting to 'comprehend' Te Papa is problematic. It employs over 300 staff, has an operating budget of close to $60 million and is charged with delivering a diverse and some would argue 'conflicted' set of outcomes (Wedde, 2006).

I   Te Papa Tongarewa 1998 – 2016
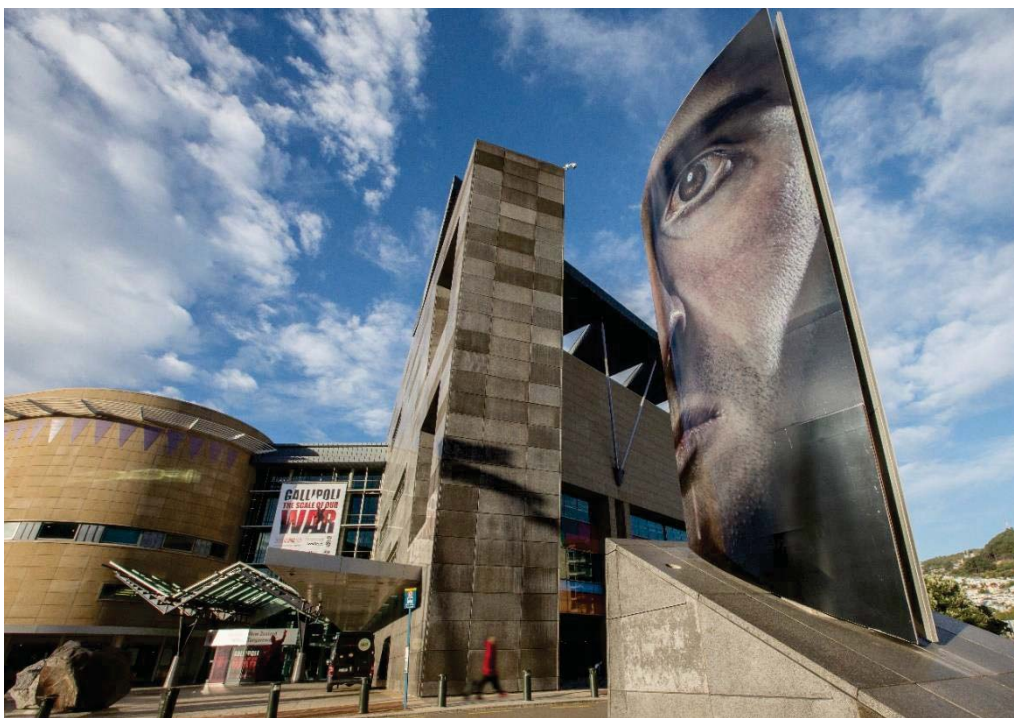
Figure 3.1: Te Papa's entrance. Image courtesy of Te Papa, 2015.

The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa opened to the public on the 14th of February 1998. First conceptualised in the late 1980s during a period of economic and state reform and cultural reconfiguration, the Museum was intended to represent a 'new vision' of the nation. This national upheaval was precipitated by a lightning quick liberalisation of a previously highly protectionist economy under the Fourth Labour

Government following its election in 1984. This same government introduced equally far-reaching 'politico-cultural-juridical' changes, with the most notable being the 'project' of biculturalism. Williams explains that this constellation of events – including 'a new national pride in Māori culture' – was 'vital in inculcating a national imaginary deliberately distanced from its colonial origins. All that was missing was a symbol to express all of this: a place, as then Prime Minister David Lange called for, that would 'speak for New Zealand'' (2006, p. 2.2).

Coalescing the collections of the National Museum and National Art Gallery, costing $317 million and taking five years to build, Te Papa was envisaged as being emblematic of a bold Pacific nation rather than a South Seas colonial hangover. It was situated as a 'symbol of the Nation's sleek, new international competitiveness. The museum meant business, and Māori and Pākehā cultural identities were its assets' (Williams, 2006, p. 2.3). For Williams, Te Papa has played a vital role in the construction of an image – of a brand – of *the little country that could'* (2006, p. 2.3). Williams also describes it as an idiosyncratic and 'unwieldy nexus of popular spectacle, candid commercialism and state-promoted biculturalism' (2003, p. 6).

Established by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act in July 1992 and governed by a board appointed by the Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage, it is an autonomous Crown entity under the Crown Entities Act 2004. The Te Papa Act stipulates that the Museum:

> [...] shall provide a forum in which the nation may present, explore, and preserve both the heritage of its cultures and knowledge of the natural environment in order better—
> (a) to understand and treasure the past; and
> (b) to enrich the present; and
> (c) to meet the challenges of the future.

Meanwhile, the Museum's funding arrangements necessitate an explicit commercial focus. Megan Davies, citing Te Papa's then General Manager of Marketing and Communications Paul Brewer, wrote in 2001 that 'part of the reason for a strong revenue-generating ethos is that "Te Papa was deliberately underfunded well before it opened"' (p. 19). Te Papa currently receives approximately 55% of its revenue in Crown funding, with the balance coming from commercial and exhibition revenues,

corporate sponsorship and donations. Commercial revenue is generated through cafes, shops, and function and conference facilities situated within the Museum. In 2015, the Museum received $29.5 million in Crown funding and generated a further $28.9 million (Te Papa, 2015d).

The Department of Internal Affairs, which oversaw the Museum's development, stated in 1989 that it 'is difficult to separate out cultural policy from social and economic policy [...] It is clear that cultural diversity and an innovative society are necessary ingredients for economic development' (as cited in Williams, 2006, p. 2.3). Te Papa may be seen as such sentiment actualised, with its political economy predicated on commercial positivity:

> Market policies are visible both within the museum, where 'customer focus' is manifest in a casual institutional style and myriad interactive exhibits, and from without, wherein the museum forms a provocative symbol of corporate involvement in the public sector (Williams, 2006, p. 2.1).

Te Papa's commercialism is not perceived as being simply supplementary: '[Te Papa makes] an important economic contribution while serving as a catalyst and forum for research and creativity, and also supporting social and cultural outcomes for New Zealanders' (Te Papa, 2014j, p. 3).

Te Papa's performance framework stipulates that under the government objective that 'New Zealand's culture enriches our lives' comes Te Papa's vision and then its purpose: to be a forum for the nation. In 2012, Te Papa adopted a new corporate vision: *E huri ngākau ana. E huri whakaaro ana. E huri oranga ana – Changing Hearts, Changing Minds, Changing Lives.* This vision underpins all of Te Papa's activities and provides the framework for its decision making (Te Papa, 2015c). Buttressing this vision are the key philosophies of *Mana Taonga, Museology,* and *Learning.* These philosophies 'represent the core organisational capabilities that Te Papa will uphold, develop, and shape to reinforce our uniqueness' (Te Papa, 2014k, p. 5). In order to achieve its vision, in 2014 Te Papa adopted six strategic intentions that '[...] identify and deliver Te Papa's legislative functions, [determine] who the Museum aims to service, and what it is about Te Papa's approach that is unique' (Te Papa, 2014k, p. 5). These intentions are: accessing all areas; connecting with people; housing the

treasures; sharing authority; being a forum for the future; and, saving the planet (Te Papa, 2014k, p. 6).

Te Papa's bicultural ambitions are underpinned by the principle of Mana Taonga. Informing the conceptual and practicable functioning of the institution and intended to ensure Māori participation, Arapata Hakiwai describes it as a principle which recognises the 'spiritual and cultural connections of taonga with people, thus acknowledging the special relationships that this created' (2007, p. 53). Mana Taonga guarantees, among other things, iwi the right to determine the exhibitionary use of taonga. Premised on the validation of Māori identity, the Te Papa narrative emphasises that it is an 'indigenised' space, a place where Māori might recover a sense of 'ancestral identity built upon the emotionally charged cues that only taonga can provide' (Tapsell, 1998, p. 164).

For certain critics, Te Papa's bicultural armature is little more than a 'renovated piece of assimilatory nationalism' (Dibley as cited in Tapsell, 1998, p. 162), while Amiria Henare (2004) contends that it has resulted in an uneasy structural bifurcation. Put simply, the Pākehā 'side' of the museum is discursively formulated, language rather than object oriented, and committed to postmodern paradigms of pluralistic cultural identity, while the Māori 'side' celebrates essentialist notions of cultural identity and foregrounds the spiritual aspects of taonga. The Museum is therefore split between *reference* and *reverence*. Exploring whether *Gallipoli* signifies – in a very particular sense – an 'unravelling' of this dichotomy lies at the heart of this thesis.

Ian Wedde, who was head of art and visual culture at Te Papa between 1994 and 2004, suggests that national museums, especially those 'developed in the cultural environments created by neo-liberal economics [...] are asked to mediate significantly tensioned and even conflicted remits' (2006, p. 14.1). Davies' more uncompromising position is that Te Papa is simply an 'instrument of government [that] creates and conveys conventional discourses about the nation' (2001, p. 20). Predictably, the Museum represents itself somewhat differently:

> Te Papa provides a stimulating, inspiring experience and forum for discussions about national identities, the place of tangata whenua in Aotearoa New Zealand [and] New Zealand's diverse cultural histories (2014j, p. 2).

"Our Place", which was Te Papa's original corporate slogan and which, for Williams, evoked 'ingratiating notions of home and belonging' (2003, p. 16), has slewed out of view recently. However, Williams' broader point that 'self-recognition' at Te Papa is celebratory rather than critical remains prescient.

Unlike Williams, Kylie Message situates Te Papa as an institution that prompts and encourages 'debate about what constitutes citizenship' (2007, p. 235). For Wedde, this notion of it being a democratic forum for the nation is dissembling:

> This mission statement supposes that a state-subsidised, legislated institution may act as a mediator between the state and its citizens: a sound-proofed practice room in which citizens can make some noise without disrupting civil society [...]. The political benefits of such debate are both democratic in appearance and regulatory in effect. The museum may be a place in which to *stage* debate rather than have it (2006, p. 14.1).

The implication being that the 'noise' generated in and out of Te Papa is polyphonic rather than hubbub-like, with its 'democratic function' being scenic and specular: a tightly choreographed parade which reflects and perpetuates governmental agendas. Mike Houlihan captured this in unequivocal terms when he stated that Te Papa is 'statutorily responsible for telling the story of the nation' (Te Papa, 2013l, p. 2).

In 2003, Williams wrote of there being a 'general consensus' that Te Papa 'represents the farthest example of the application of new ideas about museum practice' (p. 11).[9] Technologically driven and embracing interactive and simulatory experiences, it was at once discovery centre and heritage fun-fair, with former Te Papa CEO Dr Seddon Bennington portraying it as 'an enriching mix of entertainment, education, hospitality and retail' (as cited in Davidson & Sibley, 2011, p. 177). Such overt commercialism prompted British critic Theodore Dalrymple (1999) to deride it as 'an amusement arcade masquerading as a museum'. However, I would argue that of the practices adopted by Te Papa, the technological spectacle was secondary to the exhibitionary and pedagogical shift from 'displaying heritage' to 'telling stories'. The embrace of such a narrative approach not only denoted a movement towards the privileging of 'emotion, empathy and participation' (Williams, 2003, p. 17), but also signified an

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[9] The Museum combines long-term exhibitions, cultural spaces and touring 'blockbuster' exhibitions. Entry to the museum and all permanent exhibitions is free, though most touring exhibitions are ticketed.

embrace of the 'multi-accentual'. A move which has allowed the museum to 'side-step charges of didactism' (Williams, 2003, p. 18).

In January of 2013 it was reported that Te Papa was to be split into two parts: with the 'Museum of Living Culture' focused on the operational side of the Museum, and the 'Museum of the Future' intended to 'challenge and empower people to have a positive impact on the future' (Newshub). Prior to this restructure – which included job losses – it had a stable organisational arrangement. CEO Mike Houlihan then departed unexpectedly in mid-2014 and was replaced six months later by former head of TVNZ, Rick Ellis. This period was described as being 'exceptionally challenging' (Te Papa 2014j, p. 3). A year later, Te Papa Board Chair Evan Williams expanded upon this when he wrote: 'Reducing costs and increasing revenues at the same time is never easy' (as cited in Te Papa, 2015d, p. 6). However, by mid-2015 the noises emerging from Te Papa were decidedly more upbeat, with visitor numbers up 21% on the previous year (Te Papa, 2015d, p. 2). Meanwhile, a key decision in the 2014/15 year was a commitment to renew all permanent exhibitions (Te Papa, 2015d).

In its eighteen years of operation there have been surprisingly few controversies and measured according to its own performance framework, Te Papa has been staggeringly successful. As Williams explains, 'visitor statistics are Te Papa's main cause for celebration and the chief weapon in its defence' (2006, p. 2.3). It is one of the most visited museums in Australasia, with 22 million visitors between 1998 and 2014 (Te Papa, 2014l). That its visitor demographics have tended to mirror the wider population has been another cause for celebration (Davidson and Sibley, 2011).[10] In its own words, Te Papa has 'redefined the visitor's experience of what a museum is all about' and 're-energised the idea of a museum as a place for fun and learning'(2014l, p. 3).

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[10] However, analysis of ten years of data documenting visiting trends at Te Papa also discovered that socio-economic variables and educational accomplishment still played a fundamental role in patterns of visitation (Davidson and Sibley, 2011).

II   Te Papa's First World War

Introducing *Gallipoli*
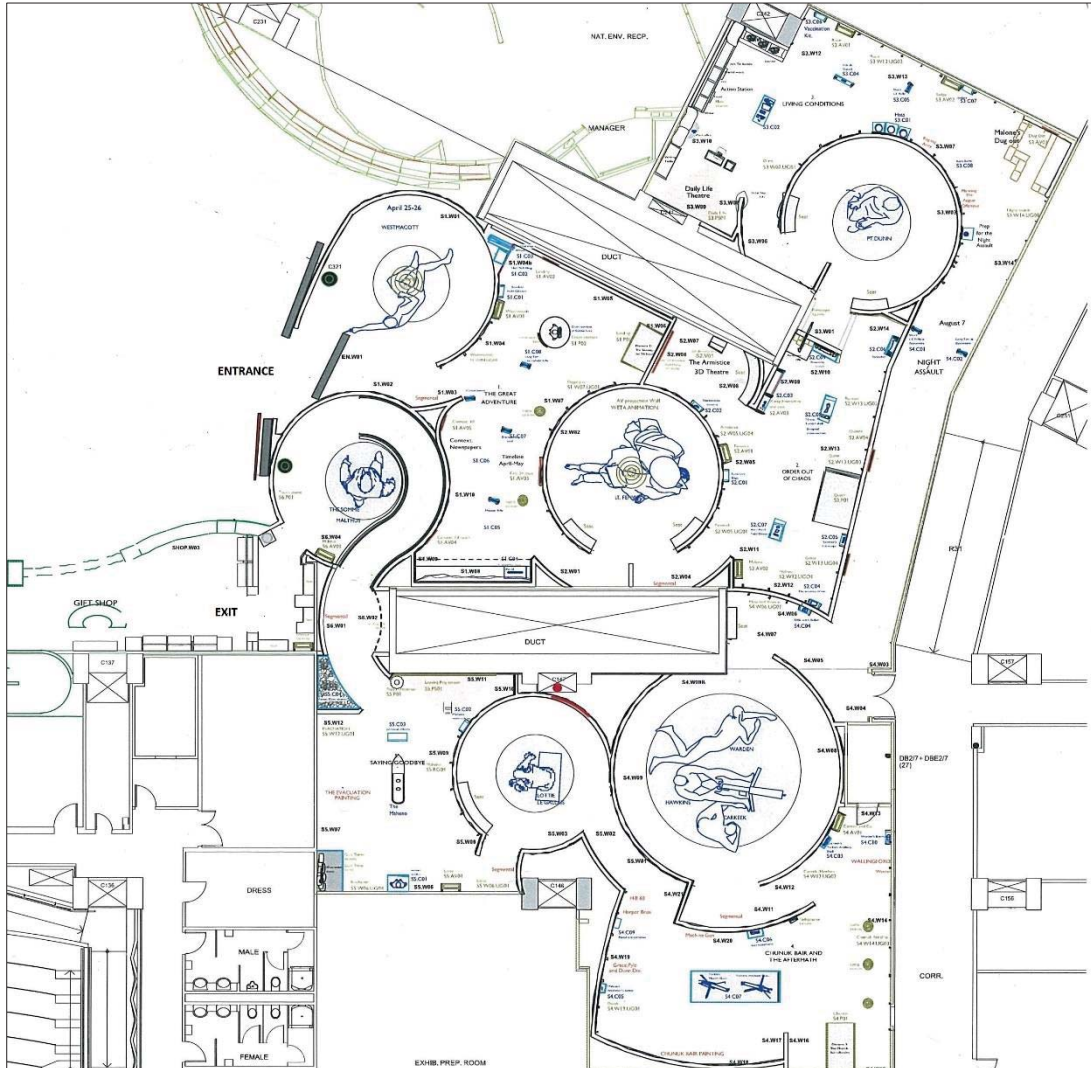
Figure 3.2: *Gallipoli* map. Image courtesy Te Papa, 2015.

Gallipoli is situated on the second floor of Te Papa and is free of charge. Covering 750 square metres and comprised of six 'bell-jars' (darkened circular spaces containing the 'giants') and five annexes (which are more conventionally conceived exhibitionary spaces), it is marked by a distinctive voice – a 'soldier narrator' dubbed 'the Grunt' by Te Papa staff – and a unique soundscape. The exhibition draws heavily on the diaries of New Zealand service people and is peppered with first-hand accounts. Regarding

the soundscape, within each bell-jar – and interspersed with dramatic orchestral arrangements and sounds of battle – actors can be heard reading extracts from the featured characters' diaries.

It is described on Te Papa's website (2016a) as a:

> [...] ground-breaking exhibition [that] tells the story of the Gallipoli campaign [...] through the eyes and words of eight ordinary New Zealanders who found themselves in extraordinary circumstances. Each is captured frozen in a moment of time on a monumental scale – 2.4 times human size. The large-scale sculptures took a staggering 24,000 hours to create, and countless hours were spent researching their rich histories. Cutting-edge technology was used to create 3-D maps, projections, miniatures, models, dioramas, and interactive experiences to bring this story to life. In total, 2,779 Kiwis lost their lives on Gallipoli, and many others were scarred for ever. *Gallipoli: The scale of our war* takes you to the core of this defining event.

The eight 'giants' are: Lieutenant Spencer Westmacott (injured and evacuated on the first day); Lieutenant-Colonel Percival Fenwick (one of the first doctors ashore); Private Jack Dunn (a machine-gunner); Private Colin Warden, Corporal Friday Hawkins and Private Rikihana Carkeek (from the Māori Contingent machine-gun section); Staff Nurse Lottie Le Gallais (who served on the hospital ship *Maheno*); and Sergeant Cecil Malthus (who went on to serve on the Western Front). Although not a 'giant', Lieutenant-Colonel William Malone – who was killed on Chunuk Bair – also features prominently.[11]

Aspirant, circuitous: the development of an exhibition

Tracing the genealogy of *Gallipoli* is difficult. It evolved over a four year period – a time marked by institutional disruption – and the development was characterised by shifting agendas, key personnel changes and, in its later stages and as *Gallipoli* Lead Curator, Kirstie Ross put it, 'a certain procedural vacuum' (2015, p. 24) due to the

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[11] See Appendix for a tabulated overview of the exhibition.

untested method of delivery.[12] Nevertheless, three phases in its creation can be discerned. The first, which is documented most comprehensively in an application for funding from the Lottery World War One Commemoration Fund, spanned between 2011 and late 2013. The second, which followed the failure to secure the full amount requested from Lotteries occurred between November 2013 and mid-2014. The final stage followed Houlihan's departure from Te Papa and Sir Richard Taylor assuming control of the exhibition in July 2014.

An exhibition to mark the centennial of the First World War began to be developed by Te Papa in late 2011. This was envisaged as being part of a more extensive programme exploring the theme of 'conflict and change' and the way in which conflict had shaped New Zealand's identity. It was intended to boldly reflect Te Papa's new vision: 'Conflict is a theme which challenges Te Papa [...] to explore the museum's potential to actively change hearts, minds and lives' (Te Papa, 2012). One of the *success factors* for this programme was 'To intellectually and emotionally inspire/provoke New Zealanders […] to join the discussion and debate and implement change for the better in their own lives' (Te Papa, 2013g). The decision to make Gallipoli the exhibition's fulcrum was made in 2012.

With a forecasted budget of $11.2 million, in July 2013 Te Papa applied for $5.7 million from the Lotteries World War One Commemorations Fund for an exhibition conceived in conjunction with film-maker Sir Peter Jackson and Sir Richard Taylor of Weta Workshop.[13] By this point, the title of the exhibition had become *ANZAC: Gallipoli and Beyond,* and the stated objectives were: to work with communities across Aotearoa enabling them to tell their stories and 'create living memories that will resonate in the future'; to illuminate the 'complex story' of national identity; and to honour the fallen of 'all our wars' (Te Papa, 2013l, p. 2).

> The First World War was an event that continues to affect our lives: *ANZAC: Gallipoli and Beyond* will be a compelling reminder to people that this history is here, with us, today' (2013l, p. 4).

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[12] Ross spoke of this period being marked by "higher level anxieties," a "lack of transparency," and "un-stated expectations" (personal communication, 2015). Meanwhile, from the point at which Sir Richard Taylor became Creative Director, curatorial and interpretive process documents dried-up.

[13] Weta Workshop is a Wellington based company famed for their design and special effects work on big-budget and spectacular films such as *The Lords of the Rings* trilogy and, more recently, *Mad Max: Fury Road.*

It also aimed to 'capitalise on New Zealanders allegiance to Anzac Day', and to address 'the misconceptions of our history by exploring the Gallipoli campaign and the birth of the Anzac legend against the broader backdrop of the First World War' (2013l, p. 6).

Puawai Cairns, *Gallipoli* Curator Māori, explained that from a curatorial perspective there was an interest in interrogating "war as an organism":

> [...] we wanted to kind of turn some of the Gallipoli stories on their head a little bit. Things that almost kind of make you feel coerced to make you feel a sense of ... I don't know, loyalty or obligation? Or that terrible word sacrifice – to acknowledge a sacrifice (personal communication, 2015).

The exhibition was envisaged as drawing upon: '[...] real personal stories that reflect a range of experiences beyond the 'heroic'. These stories will include those of Māori, Pākehā, Polynesian and Chinese New Zealanders – stories rarely told' (Te Papa, 2013l, p. 4). The design conceit of the exhibition was a division between an immersive 'trench experience' and a space themed like a 'stately war-room or divisional HQ', enabling visitors to explore the 'why' of Gallipoli, the impact on New Zealand society and contemporary views of Anzac and the Great War (Te Papa, 2013l, p. 31).

On 17 October 2013, Te Papa was granted $3.6 million from Lotteries. Following this failure to secure the full amount requested, a period of inertia and uncertainty ensued. In December 2013, Audience Engagement Facilitator, Lucy Moore, sought clarification from Houlihan. Moore reported that Houlihan remained intent on the exhibition asking 'hard questions' and challenging 'perceived wisdom' about the war, and yet the way in which this would occur remained indeterminate (2013k). Moore also spoke of Te Papa staff having a conception that the exhibition was "Mike's project":

> He said that he would be leading it but we didn't actually get a clear direction of [...] what the angle was going to be and what that wow factor was going to be. And so we [...] went round and round in circles for a long time (personal communication, 2016).

Christopher Pugsley's take on it was that the exhibition had been a "rudderless ship" due to Houlihan being distracted by the "problems of being the Museum Director" (personal communication, 2016).

According to Creative Lead, Ben Barraud, Houlihan then decided that the exhibition outlined in the Lotteries application was:

> [...] not going to work about twelve months out. [...] And then Richard [Taylor] was asked to come up with a new concept [...] which was when he came up with the idea of giants. And then we spent a period of time designing an exhibition still curatorially led but trying to incorporate some giants in it (personal communication, 2016).

On the 1st of May 2014 it was reported that Houlihan had left Te Papa. Little else was made publicly available until November 2014, when Te Papa Board Chairman Evan Williams stated: "He wasn't fired, he has made his own decisions. Yes, we did have a big problem, and we've completed the turnaround" (as cited in Burgess, 2014a). The 'big problem' was controversially highlighted by Dave Burgess (2014) in the *Dominion Post* when he described Houlihan's tenure as 'disastrous' and stated that following two 'big loss-generating shows' the Museum was 'poised to post a $12 million loss for the year ending June'. Whether Houlihan's departure was primarily the result of his failure to achieve financial performance targets remains a matter of speculation, though the outcome was that Te Papa Kaihautū (CEO – Māori) Arapata Hakiwai was appointed acting CEO.

Throughout this period, Sir Richard Taylor and Weta continued in a supporting role, though this changed, Barraud suggested, following a presentation to Taylor by Te Papa staff:

> Richard said "You don't have anything. There's not an exhibition here." And he was essentially right. And that's when he said "I can't do this under these circumstances." And that's when the Board of Directors said "Ok. What do you need to do it with?" And that's when [...] we changed the structure. And that's [...] how it changed so dramatically (Barraud, personal communication, 2016).

The invitation to Taylor to take on the role of Creative Director was an unprecedented move in the history of Te Papa (Ross, 2015), though it is beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate the precise details of the arrangement.[14] Needless to say, Taylor swiftly set about changing course, with the appointment of military historian Dr Christopher Pugsley to the position of exhibition Historical Director being the first step. From August 2014, exhibition development proceeded at a rapid pace.

Outside-in: Weta Workshop takes control

Taylor told me that when he took on the role he believed that if Te Papa's "aspirational brief [...] to change hearts, minds and lives" was to be fulfilled then "we would want to revisit the earlier presentation and totally rethink it" (personal communication, 2016). Meanwhile, in the second episode of the Weta produced films publicising the exhibition, Taylor spoke of the Te Papa board having asked him to "conceptualise a newer, fresher, creative approach to telling the story of Gallipoli [...]" (Te Papa, 2015f). An initial challenge, Taylor said, was:

> […] understanding that Te Papa was compelled to produce curator and academically-led exhibitions. This, of course, is totally understandable as it is an educational institution [...]. [However], I felt that for this exhibition to [...] stand alone in the world's commemorative exhibitions it needed to have a very intimate story told through individual characters [...] that would connect and touch the hearts, minds and lives of people [...] (personal communication, 2016).

Taylor's reconceptualization occasioned building the exhibition around the interpretive device of the giants, focusing solely on the Gallipoli campaign, telling the 'story' via individual 'characters' experiences, and utilising a distinctive 'first person voice' for the exhibition script.

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[14] Further to this, although the specifics of the exhibition's financial arrangements cannot be addressed here for reasons of commercial sensitivity, it was reported on Te Papa's website (2016b) that 'The $8 million exhibition was made possible by a $3.6 million contribution from the Lottery Grants'. *Gallipoli* 2D Lead Designer, Nick Clarkson, described this budget as being like going from a "famine to a feast" (personal communication, 2015) given the cost-cutting that had occurred at the time of the restructuring.

What Taylor's arrival presaged was an inversion of established Te Papa exhibitionary praxis, with Barraud describing how it became more of a "design-led exhibition" (personal communication, 2016). Cairns put it like this:

> Normally in an exhibition you develop the content first before you create the interpretive device to tell that story. That's how an exhibition is developed here. But we were given the interpretive device first and then we had to mould some of our stories around it (personal communication, 2015).

Exhibition development at Te Papa is typically characterised by extensive documentation, a process involving various levels of sign-off, and scrutiny by external panels of subject experts. For *Gallipoli,* overall sign-off resided with Taylor and Pugsley.

> This exhibition was different because we were presenting to Richard and there was no, or very little, official documentation. It was all kind of "hey what do you think of this?" (Clarkson, personal communication, 2015).

Also important to note is that debate, particularly between Pugsley and Cairns, over the extent to which Māori would be represented in the exhibition was a significant feature of its development, and should, I suggest, form the basis of further study.

The exhibition team was comprised of numerous Te Papa and Weta staff, various contractors, and Pugsley also brought in a group of military historians. The relationship between Te Papa staff and Weta was not always straightforward, though Moore explained that it was:

> [...] a huge relief, under time pressure and various organisational pressures [when] Richard was appointed. And he was clearly someone who could make decisions, even if they were pretty wacky and way-out ones by Te Papa standards (personal communication, 2016).

However, Clarkson suggested: "It was unusual and [...] there was a lot of stress. Te Papa was just coming out of another restructuring. [...] I guess we didn't feel that supported as Te Papa staff" (personal communication, 2015).

Our story: exhibition objectives

Given the lack of documentation it is difficult to ascertain the precise objectives underpinning *Gallipoli*.[15] As a result, I am reliant on piecing together the testimony of those involved. By depending primarily on these reflective and subjective accounts there arises the issue of differentiating personal and institutional objectives and also fact from opinion. Nevertheless, what became apparent was that some of the objectives from the earlier iteration were retained while others were either abandoned or re-formulated as hoped-for 'side-effects'.

> [...] we all view the exhibition as a very important part of New Zealand's need to show an ongoing and deep respect to the men that served in that war, some level of cleansing, a better understanding of the absurdity that surrounded that war and the need as a nation to never let it be forgotten for all the obvious reasons [...] (Taylor, personal communication, 2016).

In other words, the occasion demanded a "long-term exhibition [...] on a spectacular scale" (Ross, personal communication, 2015). Moreover, that the exhibition should fulfil Te Papa's vision of 'changing hearts, changing minds, changing lives' remained paramount.

Reiterated time and again in both my interviews and planning documents was the notion of making it an 'emotional journey'.

> Through an emotional journey of the First World War's Gallipoli campaign, Te Papa will explore the 'tragedy and folly of war', shocking visitors into confronting the long term effect on individuals, communities and the nation (Te Papa, 2014e).

Gallipoli Lead Writer, Frith Williams, elaborated upon this:

> [...] emotional connection was a big driver for the show generally. You know, we didn't want this to be a stuffy history lesson. [...] If you've got that

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[15] These may be parsed as either behavioural, cognitive or affective: what it was hoped visitors would *do, learn* and *feel.*

emotional connection, that's the driver for a lot of other thinking (personal communication, 2015).

In a document drafted by Moore, it was set out that a projected outcome was for visitors to 'experience empathy for the people and communities whose stories are represented' (Te Papa, 2014g).

It was also determined that a 'minimum of 95% of visitors should be satisfied by their experience' and that the exhibition should align with national priorities for the First World War Commemorations as outlined by the MCH and Lottery Grants Board (Te Papa, 2014g). The exhibition's 'guiding principles' were also sketched out in this document, and these included: a desire for visitors to make connections between their own stories with those represented in the exhibition; a commitment to utilising first-hand accounts; and a focus on making the exhibition 'multi-sensory' (2014g).

However, not only was the exhibition's development process and structural arrangement a departure, but the way in which the conceptual scaffolding was conceived also differed:

> [...] normally you have key messages when you create an exhibition. You have a big idea, you have sub-ideas, and everything is driven by those. In this case, it's a bit different. It's the story of Gallipoli told through the eyes of the soldiers, and I think a key part of it, as we're trying to put people in the soldiers' shoes as much as possible, is for them [visitors] to be able to come up with their own opinions. You're following that emotional journey of excitement, and then shock, and then just absolute tragedy, and then … I mean, they are really the key themes (Williams, personal communication, 2015).

Another significant impulse behind the exhibition was to rectify perceived gaps in the New Zealand public's knowledge of Gallipoli and, as Moore put it, to bring "the story alive for a new generation – that was our kind of by-line. That was really our objective" (personal communication, 2016). A Colmar Brunton survey commissioned by Te Papa, MCH and The Auckland War Memorial Museum had indicated, and as Moore explained, that although "a lot of people had an idea that [Gallipoli was] an important part of the New Zealand story" (personal communication, 2016) there were considerable fissures in the public's knowledge. The exhibition was therefore about "filling in the blanks for people" (Moore, personal communication, 2016).

Meanwhile, when asked about the exhibition's lack of wider contextualisation, Williams suggested that this issue triggered considerable discussion. However, she went on to say that such doubts were alleviated by a belief that the exhibition: "[...] can't do everything. [...] I think that you don't need to understand all those details, because you can go on your iPhone. You can google it" (personal communication, 2015).

> [...] one of our questions was "how do we do anything that is different? How do we get that cut-through?" [...] There was no point creating what's often been called a book on the wall [...], which really, these days, any ten year old could look up better online (Moore, personal communication, 2016).

What needs mentioning here is that within the exhibition there is an abundance of facts, dates, diagrams and illustrations.

That the exhibition should be a 'spark for further learning' was another key objective: "[...] at a more focused level, we were interested in people being inspired to actually research or think about their own connections to World War One" (Ross, personal communication, 2015). However, despite the explicit aim of wishing to engender greater understanding of the Gallipoli campaign, highlighting the importance of it being open-ended and disavowing didactic intentions was a regular feature of interviewee's responses.

> We certainly did not want to tell the audience what they should think. You're trying to evoke an emotion that opens the mind to information and causes an audience to conclude [their] own thoughts (Taylor, personal communication, 2016).

> [...] you can't demand people react or come out with learning in a way that you wanted. People are going to come out however they want to come out (Cairns, personal communication, 2015).

Emphasising complexity was also talked about as an aspiration: "I think what we were trying to convey is that war is emotionally complex and that Gallipoli was emotionally complex [...] I hope it allows for an opening up of responses..." (Ross, personal communication, 2015). A somewhat different opinion was offered by Pugsley: "If everyone who goes through the *Gallipoli* exhibition comes out thinking "I know these

people" and also thinking "what a terrible tragic waste" then that's not too bad a conclusion" (personal communication, 2016).

With regard to the question of there being a target audience, interviewees stressed that it needed to have broad public appeal as it was "relevant to the whole country" (Moore, personal communication, 2016). And yet, and as Moore explained:

> [...] if you say the exhibition is "for everybody" it often ends up catering to nobody. We tried to be a bit more targeted (personal communication, 2016).

This target came to be embodied by a single figure: that of a "twelve year-old girl from Porirua".

> Richard always talked about the twelve year old girl from Porirua, and so it was about catering generally for a younger audience who really are easily distracted, used to the spectacular, used to the delivery of content and information in, you know, "bites" (Ross, personal communication, 2015).

The exhibition was thus conceived as being multi-layered: '[...] we will explore these stories and emotions via a variety of senses and modes in order to cater for a broad range of learning styles' (Te Papa, 2014g).
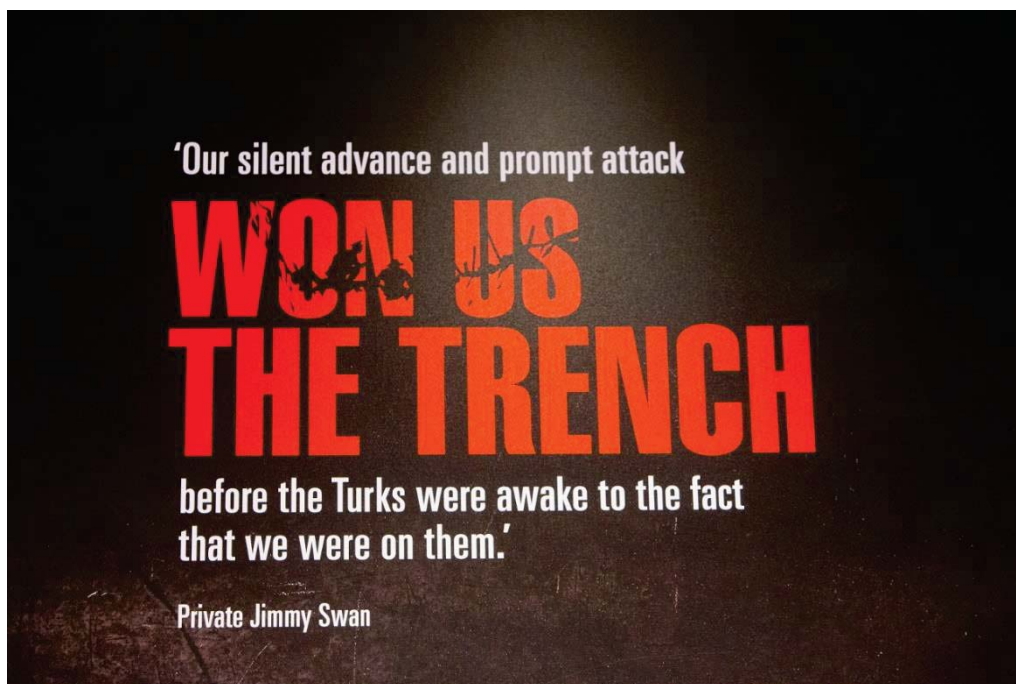
Figure 3.3: Graphic pictogram, 2015.

The exhibition actualised

The giants were the central mechanism of the exhibition and determinant with regard to how the other elements came into being. Ross (personal communication, 2015) explained that they served to structure the space and to create "spectacle", while also compensating for the lack of provenanced – and therefore lacking emotional resonance – objects. The aforementioned 'other elements' included the spatial design, the 'bottom-up' approach, the text being constructed as a first-person narrative and the use of an exhibition-wide soundscape.

The desire to make *Gallipoli* an emotional journey was facilitated by the creation of an immersive or 'total' environment:

> A lot of the design decisions [...] were about taking the visitor out of their daily life, making them forget […] what else is going on and making them be fully present in [the] experience (Barraud, personal communication, 2016).

> [...] the phrase I used was "If we [can] stop people leaving the exhibition with the first thought on their minds being is it going to be Burger King or McDonalds for lunch" we have at some levels been successful (Taylor, personal communication, 2016).

In order to achieve this, the exhibition was constructed – both spatially and otherwise – as labyrinthine.

As Taylor explained, the "design conceit [...] tries to stimulate the feeling of being lost […] in this completely non-geometric, insanely twisty-turny world" (personal communication, 2016).

> You know, when you're there you're in the trenches with them. It was deliberately designed to give you that claustrophobic feeling of being on Gallipoli […] (Pugsley, personal communication, 2016).

> So we wanted to mirror the experience to some extent of what happened over those nine months. There is no respite. You have to keep going until you get to the end and someone else has decided when that end is going to be (Moore, personal communication, 2016).

The exhibition was envisaged as an enclosure which would preclude the possibility of the visitor adopting a distanced approach. Disassociation or detachment were obstacles to be surmounted. *Affective mimesis* appeared to be the aim.

The decision to focus on the 'personal' was dictated by the giants but it also fitted the objective of creating an intimate story which encouraged empathetic investment.

> [...] it's about making [...] history accessible and we know that people often access history through the personal, through biography, [through] family history. You know, Pākehā family history is booming and it's [...] through family connections that people often get hooked into history. [...] I think also through the individual you get away from the homogenising of experience [with] people becoming just statistics (Ross, personal communication, 2015).

> That was the whole thing about this exhibition. We would capture people's hearts and imaginations and emotion through personal stories. [...] The viewer would then make the connection with people they knew, or their own families or their own community. And so, all we had to do was to provide the trigger (Pugsley, personal communication, 2016).

Pugsley went on to speak about making sure the characters were broadly "representative" of the nation, while also talking of 'history-making' requiring "heroes that the reader can identify with and that can carry the bigger themes" (personal communication, 2016).

By focusing solely on the Gallipoli campaign, the exhibition designers were able to construct a seamless narrative and one which could build incrementally over the course of the exhibition.

> You're supposed to follow a trajectory that ultimately leads you to a conclusion that [...] this was a shit idea [...]. You start with the boys-own adventure of Westmacott and that kind of stereotypical thing and end up with the war trauma hundred-mile-stare of Cecil Malthus (Cairns, personal communication, 2015).

There are no flashbacks, flash-forwards or curatorial interjections: the action is time-specific and hence the viewer is kept in the *present of the past* (Ross, 2015).

Despite the giants 'carrying' the story, text remained the primary medium for the narrative and for conveying key messages. Ross, in an article which appeared in *Museums Australia Magazine,* wrote that for the exhibition:

> We exchanged our orthodox, third person 'eye of god' curatorial 'voice-over' for labels written from the soldier's point of view. You could say we treated exhibition text more like a film script than as a mechanism for delivering information. Our objective was to place the audience within the action, and to reduce visitors' emotional distance from the story that sometimes occurs because of museums' interpretive interventions (2015, p. 29).

Ross went on to explain that the exhibition's 'voice' was imagined as a 'literate subaltern, whom we fondly nicknamed 'the grunt'' (2015: 29).

Williams elaborated upon this:

> [...] this was really [...] the soldiers' story. And if this was their story and about their experiences, then shouldn't we let the soldiers speak for themselves? So that was the first decision – to go with the diary entries – and then they couldn't do everything for us, so how could we retain that level of intimacy and connection for the audience (personal communication, 2015)?

The 'soldier narrator' was therefore perceived as a means of synthesising the narrative, retaining a sense of intimacy and filling in the gaps. Ross said: "[...] we also wanted to make sure that it wasn't a "rah-rah" operational history. [...] I think it was partly about wanting to see Gallipoli from the ground level, from the ground, from the "Grunt's" view" (personal communication, 2015).

Taylor, meanwhile, was keen to acknowledge the role the soundscape, which was developed by composer Tane Upjohn-Beatson, played:

> Knowing Tane's work very well, [I knew] that he could create a unique soundscape that would carry us through the exhibition, telling us when we should feel deep sadness, when we should celebrate, when we should empathise, when we should acknowledge information etcetera (Taylor, personal communication, 2016).

The soundscape was thus conceived as instructional: functioning to steer visitors through the peaks and troughs of the narrative.

Summary

That exhibitions change as they are developed is inevitable, and *Gallipoli* bears little resemblance to the exhibition outlined in the initial Lotteries application. As Ross put it, "The first concept was, I guess, far more cerebral [...] or abstract" (personal communication, 2015). What also seems apparent is that the 'emotional journey' shifted from being a *methodology* to an *objective*.

> I think Richard's experience in helping make movies [...] is reflected in *Gallipoli*. His focus was "we have to grab people's emotions, we have to shake them" and, you know, have a truly sensory experience: "You want to grab them as soon as they come in [...] and they're going to be falling around and crying … " And it's like, wow! Big expectations. But, you know, he delivered (Clarkson, personal communication, 2015).

Figure 3.4: Private Rikihana Carkeek, Corporal Friday Hawkins and Private Colin Warden. Image courtesy Te Papa, 2015.

CHAPTER THREE

Queuing for *Gallipoli:* Public Pedagogy and Visitor Reception

Prelude – Being affected

Having visited *Gallipoli* many times, one afternoon, and quite unexpectedly, it *worked* on me. As I sat in with Lieutenant-Colonel Fenwick, feelings of desolation and loss – a shadow-play of indefinite emotion – rose and rose. But it was not epiphanic. No new realisation emerged. But I was made raw.

Figure 4.1: Lieutenant Colonel Percival Fenwick. Image courtesy Te Papa, 2015.

Perhaps I just had a need to feel, to be affected. By something, anything. Maybe the tears of my interviewees had done it. Only later did the thought arise that this happened because of my increasing intimacy with the Museum. I had been invited in and treated with great generosity. I was made to feel at home and was beginning to feel like a part of the Museum 'event'.

Introduction

There are no more living mythologies, you say? Religions are at their last gasp? Look at the religion of the power of history...

<div align="right">Nietzsche as cited in Lowenthal, 1985, p. 365</div>

Since opening, Te Papa has strived to be hospitable, to make good on being "our place". By eliciting feelings of investment and ownership, Te Papa has engineered a situation whereby visitors are predisposed to be trusting – to believe in what they are seeing and experiencing. But what occurs when ownership means little more than a sense of emotional attachment? Furthermore, the invitation to feel comfortable can rapidly metamorphose into an injunction: "You will feel comfortable!" What this means is that "our place" is as much an *expression* of welcome as it is an *expectation.* Visitors are summoned to embrace triumphalist tropes – in the sense of Te Papa being an emblem of success – and to adopt celebratory attitudes vis-à-vis "our" heritage. As I see it, Te Papa's pedagogical function begins with this *declaration* of conviviality. This chapter commences with an overview of public pedagogy and pedagogical practices in museums, before turning to consider visitors' experiences of and responses to *Gallipoli.*

I   Pedagogy In and Out of the Museum

Corporate public pedagogy

Words and phrases which appear in the OED's definition of pedagogy include: *instruction; discipline; a means of guidance;* and *the art or practice of teaching.* For Trofanenko and Segall (2014), pedagogy is any *process* 'through which we are encouraged to know, to form a particular way of ordering the world, giving and making sense of it' (pp. 1-2). Pedagogy *as teaching* means the attempt to facilitate knowledge acquisition and to influence and organize experience and subjectivity. But *learning,* and whether structured or otherwise, is fluid and incremental, dependant on endless

strings of interdependencies, inflected by deep pools of causalities. Simple models of transmission and reception, it is argued, are inadequate; what gets taken in and taken away is endlessly variable (Lindauer, 2007).

Public pedagogy is an evolving – meaning both mobile and contested – concept in the field of educational scholarship and critical cultural theory. As a theoretical paradigm it may be understood as the study of how public spaces and institutions, mass media and popular culture function as educative mediums (Pinar, 2010; Matthews, 2013). At its simplest, it is 'a concept focusing on various forms, processes, and sites of education and learning occurring beyond or outside of formal schooling' (Burdick, Sandlin and O'Malley, 2014, p. 2). The genealogy of public pedagogy as a critical discourse may be traced from the work of the Frankfurt School to that of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire's *critical pedagogy,* and today one of its most prominent exponents is American scholar Henry Giroux. For Giroux (2012a, p. xvi), Freire challenged 'the separation of culture from politics by calling attention to how diverse technologies of power work pedagogically within institutions to produce, regulate, and legitimate particular forms of knowing, belonging, feeling, and desiring'.

As Giroux puts it: 'Culture plays a central role in producing narratives, metaphors, images, and desiring maps that exercise a powerful pedagogical force over how people think about themselves and their relationship to others' (2010, p. 489). If culture is understood as the lens through which existence is experienced and perceived (as belief, as knowledge), and the means by which we communicate (as language), then this is entirely self-evident. However, what needs emphasising is that culture is *produced,* and control of cultural production means control over how people think about themselves and their relationships to others. In this way, and as Giroux argues, neoliberalism has emerged as the 'undergirding pedagogy of citizenship in [the] late-capitalist social order' (Sandlin, Shultz and Burdick, 2010, p. 3).

As noted earlier, neoliberalism needs to be understood as an ethic, a set of political imperatives and as a cultural logic: '[It] is more than an economic theory: it constitutes the conditions for a radically refigured cultural politics' (Giroux, 2010, p. 487). This has been achieved through structural changes but also by reframing public discourse: it has been *taught* and it is *learnt.*[16] For Jean and John Comaroff, neoliberalism has

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[16] Giroux continues:

altered the phenomenology of 'being in the world' (2001, p. 14), while Harvey (2011) contends that over the last 40 years our lives have been structured around a concentrated phase of 'time-space compression'. The consequences of which have been to 'accentuate volatility and ephemerality of fashions, products, production techniques, labour processes, ideas and ideologies, values and established practices' (Harvey, 2011, p. 285). Indeed, it has been argued that we now live in a 'throw-away society' or within a 'fast-burn culture'.[17]

Corporate public pedagogy refers to a 'powerful ensemble of ideological and institutional forces whose aim is to produce competitive, self-interested individuals vying for their own material and ideological gain' (Giroux, 2010, p. 486). Despite being tinged with hyperbole, this captures the simultaneous process of fracture and homogenization that has occurred in the neoliberal moment. Although Giroux suggests that neoliberalism is a discourse that expels ambiguity from public space, I would suggest the opposite is the case: its 'success' is due to its 'riddling' of the political, social and economic landscape. It relies on phantasms and uncertainty; stimulating precariousness then preying upon the sense of temporariness in the 'structure of public and personal value systems' (Harvey, 2011, p. 286).

Museological pedagogy

Art critic Robert Hughes once remarked that people do not go to the Louvre to see the *Mona Lisa,* they go in order *to say that they have seen it* (as cited in Leahy, 2011, p. 38). This neatly, if allusively, captures the complex imbrications striating the pedagogical functions of museums. In the sense of gesturing toward the role the *idea*

That is, it provides, to use Raymond Williams' term, a new mode of "permanent education" in which dominant sites of pedagogy engage in diverse forms of pedagogical address to put into play a limited range of identities, ideologies, and subject positions that both reinforce neoliberal social relations and undermine the possibility for democratic politics (2010, p. 487).

[17] With regard to the former, the accelerating pace of existence – in which individuals are forced to cope with 'disposability [...] and the prospects for instant obsolescence' – has produced profound changes in human 'psychology' (Toffler as cited Harvey, 2011, p. 286). Regarding the latter, Peter Sloterdijk has written that this is a 'specific condition of civilization in an era of a superabundance of energy' (as cited in Bourriaud, 2008, p. 16). He has also proposed that the modern technological dynamic may be perceived as a 'vicious dialectic' and 'phobic circle': '[...] striving to the overcome anxiety through technology, which itself generates more anxiety' (as cited in Foster, 2009, p. 3). I would suggest that within this formulation, 'capital' could readily replace technology.

of the museum plays in learning; the knotty issue of visitor motivations; the way in which exhibitions are *events* (are performative 'occasions'); and the ongoing fetishization of museal heritage. Put differently, visitors both perform *in* and are performed *by* museums.

As I understand it, the paradigm of public pedagogy offers a syncretic and expansive conception of the way in which learning and teaching occurs in and through museums. It takes into account the interdependencies and slippages of the museum 'assemblage': attending to the way in which learning in the museum is affected by, for example, the branding and marketing, the architectonics, the scenographic design of exhibits, and the behaviours of front of house staff. In other words, the entanglement of processes and structures that comprise the museum assemblage are all perceived to function pedagogically: they all signify, transmit and *teach.*

Underpinned by the conception that 'every gesture' is freighted with educational potential and meaning and that, through processes both conscious and unconscious, 'we are constantly being taught, constantly learn, constantly unlearn' (Sandlin, Schultz and Burdick, 2010, p. 1), public pedagogy offers a means of apprehending the complex ways in which we are signalled to, positioned and moved by 'culture'. What is of particular importance here is to acknowledge the performative nature of pedagogy. Simply put, every utterance and action needs to make use of 'convention/s' in order to be understood; this is how norms and regulations are transmitted and enacted.

Education in its broadest sense is at the heart of museum activity and museums construct exhibitions out of a 'desire to teach, to tell, to relate something to somebody' (Trofanenko and Segall 2014, p. 2). Museums preserve and display tangible and intangible heritage intended to be of representational value to the public. They are *differential apparatuses,* technologies of classification which privilege particular objects and narratives, values and qualities. As Sharon Macdonald puts it, museums are:

> [...] unusually capable [...] of turning culture into an object: of *materializing* it. They have played a role not just in *displaying* the world, but in structuring a modern way of seeing and comprehending the world "as if it were an exhibit" (1996b, p. 7).

Museums position the public to *know*, *see* and *move* in particular ways and: '[…] museums act pedagogically by generating forms of discursive, moral, and social regulation that constitute and regulate the limits and possible consciousness and modalities of self' (Trofanenko and Segall 2014, p. 2).

By following exhibitionary circuits and through 'processes of unconscious identification and (mis)recognition' (Henning, 2006, p. 100) visitors are constructed – are *understood* and *understand themselves* – as subjects. They are interpellated – "hailed" – and disciplined (Bennett, 1995; Henning, 2006). As Preziosi and Farago argue, museums are 'essential sites for the fabrication and perpetuation of our conceptions of ourselves as autonomous individuals with unique subjectivities' (2004a, p. 3). With the caveat being that this conception is fundamentally a fiction. The 'myth' of the museum springs in part from its capacity to reify 'nebula' and abstract 'matter'.

And yet the pedagogical mandate of museums *is* diverse and the ways in which learning occurs in museums continues to be the focus of considerable debate (Trofanenko and Segall, 2014). Although the role of museums as repositories of knowledge has been problematized due to the increasing availability of information via technological media, as 'expository spaces' for the *performance* and *distribution* of ideas, their pedagogical role remains undiminished (Hooper-Greenhill, 2012, p. 518). Furthermore, despite museums being traditionally dedicated to the production of consensual narratives, today that role *appears* less pronounced, with the pedagogical facility of museums now mimicking that of corporate services. *Choice* has become a ruling edict and *user-friendly* a vital diktat (Trofanenko, 2011; Smeds, 2012). Stemming from both constructivist models of teaching and learning which stress individual potential and the neoliberal 're-branding' of citizens as consumers, this 'liberated' pedagogy advances participatory and performative methods of learning (Garoian, 2001; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007b; Golding, 2009).[18] In this way, visitors' needs and desires are appraised through market research and catered for accordingly.

For Hooper-Greenhill, 'learning today is a process of bricolage, is conceptualised as interpretive, open-ended and identity focused' (2007a, p. 372). Learning in museums

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[18] The performative in this instance refers to visitor 'co-creation' and to visitors' capacity to take on various 'roles' within the shifting contexts of the museum (Jackson and Kidd, 2011).

is now conceived as being 'free-choice' (Falk, Dierking and Foutz, 2007); as incremental and accumulative (Gurian, 2006); as 'self-paced, self-directed, non-linear, and visually oriented' (Screven as cited in Gurian, 1996: 4); and as an unpredictable 'springboard for further inquiry' (Kavanagh, 1990, p. 112). Museum visiting has become – at least in the promotional rhetoric – about *encounters* in which the past that is 'brought to life' (Jackson and Kidd, 2011, p. 1). Museums, it is argued, are uniquely placed to provide and facilitate integrative learning opportunities which fuse the sensory, the cerebral and the haptic and which collapse distinctions between learning and play (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007a; Golding, 2009; Bedford, 2014).

Museological literature also increasingly emphasises the value of affective learning (Golding, 2009; Trofanenko, 2011; Bedford, 2014), and strategies which allow museums to move the viewer in unexpected ways have become central to pedagogical practices (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007a; Witcomb, 2013). For Falk and Dierking (Bedford, 2014), for instance, eliciting feelings of awe and reverence are essential features of the museum visit, while for Elaine Heumann Gurian: 'If we are interested in changing our exhibitions into exhibitions of meaning, we will have to be prepared to include frankly emotional strategies' (as cited in Bedford, 2014, p. 49). Affective pedagogy relies on appeals to feeling rather than cognition, on stimulating embodied forms of knowledge, on empathetic encounters being a 'spark' for learning, on the notion that the sensorial will force a *manner of thinking*.

Writing in the context of the 'affective representation' of traumatic historic episodes in museums, Arnold-de Simine captures the moralising element which often underscores such practices:

> The desired response [...] is usually a commitment to a shared system of ethical values promoting pluralism and tolerance. And it is taken for granted that this aim can be achieved by getting visitors to identify and empathise with what they have not experienced themselves and by providing them with prosthetic memory. Museum curators invest in the belief that the suffering depicted allows for a cathartic experience through which the visitor can become a 'better person' (2013, p. 120).

To make, in other words, the visitor *subject* and *subject to*.

II   Visitors

Welcome

Puawai Cairns explained how *Gallipoli* plays to and with visitor expectations:

> There are [...] little devices and tricks in there that are intended to pull out or provoke an emotional reaction, and my own feeling is that people are already primed – have primed themselves to react in that way before they go in to the exhibition. It's the nature of the subject material and it's also that monumental kind of entrance [...]. I've never seen one quite like that before in Te Papa. So there's a sense that "this is an event," that coming to visit is going to be an event [...] (personal communication, 2015).

Not only is the exhibition's entrance 'scaled-up' but its 'invitation' is monumental: an extensive marketing campaign, six short films documenting the making of the exhibition and a dedicated website. Additionally, because of heightened visitor anticipation the exhibition spills well beyond the bounds of the Museum: most visitors have already 'entered' Gallipoli long before stepping across *Gallipoli's* threshold.

Anthony Jackson explains that how visitors respond to their museum encounter:

> [...] must be understood in relation to the 'horizons of expectations' which are available to them based on their social and educational backgrounds and prior experiences – and indeed (as Bourdieu has shown) on the 'cultural capital' they have been able (or allowed) to acquire (2011, p. 12).

Visitors' responses will inevitably vary depending on pre-existing attitudes and inclinations, while the exact nature of their motivations for visiting a museum significantly influences learning outcomes (Falk, 1996).

The following comment corroborates Cairn's statement that visitors are 'already primed':

> I find anything about Anzac very moving. So I found that pretty fantastic (V20).

Of the thirty visitors I interviewed, none appeared unmoved and there were no 'dissenting' voices. Furthermore, Te Papa's 'Visitor Experience Evaluation' found that seventy-nine percent of visitors leaving *Gallipoli* stated that their main reason for visiting Te Papa was to the see the exhibition (2015k), while of my thirty interviewees, twenty-five had come to the Museum specifically to see *Gallipoli.*

Figure 4.2: Queuing for *Gallipoli,* 2015.

How did it make you feel?

Life does not tell stories. Life is chaotic, fluid, random; it leaves myriads of ends untidied, untidily. Writers can extract a story from life only by strict, close selection, and this must mean falsification. Telling stories is really telling lies.

Johnson as cited in Macleod, Hanks and Hale, 2012, p. xxii

Throughout my interviews with visitors, expressions concerning the exhibition's veracity and truthfulness proliferated, as did utterances along the lines of it 'telling it

like it is'. That it made Gallipoli 'come alive' and seem 'real' was also frequently reiterated.[19]

> It's not just high-definition. It's not about special effects. This stuff happened. This shit happened. You know? This was real (V25).

Whether the feelings of empathy expressed by visitors for the 'characters' populating the exhibition occurred or were elicited because of Gallipoli being made *vivid in the mind* is unclear. The exhibition's 'traumatic revelations' are *exciting* but also an *excitation*. There is a sense that visitors are similarly 'called-upon' and made a 'spectacle of' both by fellow visitors *and* by the giants.

Meanwhile, Te Papa's 'Visitor Experience Evaluation' (2015k) found that 99.93% of visitors were 'satisfied' with their experience of the exhibition and 87% 'extremely satisfied'. Further to this, a visitor from the United States stated:

> [It was] probably the most powerful exhibit I've ever seen at a museum. This is the best – without a doubt. I liken it to a museum exhibit that I saw in Washington DC at the Holocaust Museum. […] It is a tribute to New Zealand and a tribute to this terrible, terrible war (V01).

What this also brings to mind is the distinction between 'difficult' and 'lovely' knowledge. Here it would seem that the two have coalesced, with visitors emerging *comfortably disturbed*.

Never shall I forget the grandeur of the scene[20]

When visitors were asked what the most memorable aspect of the exhibition was for them, similar responses emerged time and again. The giants – their verisimilitude and

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[19] This appetite for 'real-life' tales of horror, survival and, increasingly, the banal, is lent illustration by Huyssen: 'History in a certain canonical form may be delegitimised [...] but the seduction of the archive and its trove of stories of human achievement and suffering has never been greater' (2003, p. 5). Note also recent Oscar Best-Picture winners *Spotlight* (2016), *Twelve Years a Slave* (2014), *Argo* (2013), *The King's Speech* (2011), and *The Hurt Locker* (2010).

[20] Visitors' responses are 'bannered' beneath quotes from six of the 'characters' featured in the exhibition.

hyper-realism – were clearly arresting. That they functioned as memorials in 'their own right' also became apparent:

The way the models were put together was just incredible. [...] Certainly a fitting tribute to all the young people that died in the war (V02).

For others, the giants appeared not only to provide opportunity for a reverential encounter but they also worked to animate the exhibition. They were accredited with a certain uncanny dynamism.

[…] the detail that's put into them – just amazing. Down to lines of snot coming down his nose and stuff like that ... the lines on his fingers and the hairs and everything. […] it's like you're in the moment. Just waiting for the guy to move actually (V17).

What this comment suggests is that the exhibition designers successfully achieved their 'necromantic' aspiration.[21]

Just over half of interviewees mentioned the stories of individual characters being another noteworthy feature.

I think it was Corporal Gunn [Private Jack Dunn] who actually fell asleep at his post and was sentenced to die but was exonerated. That was quite huge. Because that's part of the story that you don't read. The actual life stories. You know the bigger picture but to see individuals and to see the impact on them was probably quite huge really (V18).

That the exhibition narrative is constructed by way of personal accounts makes this a predictable though no less significant outcome.

The 'Poppy Interactive' was also mentioned as being memorable:

You know you can write a message and pay your respects in a different way as to just buying a poppy every year. I mean you can personally give something back (V08).

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[21] Worth noting is that only one visitor mentioned the soundscape. This speaks, I suggest, of its 'naturalising' affect.

Such sentiment highlights the performative nature of memorial practices. By simple acts of remembrance there is a sense that something is given back or, perhaps, reclaimed. Could it therefore be that the 'Poppy Interactive' functions as a form of 'votive' *deus ex machina* within the exhibition assemblage? In the sense of it offering an unexpected opportunity to not only redeem the past but the self in the present.
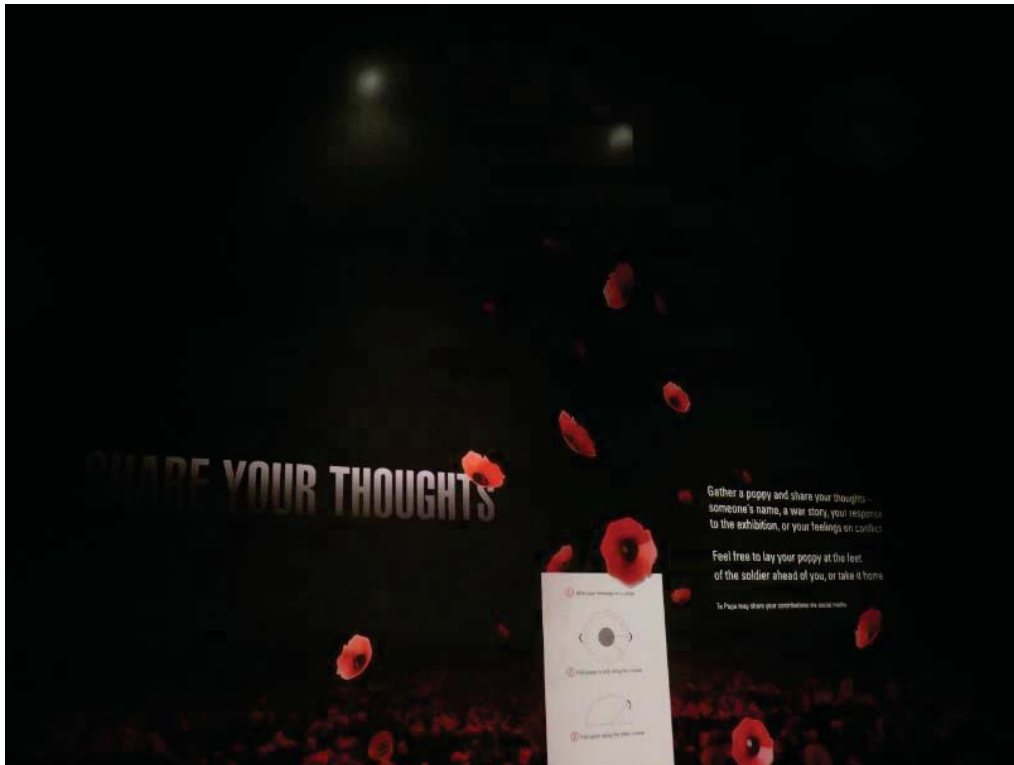
Figure 4.3: Poppy Interactive instructions, 2015.

What good we are doing I cannot say

The most common response to the question of 'what is the exhibition about' was that it was an act of appreciation of "our history" and an acknowledgment of "sacrifices made". It was perceived as enabling opportunity to reflect on what our forebears did – and what they did for *us*.

> I think it's an ongoing recognition not only of Gallipoli but of World War One. [...] the lasting impression is, a: the futility of war. And b: the heroism and the commitment made by a generation (V07).

> I think [it's about] the sacrifice that people made. Because that's timeless. It really is (V21).

> So hopefully it's helping us realise how far we've come and also what our forebears did to ensure our freedom. I think it's something we do take for granted (V14).

This notion of the Anzacs fighting at Gallipoli to 'ensure our freedom' occurred throughout the interviews.[22]

Other visitors spoke of the exhibition serving to 'personalise' the war, of it being made explicable in 'human terms':

> It's about learning the stories of just normal people being called for duty and just defending the country (V08).

> So [it is about] putting that human face and that human element to war (V11).

This was precisely the sort of outcome desired by the exhibition developers. As Ross (2015) put it, Te Papa was keen to overcome abstraction and to make the exhibition about more than simply numbers. By which it was meant, the history on display needed to be relatable, accessible and personally meaningful.

For an hour or so matters were very lively

Another question I put to visitors was: *were there any aspects of the exhibition that surprised or troubled you?* This was qualified with a comment about the exhibition subject matter being troubling in and of itself. Visitors were almost unanimous in expressing a sense that there was nothing disturbing or unexpected.

> Nothing really troubled me. You've got to realise that it's not glamorous. You've got to understand the struggles and the deaths and the injuries. It is very detailed. [What] I think will hit people hard is knowing the honest truth. [It is] not being glamorised (V08).

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[22] Further to this, no mention was ever made of the Gallipoli campaign being an invasion as part of an imperial war.

The exhibition was typically perceived to capture the reality of war and was considered appropriately unsparing.[23]

Another visited stated that "It tells it like it is" (V09). That it was seen to "tell it like it is" suggests that the exhibition has been constructed in such a way as to make credulousness a likely response. To return to Johnson's earlier comment concerning storytelling and 'lies', what this particular story seems to engender is belief (in *what* is another question) rather than doubt. Its fictions (its omissions and oversights) and fantasy elements (the giants and the simulacral environment) are affirmative rather than destabilising. The 'history' on display appeared to be accepted as unquestionably credible.

I also did not reign long

A number of questions inquired into the significance of marking the Gallipoli campaign, the meaning of the exhibition for contemporary New Zealand society, and whether or not the exhibition connected to or reflected visitors' own history. Several visitors said it was difficult to answer such questions. Which suggests that they *were* difficult questions but also indicates a degree of uncertainty about the purpose of the exhibition, the meaning of commemorative events and the significance of Gallipoli. However, that practices of memorialisation were considered as good or apposite things in and of themselves was obvious. That it *mattered* seemed beyond question.

Many visitors talked about the exhibition being of benefit for younger generations. To flesh this out a little, it was perceived as a didactic and instructional morality play or tragic drama.

> [...] our younger generation are so focused on the future and technology and where we're moving to but they tend to forget about what has been before [...]. I think it needs to be constantly remembered. I don't care how long it takes and how far down the track we go (V12).

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[23] It must also be noted that 'factuality' in no ways means being free of ideology (Johnson, 2014).

[Begins crying.] I can't believe how ... I find it quite emotional ... I can't understand how such a huge number of young people soon found it wasn't a big adventure it was a big horror. And it's very difficult to reconcile what they did with young people today (V15).

I just want every teenager to see it because they play war games and stuff but actually it's real (V18).

The intimation being that we live in a temporal vacuum in which ahistoricity is a typical modality. I am unsure whether the exhibition provides a counter to this or whether it fuels nostalgic fantasies of simpler – meaning less complex and more 'immediate' – times.

Others spoke of the importance of knowing "our history" and of understanding the "terrible nature of it". The idea of being lucky to live in New Zealand was another common response, as was the notion of needing to be grateful for what "we've got".

I think a hundred years down I'm just so grateful for those that did actually lose their lives, and they shouldn't have. [...] we have so much freedom in New Zealand and I think that we brush it off that it's not real (V18).

Such comparisons to life today were made frequently throughout the interviews.

Many responses appeared evidently rehearsed or drawn from a repertoire of stock-answers. As in: *this is how we mourn* and *this is how we talk about it.*

We actually forget our roots, we forget that people have actually lost their lives for us to have what we've got now (V18).

I think it's good that we do recognise Anzac on a yearly basis. We have to. Because once you lose those histories and those traditions they never come back (V07).

Which traditions in particular remained unclear, though I would hazard that the implicit reference was to *values* and *qualities* such as stoicism and bravery – to sacrificial tropes.

That the Anzac's sacrifices were for 'a good cause' was also offered as a possible explanation for the exhibition's relevance:

Not to forget. Yeah, to always remember that the wars have put us where we are today or else we could be somewhere completely different. So just learning the real aspects of the war and how differently it could have gone and that the sacrifices are for a good cause in the long run. For now, you know, this could not all be here and it would be a different story (V08).

As I see it, although this is an imperfect reading of New Zealand's involvement in the First World War, it is logical in the context of the exhibition. Because of the lack of a broader perspectival framework, coming away believing that the Anzacs were simply "fighting the good fight" seems reasonable.

Figure 4.4: 'Digging In', 2015.

Another visitor expressed a similar opinion when they talked about the exhibition being an acknowledgment of the people who fought not only for New Zealand but also for the British Empire and:

[...] the whole world really. It's not just like they did it for New Zealand and stuff like that, but it's a world-wide effect in the long run isn't it? If they didn't do what they did we might be speaking a different language right now (V17).

Of course, this *is* correct, but I imagine it is not the type of response Te Papa had hoped to prompt.

Some trick of the mind

The majority of responses to the question *was there anything that you saw or read or experienced in the exhibition that has changed your views of the past or indeed of the present* were negative in the sense of visitors stating that the exhibition confirmed or reinforced existing views and knowledge. Unsurprisingly, a number of overseas visitors stated that the exhibition had been instructive. For example, a French tourist said:

> I think the whole exhibition transformed my opinions. Because this is totally new to me (V28).

When compared to the other responses, this lends credence to the notion that Gallipoli is already 'overdetermined' in the minds of New Zealanders.

As previously noted, it would appear the exhibition worked to cement visitors' existing knowledge and opinions of the Gallipoli campaign and of war more generally:

> [It] pretty much just confirmed my views. It's pretty self-evident. And I think it's been done extremely well and very tastefully. Not glorifying it, but, umm, making it quite real (V03).

> I don't think it's changed it. I think it is all stuff that we have known about but never in so much detail or I guess with as much realisation as to how bad it really was (V04).

This final comment is intriguing: what was it in the exhibition which engendered a new realisation concerning the horrors of the campaign? Was it the affective atmosphere? The meticulous chronicling of wounds, fatalities and privations? Or is the statement "I knew already" simply dissembling?

Other visitors spoke of it stimulating an empathetic 'stepping into their shoes' type of experience:

> We're so caught up in the now these days and obviously it was very different times back then, but to try and put yourself back in their head-space and what they went through is quite mind-blowing (V14).

Meanwhile, a visitor who had made a pilgrimage to Gallipoli explained:

> [...] to actually see the history, the trenches, Quinn's Post and the living conditions – it's actually made it more real. [...] So it's huge, it's absolutely huge. And I am overwhelmed. It's like "Oh my goodness" (V18)

A more nuanced verdict was offered by an Australian visitor:

> It was helpful. You know, too often I go through life intellectualising things, so, you know, seeing the statues with the kind of legs torn open and patches of blood. That was really good for me. Why would you pretend it was any other way (V19)?

Given that we routinely encounter graphic representations of violence via the news media and entertainment industries, this seems a surprising response.

Another Australian visitor came away from the exhibition struck by how, in her view, the war enabled a 'coming together' for Māori and Pākehā:

> [...] one thing I love about the New Zealand culture is the Māori wanted to be involved so the government did what they could to get them involved. It wasn't just a white man's war. New Zealand had gone and the Māori New Zealanders said "we want to go too." I think that was significant (V09).

This was echoed by an English emigrant to New Zealand:

> I think it just helps reinforce what an amazing nation [New Zealand is] and [that] Māori and Pākehā came together to fight for a common cause. And I think that strengthens the bond. [...] I think it helped forge an identity (V14).

This notion that Gallipoli could be construed as an originary 'bicultural moment' – and that the exhibition encourages such understandings – is certainly a matter for further inquiry.

We became unspeakably weary

When visitors were asked how they were affected by the exhibition, typical responses included being moved, upset or overcome. A number of visitors cried and others were visibly distressed. That my question was a 'set-up' which demanded an affective

response is beyond doubt. However, visitors appeared primed for an opportunity to "let it out." Again, there was talk of the exhibition making Gallipoli "real" or like "you were there", while also being "unbelievable" or "beyond words":

> I guess it makes the whole thing much more real – the realistic depictions and all of the information that we would probably never knew before (V04).

> Well it was quite unbelievable wasn't it? It made you feel like you were in it really. I don't know. There are no words for it I guess (V27).

The issue of it being beyond the bounds of reason and language – and of it signifying 'enigmatically' – will be picked up later.

A number of visitors also spoke of being confronted:

> […] it made me feel aware of the hugeness of it all. And the pointlessness of it all and the number of men who were lost […] and how it affected that whole generation (V03).

This notion of the Gallipoli campaign being futile is interesting: would such responses have occurred if "we" had won? Whether emerging from *Gallipoli* "feeling proud" should be perceived as an interpretive 'mishap' is another moot point. However, the lengths to which the exhibition developers went to catalogue and depict the suffering of the New Zealand soldiers means that it would be difficult to perceive it any other way: of course they were defending the country.

> I guess it's made me feel quite proud [...]. And, I guess, grateful. I feel grateful [for what] people who didn't really have a choice did to defend the country (V08).

> I think I came to it probably with a sense of reverence. I don't mean it shocked me in that I'm distraught leaving, but it really does just hit home. [...] What our forebears had to go through. [...] So I think [...] I'm paying my respects coming here. I'm not saying it's shocking in an awful way but it just made me realise what we've got now, from what these guys did (V14).

What such comments also suggest is that the exhibition functioned to make the Gallipoli campaign serve as a metonym for human struggle more generally.

Another visitor spoke of it stimulating a new experience:

> It's probably the first time that I've had a visceral experience of Gallipoli. It was very moving (V19).

That this visitor, who had previously mentioned that he was typically ambivalent when it came to 'Anzac', could come away so obviously touched gestures to the affective persuasiveness of the exhibition. Meanwhile, the French tourist mentioned earlier said:

> I feel like, ah, I feel, how to explain? I will not say sad but a little bit affected. Because you know the statues are very realistic. [...] you know when you're in this atmosphere, it's very cold and you feel as if you were underground in fact (V26).

This intimation of the exhibition being mausoleum or crypt-like is telling, particularly as a performative act, 'produces reality not by virtue of will or intention, but precisely because it derives from conventions that it repeats and actualizes' (Von Hantelmann, 2010, p. 19).

Summary

Visitors reverently and patiently queue to see the exhibition – at times for more than 90 minutes.

<div align="right">Ross, 2015, p. 23</div>

Gallipoli works. It is an *emotional journey*. It is a site for reverence. It is a martyrology: a compendium of innocents sacrificed to an enigmatic god.

> It's just such a waste. [Begins crying.] It's just stupid. War. I don't know (V25).

But the 'destination/s' of this journey and the 'landscapes' it traverses remain problematic. The exhibition's *affective discourse* means that its 'pedagogy' *appears* indeterminate but *behaves* prescriptively. What, for example, is it 'sparking'? *Gallipoli* appears to indulge visitor expectations rather than disrupt or challenge them, and it may therefore be seen as *Pavlovian* in the sense of being a trigger for the 'classically conditioned' *affective idea* of Gallipoli within New Zealand's national imaginary.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Sacred Real: Analysis

Prelude – Out of reach but touching

Some months after first visiting *Gallipoli* it coalesced in my mind as *pharmakon:* as poison *and* cure, as a summoning of trauma *and* site for catharsis – as a representation of human sacrifice. And then the sense of having captured it in its 'indeterminacy' began to fade and fail, and it returned to being out of reach, to needing to be *one thing or another.*

Figure 5.1: Private Jack Dunn. Image courtesy Te Papa, 2015.

Life continually 'outstrips' our vocabulary and attempting to 'grasp the past' is endlessly elusive. As Jason Elliot once proposed when considering Takht-e Soleymān, a key archaeological site and one time Zoroastrian temple situated on the rim of a volcanic crater in Iran, 'History takes one only to the outer doors; the atmosphere of places speaks a different language and addresses a different faculty [...]' (2006, p. 206). *Gallipoli's* constructed atmospheres are intended – via the 'sleight of hand' of 'affectus' – to do this, to open a door, to address a *different* faculty. But, for me, the door was always only half-open. My imagination – my emotion – felt similarly

ensorcelled and circumscribed. To adapt a line from Hal Foster (2015), *it hurt but I couldn't feel anything: pure affect, no effect.*

Introduction

A museum exhibition is deeply unrealistic: it is a highly artificial assemblage of objects, installations, people and arguments which could not reasonably be gathered anywhere else. In an exhibition the usual constraints of time, space, and realism are suspended.

<div align="right">Weibel and Latour, 2007, p. 94</div>

Although agreeing with Peter Weibel and Bruno Latour's assertion concerning the artificiality of museum exhibits, it must be noted their simulatory nature is largely aimed at 'mimetically staging' or getting to the nub of *reality*. To paraphrase David Shields (2010), every museum exhibit is an attempt to smuggle more of what the curator *thinks* is reality into the 'artificial assemblage'. That methodologies more commonly associated with theatre, movie-making and the art world are now established currency in social history or memorial exhibitionary practices gestures to the interdisciplinary and co-optive nature of museology.[24] But could it also be seen to imply that reality has somehow been disturbed or has proved insufficient? The irony being that museums have traditionally been privileged sites of the 'real' and have relied on the authenticity of their objects for their legitimacy. Of course, and as noted earlier, since the new museology, a primary function of the museum has been as a facilitator of *authentic experiences*.

Indeed, museums are typically an amalgam of showmanship and scholarship, and *Gallipoli* is a fine example of the adoption of theatrical techniques in the hunt for 'reality'. However, this may also be seen otherwise: as an embrace of 'empirical verity' in the pursuit of the ineffable or sacred.[25] In this way, *Gallipoli* should be

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[24] With the proviso that they have always been 'established currency'. It is simply that their use has now been theorised.

[25] I use the term 'real' here both in the sense of its definition in the OED – *actually existing as a thing or occurring in fact; not imagined or supposed* – and with Jacques Lacan's concept of 'the real' in mind. Which means, paradoxically, that it also has connotations of trauma and that which 'evades

understood as a form of 'mourning play' or a cross between *Sin City*, a military archive and a Byzantine mausoleum: unabashedly spectacular, ostensibly exhaustive, inexorably but perplexingly affecting.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the exhibition and visitors' encounters with it, to address the logic underpinning its conception, and to develop a 'critical hermeneutical' reading of *Gallipoli.*

I   Reading It

We were in Egypt

Nations and peoples are largely the stories they feed themselves.

Okri as cited in Golding, 2009, p. 197

Upon entering the exhibition, the 'voice' of Lieutenant Spencer Westmacott can be heard declaring: "I shouted fix bayonets – rapid fire!" While the first two lines of the first text panel read: 'We were in Egypt when they told us we would be invading Gallipoli. The Turks had sided with the Germans in the war, and we were itching to take them on'.[26] Folksy and 'in period', the narrative voice is characterised by 'earnest bonhomie' and pathos. What needs noting here is that the writing of history is precisely a writing of *literature* (Preziosi and Farago, 2004a). Although *Gallipoli's* script could be described as self-consciously 'literary' in the sense of its styling, the intention was for this to serve as a device that would transcend the distance between the Museum and visitors.

Also important to consider is Paul Basu and Sharon Macdonald's (2007) distinction between exhibits which display *immediacy* and those which demonstrate *hypermediacy*. With *Gallipoli,* the emphasis is on immediacy. That is,

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symbolization' (Pound, 2008, p. 10). By sacred it is meant taboo or sacrosanct, regarded with reverence, or as too valuable to be interfered with.

[26] I remain struck by the coincidence of New Zealand's founding myth – if it may be seen as such – having faint echoes of *The Exodus.*

contextualisation and analysis are suspended or suppressed and the structure of its own production is not revealed. *Gallipoli* is told straight: a linear narrative, a first-person narrator, simple language, free from digression. It is a realist script, a boys' own adventure *and* graphic war story, and the curatorial voice – the voice of interpretation – is nowhere to be found. If the exhibition's text is read as a script – as a facet of the exhibition's dramaturgy rather than an addition to it – then it may be understood as an elusive but palpable parable or a puzzling but definite allegory.

Figure 5.2: 'Out of Egypt', 2015.

By employing a colloquial idiom the narrative becomes like a fireside story: a myth in the making. The use of the pronoun *we* is also significant. With 'we' being both plural and possessive, on the one hand it signals inclusivity and on the other it cannot but mean 'ours'. As in, this is *our* story. The generosity of this 'speech act' is undermined by the ceaseless if subliminal referencing back to the nation of New Zealand. The vernacular expressivity also becomes panegyric or like a 'song of praise' in which there are *no* failures. Even the figure singled out as potentially 'unheroic' (Private Jack Dunn, who fell asleep at his post and was sentenced to death) was given a reprieve and then lost in battle. A failure redeemed.

Furthermore, and as Helen Coxall (1996) explains, museum texts are automatically imbued with a received aura of unquestioned truth – in Roland Barthes' words they

are "innocented". In *Gallipoli* this is taken a step further: the process of 'innocenting' is enhanced by the 'natural' language and informal tone. The exhibition's text is written as if it were a testimonial – as if it were from the point of view of a witness or survivor – and it appears intimate and 'affectedly' unaffected. The Museum's voice thus merges with or becomes equivalent to the actual testimonies.

Of course, the accumulated institutional resonance of the museum inevitably invests the objects, stories or *memories* that are part of exhibitions with authority. Here, the issue is not necessarily whose memories are being validated but the institutional voice being fashioned *as if it were an act of recollection*.[27] There is, therefore, a doubling at play and the Museum can maintain a position of both 'benign neutrality' and 'unquestionable truth'. That Gallipoli was a 'deadly dance of bravery, madness and fear' (Bowers, 2014) is beyond dispute, but as Preziosi and Farago observe, '[...] what constitutes 'facticity' is clearly a matter of a certain style of presenting things in what in a given time and place may be *legible as* factual' (2004c, p. 13).

Like a labyrinth

Gallipoli is constructed as a 'labyrinth', with only one way in and one way out. There are few opportunities for detours and, following the semantic and phonetic prompt, little room for détournement or dérive – for re-scripting or re-routing. It demands 'hushed tones, reverent observation, and processional gaits' (Branham, 1995, p. 42).[28] And yet exhibitions, according to Macdonald's memorable axiom, should be perceived as 'technologies of the imagination' (1996a, p. 63). In this instance, I understand this to be both the *promise* and *threat* of the exhibition. As in, not *for* the imagination, but *of*. By which I mean it similarly echoes, establishes and administers cultural meaning. It is a structuring device, or, to borrow a phrase from Luke, a 'polemical locale' (2002, p. xxiv).

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[27] It speaks *as if* from 'the grave' and hence the author (the Museum) is 'zombie-like'. Within this schema, the visitor may also be seen to be turned into a 'ghost'. As, paradoxically, the only 'true witness' to trauma is a dead witness (Edkins, 2003). Edkins (2003) point about the 'special truths' offered by trauma testimonies also seems significant.
[28] This is further enhanced by each annexe's floor being covered in a graphic marked with red-crosses symbolising – day by day – every New Zealand soldier who lost their lives during the campaign.

For Sheldon Annis (Kavanagh, 1999), museums embody three forms of symbolic space: cognitive, social and dream. The museum as *dream space* 'allows for lateral and creative thinking […] and leaps of fantasy. It can open feelings and thoughts long buried' (Kavanagh, 1999, p. 4). What sort of dream space is *Gallipoli?* A traumatic one? And if so, how does it work when, as Cathy Caruth argues, trauma should be understood as a 'Confrontation with an event that, in its unexpectedness and horror, cannot be placed within the schemes of prior knowledge' (as cited in Edkins, 2003, pp. 39-40). Alternately, if trauma is always experienced as belated – in dreams or flashbacks – could it be that *Gallipoli* functions as a dream-maker and flashback device? Perhaps, though the basic Freudian idea is that experiences do not become traumatic until they are 'retrospectively imbued with meaning' (Edkins, 2003, p. 32). The dreams summoned by *Gallipoli* should thus be comprehended as 'realities' in and of themselves.

In their study of the Australian War Memorial Museum, Emma Waterton and Jason Dittmer (2014) make reference to the concept of 'haunting'. That is, the way in which museums and memorials conjure and employ 'ghosts' of the past, bringing visitors into a territorialized relation with the dead: 'Haunting redeploys the ghost with activity and effectiveness in the present' (2014, p. 126). The simulatory potential of museums enhances their necromantic function: the past can *seemingly* be called forth into an uncanny presence through their distinctive sensory and somatic apparatuses.[29] *Gallipoli* takes this a step further by way of the 'dark magic' of a number of its interactives. For example, 'Have a Shot', which is reminiscent of a funfair shooting gallery, offers visitors the opportunity to peer through a periscope and pull the trigger of a rifle – a rifle aimed, of course, at Turkish soldiers. It not only provides visitors with a sensorial and haptic experience of 'what it was like' but actively implicates them in the violence: *visitors* are, again, made into 'ghosts' through such participatory re-enactments.

What interactives such as 'Have a Shot' suggest, once more, is a desire to overcome the 'distance of the past'. Further to this, and writing about the National Holocaust Museum in Washington, Luke suggests that the Museum attempts to duplicate the "feel" of the Holocaust but of course it cannot deliver the *actual feeling* of being

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[29] Waterton and Dittmer write that the 'virtual bodies called forth [...] haunt the space, their anachronism transferred through enchantment into a timeless entity – the nation' (2013, p. 136).

'transported, gassed, and cremated' (2002, p. 15). *Gallipoli* aims to engender a similar feeling, and as Barraud explained, the exhibition's simulatory elements "are used to sort of disorientate the visitor and put them fully in the moment" (personal communication, 2016). Visitors are asked to not only suspend disbelief but overcome it altogether: to let the invented reality of the exhibition take possession of them.

Figure 5.3: 'Exposed Wounds' and 'Have a Shot' interactives, 2015.

Moreover, many of *Gallipoli's* interactives are 'closed systems'.[30] The 'Wounds' interactive, for instance, allows visitors to choose a particular military technology (by tapping a touchscreen) and then watch as a glowing spectral skeleton gets pierced by bullets, blown to bits by grenades, ripped to pieces by shrapnel and then crumple in agony – in death. The physiological and technological exactitude and audio-visual spectacle of this interactive masks the redundancy of the action. The choices visitors make are forced – it could just as well play on a loop. Once again, visitors are not only made complicit by their proximity, but because of their *own* actions. It must also be noted that *activity* is not the same as *agency* (Bennett, 2013).

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[30] However, both the 'Poppy Interactive' and the 'Writing Home Station' afford visitors opportunity to 'feed-back', though the parameters are prescriptive and the 'feedback-loop' is attenuated. See Appendix for further details concerning these interactives.

Larger than life

The giants, which appear a little like *tableau vivant,* are uncanny in their animistic realism: forensically detailed but oversized, familiar yet incongruous. They are both *evidential and auratic*, and I would suggest that they act both mimetically and synecdochally in the sense of conjuring the 'concrete reality' of the war *and* the 'ineffable affected body' of the nation. To return to the notion of 'haunting', the giants are not simply spectral adumbrations, they appear 'wholly resurrected'.[31] They are *spectacularly vernacular* (like latex folk-pop idols) and *solemnly devotional* (like religious icons), while their fleshy materiality seems to function like a guarantee *against* simulation.

Lacan's paradigm of 'the Gaze' seems to offer another means of understanding the 'signifying power' of the giants. Bounded with his theory of the mirror stage, and put simply, the 'reversibility' of the Gaze transforms spectator into spectacle: the subject viewing the object *becomes aware of being an object, becomes subject to the object* (Casey, 2003).

> [...] you've got to make the narrative something that the person is concerned about. [...] So, how do I make the viewer or the reader care? And, quite clearly, that was our aim. And looking at the response, they care. They recognise something of themselves in what they're looking at, which is great (Pugsley, personal communication, 2016).

Such acts of recognition, which elicit 'self-consciousness' – an awareness of 'the self' – motivates the 'subject to maintain appropriate social behaviour' (Casey, 2003, p. 4).

Ross suggested that the giants combine 'two diverging concepts: amplification and concentration' (2015, p. 27). In other words, they similarly 'draw attention to the minutiae of human existence' while also serving as a metaphor for the 'massive disruption caused by the Great War' (2015, p. 27). The 'extraordinary size of these ordinary individuals', Ross argued, have 'the power to unsettle standard readings of the war' (2015, p. 27). In this I am in agreement with Ross, but, as shall be seen, in a very particular sense. Furthermore, although the giants could be – and have been –

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[31] The giants – as technological marvels – cannot but also be perceived as an affirmation of the 'techno-sublime'.

dismissed as being reminiscent of kitsch Soviet Realist statuary (Ross, 2015), what such an interpretation misses is the prevalence of an anti-heroic stance. For the most part they seem, to borrow a phrase from Rainer Maria Rilke, like 'husks of men that fate has spewed out' (1990, p. 40). This emphasis on them being *victims* is crucial. The calling up of trauma serves to simultaneously fracture individual visitors and bind them together with the exhibition's characters into the symbolic realm: *we are all connected in suffering*.

II   Feeling It

The express pedagogical aspiration of *Gallipoli's* creators was to engender greater understanding of the Gallipoli campaign and to be a spark for further learning. Moreover, Ross stressed that Te Papa was keen to "avoid any kind of mythologizing around Gallipoli" (personal communication, 2015). This aspiration seems to be undermined by the way in which the exhibition continually urges visitors to occupy an emotional position and to empathise with the characters – all of whom are New Zealand soldiers and service-people.

> [It has left me] very emotional. As you can probably see. [Begins crying.] It's hard to even comment. It's amazing the hardship they went through – the sacrifice (V21).

So, what does the exhibition *do* with visitors: what are they *allowed* to do, what are they *expected* to do and what did I find them to be doing?[32]

Behavioural observation of visitors revealed a range of encounter and engagement types. However, what was noticeable was the linearity of each tracked visit: there was little doubling-back or heading sideways. There was also little talk amongst groups of visitors, while when grouped they tended to stick together. It appeared a space of

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[32] A note of caution is sounded by Huyssen when he contends that it is important to 'move beyond an ultimately contemptuous view of audiences as manipulated and reified culture cattle' (1995, p. 17). Moreover, 'we cannot assume that [museums'] intentions correspond with the actuality of the displays, nor that the sensory and emotive affect of a display will be complicit with the overt messages or content of the museum' (Henning, 2006, p. 2). While acknowledging these points, *Gallipoli* appears to contradict both of them.

methodical flows, of ambulatory reverence. Visitors' behaviours also appeared to closely mirror the narrative arc. For instance, in the first bell-jar I recorded a lot of hushed but excitable conversation, some laughter, many close inspections of the giant (with one visitor standing on tip-toes to peer into 'his' mouth), and numerous 'selfies' taken 'with' Westmacott. By the final bell-jar, such behaviours had ceased almost entirely.

Carol Duncan suggests that museums' sequenced spaces and arrangements of objects, their lighting and architectural details 'constitute a dramatic field – a combination of stage set and script – that both structures and invites a performance' (as cited in Bennett, 2013, p. 22). Further to this, Moore spoke of *Gallipoli* enabling the possibility of embodied and *unintentional* learning:

> So that despite yourself you would be immersed in the soundscape, in the tactility of the constructed walls, the sacking, the hessian. [...] That you would have stuff in there that would affect you [...] even if you did literally just walk through and almost refuse to take in anything [...] (personal communication, 2016).

In the 'performing museum', the 'total physical environment becomes the attraction as the visitor is encouraged to re-enact the drama in a kind of empathetic walk-through' (Williams as cited in Arnold-de Simine, 2013, p. 12). Conventional models of museum visiting highlight a combination of *walking* and *looking,* though today, and with *Gallipoli* being an exemplar in this regard, this has become *walking, looking, hearing, touching* and *doing.*[33]

In Ross' *Museums Australia* article she stated: 'While *Gallipoli* is the hybrid offspring of the movie and museum worlds, and the giants are unapologetically spectacular, the Te Papa team set out to minimise passive spectating' (2015, p. 29). However, and in a curious reversal, the 'active spectatorship' encouraged by the exhibition is essentially what could be described as 'anti-Brechtian' in the sense of promoting immersion and emotional identification rather than critical estrangement and distancing which characterised Bertolt Brecht's conception of the 'active spectator' (Cohen-Cruz,

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[33] In this way, the space and assemblage *produce* the content: the medium – a synthesis of space, sound, mise en scène *and* visitor activity – is the message.

2010). Visitors are compelled into a relationship with the exhibition, they are obliged to bear witness, or, perhaps more accurately in this instance, to *feel witness.*

Upon entering *Gallipoli* you give license to the Museum to take you on their metaphorical journey through time and space. In doing so, you cede a certain amount of control over how you will be 'implicated' (Jackson, 2011). *Gallipoli* is tightly choreographed. For visitors there seemed to be little doubt about what behaviours, actions and 'affective responses' were expected of them. The *rules of the game*, the instructive programme and ethical prompts – to mourn correctly, to bear/feel witness appropriately – were, at least during my observations and despite a handful of anomalies, faithfully upheld.

III   Selling It, Making It – What Wags What

The stream of positive public responses, consistently high rates of visitation, and absorbed cross-generational audiences suggest that *Gallipoli* is delivering Te Papa's vision – to change hearts, minds and lives.[34]

<div align="right">Ross, 2015, p. 23</div>

Gallipoli was constructed during a period of institutional strain and uncertainty. As I understand it, what this crisis engendered was a reassertion of legitimacy. The exhibition, via its high-profile partnership, innovative technological apparatus, emotive content and fulminating display of empirical evidence, may be perceived as Te Papa reiterating its position of authority. From the initial iteration which sought to problematize and confront ideas of conflict to an exhibition which not only tacitly corroborates but ups the ante with regard to the positioning of Gallipoli in the national imaginary, *Gallipoli* speaks of an institution eager for affirmation. As Te Papa's authority is in no small way predicated on the quantifiable calculous of visitor numbers

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[34] *Gallipoli* has also had favourable reviews – for instance, Cook (2015) and Phillips (2016) – and extensive 'affirmative' media coverage. For example, see: Catherall (2015); Daily Mail (2015); Wannan (2015); TVNZ (2015b); and TVNZ (2016).

and satisfaction ratings, the decision to make the exhibition a 'crowd pleaser' should come as no surprise.

Like other museums, Te Papa cannot but be a space of negotiated representations, 'a 'commonplace' or 'lowest common denominator' among numerous actors including the state [...] and the wider public it seeks to interpellate' (Andermann as cited in Arnold-de Simine, 2013, p. 9). Furthermore, given its financial armature, Te Papa's concerns over visitor numbers and the challenge to its relevancy posed by instant access to culture and entertainment via new delivery systems are understandable.

> [...] I guess it's a circular relationship: to validate the expenditure we also wanted to have a very visible creative partner who would not only bring creativity and new ways of thinking about exhibitions to the project but also would attract visitors and perhaps a new visitor sector as well to the Museum (Ross, personal communication, 2015).

In this way, Te Papa's partnership with Weta – a prominent corporate-creative – offered specific technical capabilities unavailable in-house, but was also a means of leveraging cultural capital.

Te Papa's often cited 'preference for newness' manifests, for Message (2006), as both a 'conceptual framework and as a methodology that is fundamental to the structural organisation, development and design of all facets of the institution' (p. 11). A more jaundiced perspective is offered by Williams (2006), who argues that constant 'museological innovation in display tactics' has trumped 'the need to reinterpret overarching cultural concepts' (p. 2.15). Put differently, the necessity of commercial positivity has consistently hindered the possibility of conceptual re-positioning while also meaning that surface change – for example, the hunt for and production of new products and audiences – has been endemic. What this suggests is that if crisis – or the hunt for the 'new' – is the normative state, then there becomes a need for the Museum to continually reaffirm its 'legitimacy' – a slippery dialectic.

Neoliberalism's dominant 'active' modalities are privatization, deregulation, and commercialization, and *Gallipoli* and the way in which it was produced and 'sold' exhibit characteristics of all of these. For example, through the out-sourcing of intellectual and creative control, the embrace of spectacle in terms of the 'product' and its marketing, and the commodification of memorialisation via extensive *Gallipoli-*

themed merchandise. *Gallipoli* was sold as a major spectacle. What I would suggest is that the 'frame' constructed around the exhibition – its marketing campaign – should not simply be seen as supplementary but as integral to the experience of it. Put differently, it works to pre-empt the exhibition's reception: it has been framed already.

In the process of constructing *Gallipoli* established Te Papa practices were not simply overturned, they were revealed as arbitrary. This is illustrated most vividly by the curatorial team being divested of authorial control and the decision to make it 'design-led'. What I would suggest is that the *degree* of precarity Te Papa found itself in presented the Board with an opportunity. By handing over authority to a private company, standard Te Papa 'checks and balances' were (and were able to be) suspended while the Museum's authority at once disappeared behind a veil and was affirmed.

IV   Reading It Again

Bottom-up

In recent decades museums have 'embraced the micro-narratives of multiple personal stories, engaging a 'bottom-up' telling of tales, rather than a 'top-down' imposition of curatorial voice and institutional ethos' (Macleod, Hanks and Hale, 2012, p. xxii). The personal perspective – the testimonial – has been afforded privileged status as it is perceived to be more engaging and ethically responsible. Nevertheless, and as Arnold-de Simine warns, 'Even though museums might try to avoid providing a grand or master narrative, the different small narratives of and from the people are often selected so that they add up to an uncontested account of the past' (2013, p. 8).

Gallipoli utilises many of the tropes of 'memory discourses' and 'testimonial culture' while maintaining the primacy of a traditional historiographical method. What it also seems indicative of is the trend to recuperate the 'epic in the register of the humdrum' (Burrow, 2016, p. 13). Colin Burrow argues that such approaches enable 'what might be called post-colonial parallax, in which a master text of a dominant civilization is deliberately transformed from the ostentatiously low perspective of an unheroic life'

(2016, p. 13). An array of colloquial voices does not mean the 'history' on display is any less authoritative, particularly when none offer counter-narratives. The perspective is different but the description of the view remains the same – *history from below from above: a false parallax.* Could this then be described as an instance of historical 'consensual pluralism', or another form of the 'domestication of difference'?

This issue of abrogating the political is addressed obliquely by Huyssen:

> It may be precisely the isolation of the object from its genealogical context that permits the experience [...] of reenchantment. Clearly such longing for the authentic is a form of fetishism. But even if the museum as an institution is now thoroughly embedded in the culture industry, it is precisely not commodity fetishism in a Marxian or Adornoean sense that is stake here. The museum fetish itself transcends exchange value. It seems to carry with it something like an anamnestic dimension, a kind of memory value. The more mummified an object is, the more intense its ability to yield experience, a sense of the authentic (1995, p. 33).

What I would suggest is that *Gallipoli's* institutional voice appears 'mummified', that it is *like a relic,* while the isolation of the narrative from its 'genealogical context' permits it an auratic quality.

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett adds another dimension to this:

> The great universalising rhetoric of "art," the insistence that great works are universal, that they transcend space and time, is predicted on the irrelevance of contingency (as cited in Branham, 1995, p. 33).

Gallipoli is constructed in just such a way: sans contextual causality or implications.[35] I would hazard that the Anzacs are 'beatified' by the essential absence – or tokenism – of historical contingency in the exhibition.

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[35] As Ross put it, '[...] the political origins of the war are explained in just 83 words – without mentioning an assassination or an Archduke' (2015, p. 29).

Difficult *and* lovely

Gallipoli is predicated on simulating trauma in order to engender an affective and empathetic response from visitors. Conjuring 'vicarious trauma' in the service of 'prosthetic memory' underpins the exhibition's pedagogical objectives. Of course, as a memorial exhibition, the focus on mourning and catharsis is unsurprising. However, worth attending to here is John Mount's notion of 'trauma envy' (Bennett, 2005). This is, Ghassan Hage suggests, particularly relevant in postcolonial societies which have 'elevated the figure of the victim to a position of moral superiority' (Bennett, 2005, p. 5). The seductive *appeal* of representations of trauma must also be acknowledged: not simply as a matter of *schadenfreude* but in terms of *jouissance* – pleasure in pain.

Another way of approaching this is via the 'empathy paradox'. That is, the way in which the 'empathy felt towards a character can at times overshadow the wider topic that the character represents' (Clothier, 2014, p. 212).

> I'm [not] sentimental ... I kind of walk through my life and try to stay present if I can. But what I'm left with is a far deeper empathy. And particularly through the personalised story-telling, the replicated models, the first-hand kind of tales of woe (V19).

Gallipoli invites emotional investment and identification. The question, however, is where and to what is it being directed? Is it directed at historical understanding or is it about providing a more general opportunity for visitors to mourn? Also important to consider is Deborah Britzman's distinction between 'lovely' and 'difficult' knowledge. Lovely knowledge is easily assimilable, 'the kind of knowledge that reinforces what we already know' while difficult knowledge is knowledge that 'does not fit. It therefore induces a breakdown in experience' (Lehrer and Milton, 2011, p. 8). With *Gallipoli,* and as noted earlier, visitors appeared 'safely disturbed'. The exhibition seemed to function to similarly fracture *and* reinforce. To *reinforce the fracture.*

Making it real

For Huyssen, and in 'ideal form', museums are a 'testing ground for reflections on temporality and subjectivity, identity and alterity' (1995, p. 16). As I understand it, the necromantic impulse to 'bring back the dead' which underpins *Gallipoli* does not signify a desire to seek reflection on temporality or alterity, but rather it aims to *transcend* them.

> [...] how [the exhibition] was shown and displayed, [made it] quite real, you know? You felt like you were a part of it, you were there (V29).

To 'make history come alive' and to 'make the past real' implies a form of wish-fulfilment and, in this instance, a particular kind of 'traumatic nostalgia'. By which it is meant, what attracts nostalgia for past wars or disasters is the safe distance from the extremity of the event. They are therefore able to be perceived to be *more real* than the mundane present (Arnold-de Simine, 2013). What this also brings to mind is the extent to which an estrangement – in this instance, the inescapable distance of the past – is presented as a connection, and a connection – that of the Museum to the narrative on display – is estranged or absent.

Te Papa utilises theatrical effects to enhance belief in the historical veracity of their story: the 'inauthentic' does not function as a differential device, but instead contributes to the production of the experience of the desired 'historical reality'. However, Te Papa staff continually emphasised that *Gallipoli* was formed on the back of rigorous scholarship.

> And I would say that we were all aware of not wanting to fall into melodrama. […] I mean, everything that's in there is underpinned by a lot of high-quality research […] (Williams, personal communication, 2015).

And yet for a museum to be constructed as a 'representational' institution, 'it must use theatrical techniques of scenography and artifice to *appear* representational in the first place' (Preziosi and Farago, 2004c, p. 16).

Gallipoli is sparsely populated with artefacts, and the physical facticity of the objects that do feature functions to lend credence to the historicity of the narrative and gravity to the exhibitionary atmosphere rather than offering the possibility of 'material

illumination'. Put differently, and as Ross (personal communication, 2015) said, the *story* is the object. Also worth noting here is that war's propensity to leave only traces means the *absence* of artefacts works to heighten the sense of desolation. This also gestures to Eric L. Santner's reading of Walter Benjamin's idiosyncratic concept of *Naturgeschichte* – 'natural history'. For Santner, where 'a piece of the human world presents itself as a surplus that both demands and resists symbolization, that is both inside and outside of the "symbolic order" [...] this is where we find ourselves in the midst of "natural history"' (2006, p. xv). Santner goes on to suggest that:

> The opacity and recalcitrance that we associate with the materiality of nature – the mute "thingness" of nature – is, paradoxically, most palpable where we encounter it as a piece of human history that has become an enigmatic ruin beyond our capacity to endow it with meaning, to integrate it into our symbolic universe (2006, p. xv).

What then does it mean if, as in the instance, an 'artefact' is *constructed* as a ruin? As in, *Gallipoli* is predicated on conjuring the 'real' of 'natural history' via simulation.

Gallipoli's enigmas

Mieke Bal argues that the task of exhibitions is to 'encourage visitors to stop, suspend action, let affect invade us, and then, quietly, in temporary respite, think' (2007, p. 91). *Gallipoli* is a blaze of white-noise and its 'promiscuous signification', its myriad forms of address – comic strips, memento mori, soundscapes and one *punctum* after another – makes it dizzying. Its excessive detailing – its exceeding facticity – produces dissonance rather than illumination. Jean Laplanche's conception of 'enigmatic signifiers' (Santner, 2006), signs which we know signify but are unable to comprehend *what* they signify, seems pertinent here. Indeed, I would contend that the exhibition as a 'totality' has the quality of an enigmatic signifier. The crucial point being the *surplus* or *remainder:* we *know, just not what.* Or, *we do not know but know we should.*[36]

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[36] Additionally, and as Foster explains: '[...] often the death of the author has not meant the birth of the reader, as Barthes imagined, so much as the befuddlement of the [reader]' (2015, p. 134). Put otherwise, 'The absence of authorial context is not always that liberating' (Fraser and Coulson, 2012, p. 225).

The implication being that the Museum need not work to produce something 'legible', they simply need to contrive scenarios whereby visitors are brought into a relationship with affect: with immersive environments, atmospheres and spectacles which simulate/stimulate emotion.

> Oh [I am] quite emotional. […] The way they've done it you're walking through and you get lost in it (V12).

This chimes with Taylor and Barraud's earlier comments concerning the exhibition encouraging visitors to *forget* everyday life. Returning to Roland Barthes' (2000) notion of the 'punctum', as I see it and to take something of a conceptual leap, the exhibition is *all* punctum.[37] The facts – as outlined in the text and as illustrated and ratified by the imagery – are not intended for interpretative purposes. Rather, they are hysterical, functioning as addendums to the exhibition's emotionally hypertrophied atmosphere.

Or is that *Gallipoli's* 'enigma and complexity' reside in the attempt to decipher the message? As in what are they *really* telling me and what do they want of me? Or, and as Susan Bennett puts it, is it that 'these experiential museums merely keep us busy, impelling us, quite literally, to complete their script?' (2013, p. 59-60). Although the narrative itself is seemingly straightforward, the exhibition's plenitude disguises it avoidances. Because of the omissions regarding context or implications, the visitor is beholden to place it within a default conceptual matrix.

Huyssen, in discussing the 'old' museology, proposed that the purpose of exhibiting was frequently to *forget the real*, to remove the object from its original context and in doing so enhance its alterity and open it up to 'potential dialogue with other ages':

> [...] the museum object as historical hieroglyph rather than simply a banal piece of information; [...] its very materiality grounding its aura of historical distance and transcendence in time (1995, p. 33).

I would argue that *Gallipoli* aims to lift the 'real of the past' out of its everyday context – as in, the 'dull workings of political machinations' – and into a transcendent realm,

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[37] The *punctum* is the wounding detail of a photograph which functions as a 'kind of small disturbance in the photographic image, a detail that in some way, at least for the viewer, sticks out from the cultural legibility of the photograph' (Santner, 2006, p. 155). In contrast, the *studium* denotes the cultural and linguistic interpretation of a photograph.

free from *history* altogether. For example, the exhibition portrays the Gallipoli campaign as being senseless – and this is mirrored in its form – and what I contend this accomplishes is the continuation of the 'myth' of war as something that *just happens*. Rather than being the result of very real political decisions it is left to *signify enigmatically*.

For Jonathan Z. Smith, 'ritual' is the critical force that confirms the sanctity of a space (as cited in Branham, 1995). Smith also suggests that ritual depends on a 'spectrum of ingredients' including: 'symbolic objects, consecrated time, specific gestures, and appropriate personages' (as cited in Branham, 1995, p. 41). The sacred is thus the product of particular rituals and performances – it is a quality or affect. I would hazard that surfacing from the dizzying signification and due to *Gallipoli's* spectrum of sacred ingredients – the giants, the labyrinth, the 'mummified voice' – *certain* sanctified master-signifiers appear, and out of the 'rubble' of emotion, *particular* 'charged intensities' emerge: the nation, the individual and the Museum itself.

Gallipoli is determinately incoherent. It is a meeting of inchoate drama and overwhelming facticity. The trauma, something 'beyond representation', is made definite by the meticulous detailing of the historical evidence and the seamlessness of the 'plot'. What this means is that that the registering of the experience of trauma and loss through the exhibition's simulated environment should not be perceived as an approximation of the original experience but an entirely new one: *Gallipoli* fashioning its own Gallipoli. What is it – this entanglement of bodies, text, sound, objects and rituals – then? A Wunderkammer for the dematerialised age? A latex Gesamtkunstwerk? A labyrinthine hall of mirrors? A hi-tech catacomb? A forum? A temple?

Summary

With *Gallipoli,* Te Papa sought to create an affective atmosphere which would provide experiential encounters for visitors; facilitating a process whereby they would empathise and identify with the *others'* pain, adopt their memories and re-enact their traumas. However, it also needs noting that 'consuming the pain of others' is attributed the capacity to:

[...] fill the void left by diminished opportunities to experience the real thing'
and, as such, to satisfy the nostalgic longing for that ontological fiction called
'the real thing' (Rothe as cited in Arnold-de Simine, 2013, p. 67).

Furthermore, what became clear was that visitors were typically seeking (and finding)
emotional affirmation – as in, 'it *is* right that I feel sad about this' – and reinforcement
of 'known knowns'. There was no leap into the unknown of alterity or otherness. To
elaborate further, there is no substantive acknowledgment of the trauma that the
Anzacs *produced* and it is as if the Turkish forces were simply props. They are
'othered' in the exhibition by their 'spectral presence' and this is exemplified by
Kemal Atatürk's veiled visage in the first annexe.

Figure 5.4: Kemal Atatürk, 2015.

To conclude, and returning to 'Egypt', in his book *On the Psychotheology of Everyday
Life: Reflections on Freud and Rosenzweig,* Santner contends that we are always
within the 'ban' of enigmatic signifiers by virtue of the historicity of meaning:

> We are, that is, always haunted, surrounded by the remainders of lost forms of
> life, by concepts and signs that had meaning within a form of life that is now
> gone and so persist, to use Lacan's telling formulation, as "hieroglyphs in the
> desert." We are thus always, in a certain sense, within the dimension of loss
> and abandonment. But what is more, we are in the midst of loss we cannot even

really name, for when you lose a concept you also lose the capacity to name what has been lost. […] These dead letters, these "hieroglyphs in the desert," can of course become the focus of intense affective charge. What psychoanalysis ultimately tells us is that this is always the case, that our bodies are haunted by nameless loss, by an ontological incompleteness against which we *defend* by this or that *symptomatic hypercathexis,* by our specific form of "Egyptomania" (2001, pp. 44-45).

CHAPTER FIVE

Lest We Forget: Discussion and Conclusion

Prelude – Paper poppies

I never did write a message on a paper poppy. But I took one and, standing on the harbour's edge, threw it – reverently – to the breeze.

Figure 6.1: Sergeant Cecil Malthus. Image courtesy Te Papa, 2015.

Leaving the exhibition, there are three main 'acts' you are asked to perform. To take a paper-poppy and, if you desire, write a message on it and then drop it in the 'basin' holding Sergeant Cecil Malthus. To cleanse yourself in 'He Wai', the washbowl. And to exit through the gift-store. You are asked to depart *Gallipoli* as believer, mourner, and consumer – as citizen.

> Creating citizens is, to a significant degree, a process of institutionally organized impersonation. Each nation must develop a set of narratives for the political personality that imperfectly embodies the values and practices of nationhood (Luke, 2002, p. 13).

Perhaps this is so, but as Marcus Pound argues apropos Žižek, '[...] it is not a question of believing *in* things, but of things themselves believing for us' (2008, p. 60). The poppies, whether left in the bowl, dropped in the basin or tossed to the wind – and like Tibetan prayer wheels or votive candles – *believe for us* while we continue with our lives.

Introduction

In the same process that constructs the world as view, man is constructed as subject.

Heidegger as cited in Preziosi and Farago, 2004e, p. 363

What is the view that *Gallipoli* offers? And what is at stake with this view? To construct the subject *as feeling?* To construct the subject *as subject of and to trauma?*

The Gallipoli campaign matters. However, to ask questions of how it is remembered should not be perceived as dismissive of the suffering of those that served and the emotion felt by those mourning their loss. Put otherwise, trauma *can* be co-opted and affect *can* be orchestrated. Our emotions are and are not 'our own'. They are social, relational and political. We are urged on by things 'beyond us' – both inside and outside. In other words, '[...] politics and morality operate via the coding of affective intensities and the production of identity grounded in affect' (Bennett, 2005, p. 18). Memorialisation is political, a political resource, and there is therefore a need to understand how remembrance is informed and shaped by affect (Smith and Campbell, 2016).

Gallipoli is fundamentally public. It is the nation's flagship commemorative exhibit, and Gallipoli is a key signifier in New Zealand's national imaginary that is increasingly framed as a defining 'coming of age' moment in the nation's history. However, the exhibition's narrative has been constructed via individual accounts and is deeply personal: visitors are asked to form an empathetic relationship with the figures haunting the display. The politics of the exhibition appear embodied and

individualised, and it is the effects of such embodied commemorative politics that I hope to tease out.[38]

In this final chapter I seek to synthesise my thinking around affect, public pedagogy, governmentality and memorialisation in order to assess the implications of *Gallipoli's* 'emotional journey'. I discuss the significance of *Gallipoli* for Te Papa and, more broadly, for the 'subject', for museology, and for ideas of the nation. I ask, are the affective practices utilised by Te Papa and its adoption of 'memory discourses' indicative of democratisation or do they disguise the fact that the Museum continues to produce and legitimate particular versions of the social order? Or is it that such democratising practices are *synonymous* with governmentality? Finally, I conclude this chapter with a speculative adaptation of Carl Schmitt's concept of 'the state of exception', and suggest that it provides a useful prism through which to view Anzac, *Gallipoli* and Te Papa itself.

Figure 6.2: *Gallipoli* gift-store counter, 2015.

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[38] This may also be perceived as another example of, in Terry Eagleton's words, 'the celebrated 'turn to the subject', which arose in the 1980s and which, with its 'heady blend of discourse theory, semiotics and psychoanalysis', proved to be a 'turn away from revolutionary politics' (2000, p. 127). Here, this is read against the grain: the 'revolutionary politics', I suggest, were those of neoliberalism.

I   Affective Public Pedagogy in the Museum

You must feel, you will remember

In Žižek's classic formulation (1999) and in contrast to conventional wisdom which suggests that discourses of power rely on prohibitive injunctions, today the commandment of 'ruling ideologies' is: "You *must* enjoy!" As I see it, the 'affective (re)turn' in museological pedagogy revolves around the injunction: "You *must* feel!" What occurs, as it does with *Gallipoli,* when this is combined with the characteristic injunction of memorialisation: "You *must* remember!"? Today, memory discourses are called upon 'to provide a bulwark against obsolescence and disappearance, to counter our deep anxiety about the speed of change and the ever-shrinking horizons of time and space' (Huyssen, 2003, p. 23). However, and as seen with *Gallipoli,* what transpires when the 'memory discourse' is intended to *shrink* the 'horizon of time and space'? Furthermore, "you must remember" in the context of traumatic historical episodes is itself a call for continued (if vicarious) trauma. Repetition compulsion does not mean working through trauma but restaging it.

Emotions intersect every aspect of our lives. They bias our decisions and influence our actions.[39] Emotion is a form of evaluative judgement: to burst into tears signifies an *inchoate decision* – as in, "this moved me". Affect is not only socially, culturally, discursively and politically *mediated,* it is 'social' in formation and performative (Smith and Campbell, 2016). If this is so, then it is important to consider the ways in which it can be managed and regulated both from within (as self-management) and from without (intersubjective management) and as a combination of the two – as a form discipline which is 'always-already'.

Rather than being exclusively a term for primal energies or "intensities" of the body, I take 'affect' to also stand for 'those sentimental feelings and emotive opinions that inhabit us, even interpellate us, deeply even when they are not properly our own: affect as an 'ideological media apparatus'' (Foster, 2015, p. 167). Affect as an 'effect' of

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[39] Anna Hickey-Moody explains: 'How we feel about things impacts on how we think about them. Emotions are confused ideas' (2013, p. 83).

public pedagogy. Or, as Laurajane Smith and Gary Campbell argue, 'The moment of affect may come on us unexpectedly [...] but this does not mean that affective moments are always unexpected and that they cannot be sought and regulated' (2016, p. 455).

Affective pedagogy is premised on the notion that encounters with amplified emotional atmospheres may stimulate a 'shock to thought, a jolt that does not so much *reveal* truth as thrust us involuntarily into a mode of critical inquiry' (Bennett, 2005, p. 11). The purpose of the production of affective, nonrational forms of experience for museum visitors is to induce heightened levels of engagement in order to 'facilitate a more critical reflection on the relationship between past and present' (Witcomb, 2013, p. 255). How is it then that the summoning of affect in this instance appears to do opposite? As I understand it, 'affirmative' affective pedagogy rests on the fundamental misconception that if we *care* – in the sense of being emotionally moved – there will be a greater desire to ask questions: that there will be an inevitable movement from feeling to critical cognition.

One of *Gallipoli's* key objectives was to offer visitors opportunity for catharsis and to perform rituals of remembrance. To identify with the 'victims' was another principal motivation. However, by avoiding questions of causality, by failing to adequately address what made them 'victims' in the first place (apart from emphasising poor military planning on the part of the British), the Museum created a vacuum, while also signalling that political analysis is an 'unfeeling response, incompatible with empathy, grief and mourning' (Arnold-de Simine, 2013, p. 203). Put somewhat differently, the 'emotional journey', with its emphasis on returning to or conjuring the *past,* seems to forget *history* along the way.[40] The affective atmosphere means that emotion becomes the 'screen' that needs to be overcome in order to find criticality or contemplation.

Also important to consider is that the experience of trauma 'paradigmatically encapsulates both direct, unmediated affective experience and an absence of affect, insofar as it is resistant to cognitive processing and induces "psychic numbing"' (Bennett, 2005, p. 5). To be in the midst of trauma is to inhabit a place of 'total affect' and one 'drained of affect altogether' (Bennett, 2005, p. 5). Where does the vicarious – the second-hand but 'real' – trauma of *Gallipoli* lead? I would hazard that the fall-

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[40] Of course, in the museum, objects and ideas signify *differently*. They are severed from original intentionality and placed within what could be described as a 'heterotopic' space. They are also made both 'more real' *and* 'sacred' by virtue of the assemblage of effects and practices previously discussed.

back 'sense-making' that emerges from such experiences in such a context converges firstly, on the primacy of the individual and, secondly, on that of the nation.

Collective memorialisation is structured on and around affect; it may be seen as both a ritualised practice of affect and a means of stimulating it. Additionally, acts of public memorialisation are pedagogic – they are occasions for teaching and learning: an ensemble of textual, verbal, visual, material and bodily practices that seeks to create and elicit (in terms of calling forth) understandings of self and other; of self situated in a teleological continuum; of 'self's place' within a broader (though inevitably bounded) social matrix.[41] In this way, the conjunction of memorial practices with the 'neutral' and authoritative museum is potentially intoxicating. The object, idea or event memorialised is not just sanctified – with the sacred being epistemologically outside the 'reasonable' – but also part of the museum's post-enlightenment epistemic and critical traditions. *Gallipoli* may thus be seen, paradoxically, as an expression of faith in these traditions *and* an annulment of them.
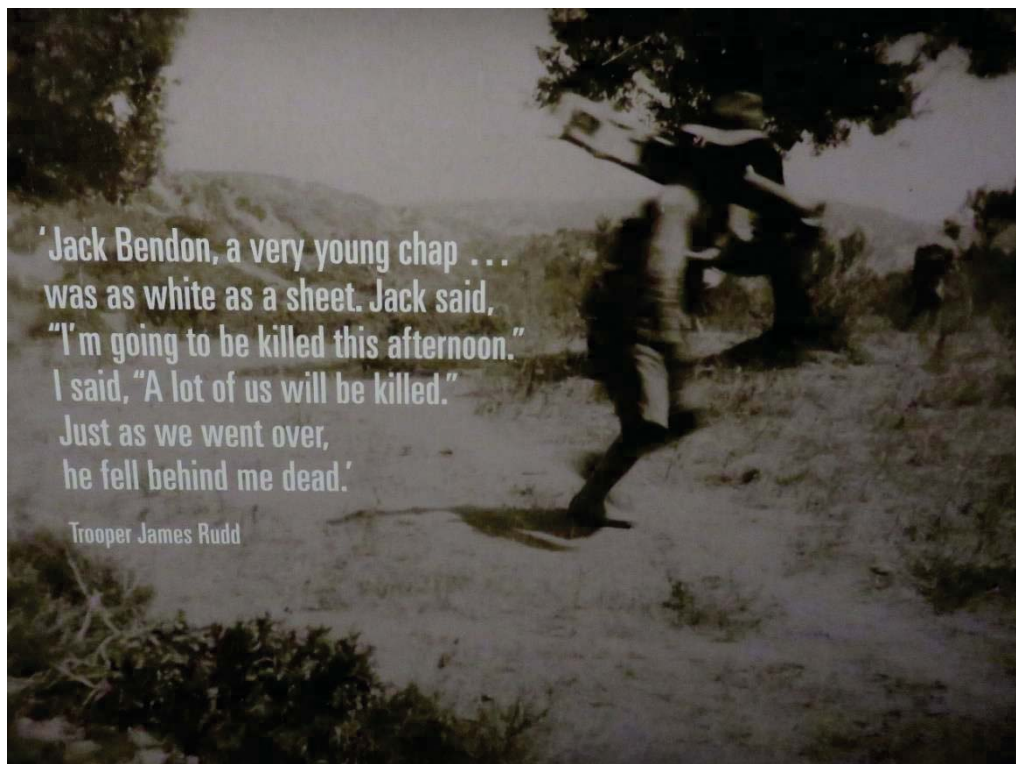

Figure 6.3: Graphic text, 2015.

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[41] The key question being who – or *what* – is doing the teaching. As Arnold-de Simine explains, museums transform memory into 'institutionally constructed and sustained commemorative practices which enact and give substance to group identities' (2013, pp. 1-2).

To be moved (through) and to feel witness: *Gallipoli's* subjects

I would suggest that to *feel witness* should be understood both in the sense of 'as if' (as in, an *imaginary* and *vicarious identification*) and 'affect' (as in, *I am emotionally beholden*).[42] In this context, Te Papa's entreaty that people *feel witness* is principally a means of engendering empathy. The missing link in this equation – criticality – is foregrounded by Jill Bennett:

> [The] conjunction of affect and critical awareness may be understood to constitute the basis of an empathy grounded not in affinity (*feeling for* another insofar as we can imagine *being* that other) but on a *feeling for* another that entails an encounter with something irreducible and different, often inaccessible (2005, p. 10).

With *Gallipoli, feeling for* involves an encounter with the reducible (a circumscribed narrative), the same (recognisable 'others'), and the accessible (pop-cultural aesthetics and 'gateway' memorial tropes). And yet this is not to say that it is free of 'enigma'. On the contrary, it gestures to, confirms and reifies the abstract 'meta-enigmas' of *subject* and *nation.* The empathetic investment is directed at the *already felt* and *already known,* notwithstanding the fact that they are 'imagined'.[43]

Museums are – and involve – collective forms of remembrance. However, they typically operate according to modes of relating to the past that are 'based on the spectacle which elicits an individualized response and negates the relational quality of the encounter' (Arnold-de Simine, 2013, p. 203). Remembrance *as* spectacle is therefore both alienating and affirming. Roger Simon puts it like this:

> The projections and identifications made within spectacle, and the consequent defences it elicits, both require and enact leaving ourselves intact, at a distance, protected from being called into question and altered through our engagement with the stories of others (as cited in Arnold-de Simine, 2013, p. 203).

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[42] To *bear witness* means to give testimony or to provide evidence.
[43] Further inquiry is demanded here with regard to the 'ontology of affect' and what it suggests about 'being' in the world. How, in other words, have 'you must feel' and a 'return to the real' *coalesced* with the 'simulacral'?

The 'at a distance', I would suggest, may be understood in terms of the performative: of taking on the *role* and *identity* of subject and citizen.

Wedde (2006) has suggested that Te Papa is a place for 'self-expression' and the 'performance of identity'. Identity is performative in the sense of drawing upon a repertoire of established and widely understood actions and expressions, and as a performance of these for others – a display:

> In the performance of the action, the individual is both actor and audience – he or she wears the ribbon to be associated with the cause and to be seen by others in that light too. The action is performative in that it both acts out and confers an identity and role on the individual (Fraser, 2007, p. 295).

That is, the *performance* of one's interpellation into a 'subject position'.[44] Identity is also a practice of memory and recollection, and 'to remember' is a means of adopting and confirming group or national identity. This is how we are *made* citizens, this is the demand: that we take on – internalise and perform – the (trauma of the) past. As in, performing the role of mourner, of citizen, of subject. Of citizen as subject of trauma.

Governmentality may be defined as 'the conduct of conduct', or, 'any more or less calculated means of the direction of how we behave and act' (Dean, 1999, p. 2). For Tony Bennett (1995), and following Foucault, the development of bourgeois democratic politics required not only that the populace *be* governable but that they *assented* to their governance. Here, your assent is a matter of 'faith'. *Gallipoli* cannot be treated irreverently, you cannot but be moved. You must *act* as though it is real: to *assent* to your cynical reason. Museum-going involves 'rites of passage', both in terms of movement and metaphorically. However, it is no longer just the spatial arrangements, the spatial pedagogy – the way visitors move through exhibitionary space and their (controlled) practices of looking and attention – but the 'affective atmospheres' which *move through* visitors.

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[44] A Foucauldian approach suggests that:
> As individual subjects we are inevitably born into a world already fully formed – a game already under way, so to speak – and therefore have to play according to the rules established by others. For Foucault this means that subjectivity is primarily an 'effect of discourse', a cultural construction that obliges us to fall into pre-established social roles (Hale, 2012, p. 192).

The 'atmosphere of feeling' conjured by *Gallipoli's* creators is intended to *grab hold of* and to *move* visitors – a disciplinary objective.[45] As in, to move where? As Susan Bennett argues, 'Contemporary cultural consumers want/need to be part of the action, but outcomes can be coerced as much as inspired and their pedagogical impacts hard to measure' (2013, p. 60). To experience it 'oneself' – the promise of exhibitions relying on the sensorial, immediacy, animation and the embodied – does not occasion freedom from capture or containment. Conversely, *Gallipoli's* atmosphere (particularly its soundscape) also functions like a form of 'canned-laughter'. It cries and mourns *for you* – it is *already* mourning.

Museums are 'sites of finely structured normative argument and artfully staged cultural normalization' and exhibitions are used to 'guide individuals and groups through political discourses of self-recognition and self-activity' (Luke, 2002, p. 2). By entering spaces of display, visitors not only learn about how they should act in relation to or should regard the past, heritage and artefacts, but the past is 'framed' and history 'created' by how these movements and encounters occur: a vacillating dialectic between production and reception.

> As the educational means of helping people to "im-personate" more easily the ideal person valued by their nations, history museums also can be recast as exercises of governmentality in which disciplinary discourses [...] redirect the consciousness and behaviour of museum visitors to advance various governmental goals (Luke, 2002, p. 3).

Although I would argue that this has been problematized by the ascendancy of 'fluid' forms of power, it remains a compelling argument. With regard to *Gallipoli,* visitors "im-personate" the victim and take on the role of mourner and vehicle for the continuation of the memory, or, perhaps more accurately, *idea* of Gallipoli. Again, they are asked to *feel* witness.

On the topic of the 'neoliberal subject', Max Ross questions whether the replacement of the concept of the 'public citizen' with that of an 'individualized consumer of cultural and material values can lead to any substantively democratized politics of

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[45] What also needs considering is 'power' functioning via discursive practices but also through bodily 'affects' (Gandy, 2006). Affective public pedagogy may therefore be perceived as the *cultural logic* of biopolitics: the *governance of emotion*.

representation in the public museum' (2004, p. 100). *Gallipoli* signifies a return to the public citizen with the proviso that this citizen is, firstly, an individual consumer, and secondly, an *affected subject.* Visitors are 'recruited' and interpellated through their willing participation – by buying into the emotional atmosphere. Visitors are encouraged to feel like a part of the event. Is it that such participatory encounters serve as fantastical substitutes or surrogates for actual political engagement and agency? As in, we are activated as affected cultural consumers and de-activated as political agents?

To privilege subjective experience, such as that of the individual citizen-consumer in *Gallipoli,* obscures 'the fact that modern mass society and capitalism disregard the individual in the absolute triumph of the principle of abstract exchange' (Arnold-de Simine, 2013, p. 202). The individual is the celebrated rhetorical heart of the neoliberal project and entirely arbitrary: social alienation has been reconfigured as a positive force, it has been valorised as 'individual freedom' (Henning, 2006).[46] *Gallipoli's* 'ideal of citizenship' is particular. At once exclusionary and open, hierarchical and horizontal: a synchronous exchange between division and agglomeration.[47] Or, as Lipovetsky (2005) puts it, a 'paradoxical individualism'.

Of course, visitors' responses are dependent upon the contingent and compromised positions they occupy. Nonetheless, through their spatial and temporal arrangements, museums position and choreograph visitors, they 'direct them and mould their attention. [And] in many cases these attempts are connected with ideas about citizenship and subjectivity' (Henning, 2006, p. 2). With *Gallipoli,* I would take this a step further: it directs them toward belief. To, firstly, believe in the veracity and significance of the *event* and, secondly, in the authenticity and legitimacy of the *affect.* No overt master-narrative pertaining to, for example, nationhood is required. Validation or belief can occur without the 'thing in question' being declared.

Gallipoli is a sacred site and space in which the Gallipoli campaign and its various connotative affordances become sanctified through visitors' ritualised affective

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[46] Arnold-de Simine argues that:
> [...] in a culture in which extremity and survival are privileged markers of identity as well as, based on a capitalistic logic, forms of symbolic capital, potential solidarity is always at risk of being undermined by a competition over who is the greatest victim and empathy is dissolved into emotional catharsis for the sake of it (2013, p. 202).

[47] For Ruth HaCohen and Yaron Ezrahi, museums produce and perpetuate 'liberal democratic norms aimed at preserving the authenticity of individual experience in the context of the larger group' (as cited in Bennett, 2013, p. 23).

performances. Indeed, *Gallipoli* would seem to be illustrative of a movement past the postmodern 'free-floating and impersonal intensities characteristic of a culture without affect and expression' (Huyssen, 1995, p. 28). It is affective and expressive – it demands feeling. However, the personal *is* impersonal and the intensities *are* free-floating. Nevertheless, and paradoxically, the sacred relies on dis/belief: *a leap of dis/belief.* As Joan Branham contends, there is 'both a fundamental dissonance *and* affinity between sacred space [...] and museum space' (1995, p. 40). It is, I would argue, precisely this tension which animates *Gallipoli*: herein lies its affect/effect – the *sacred-real*.[48]

II   Te Papa Now

The vanishing pedagogue

The permissive and polyvocal turn in museums is not a mirage, though in the process of embracing discourses of 'distribution' their authoritative functions are not being negated, they are simply being out-sourced or sent – spectrally – 'elsewhere'. Nadia Boulanger's question – 'in whose name do you do what you do'– has been answered – 'we *are* you' – but not resolved (as cited in Sorensen, 1989, p. 60). Indeed, the way in which museums' discourses of power function and 'signify' has shifted, and the 'democratising' of the museum – in the broad sense of the term – has meant that their *politics of representation* and *representation of politics* have become increasingly opaque. The twining within new museology of postmodern and poststructuralist theory, commercial imperatives and ideas around social justice and parity of participation has generated a great deal of smoke. Moralism meets evasion. Betterment meets indeterminacy. Spectacle meets a cuddle.

This coupling of explicit social agendas with vanishing – 'rabbit in a hat' – pedagogues functions to compound museums' ideological 'perplexity'. Te Papa, needless to say,

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[48] Moreover, sacred sites such as temples *are* spaces for active practices of communion; the experiential, the participatory and 'affective' are prototypical 'temple' behaviours, and encounters with 'things' which resist integration – with the ineffable and trauma – typifies engagement with the 'sacred'.

being a case in point, with its institutional arrangements contingent upon the demands of numerous actors and a panoply of interests striating the Museum.[49] In this instance, Weta was employed due to the necessity of keeping pace in an age of instant obsolescence (as in, Weta offered a new product) and because of appetites for the 'spectacular' (this being Weta's forte). With *Gallipoli,* Te Papa as institutional 'script-writer' vanishes behind – or at the very least becomes entangled in – a Weta coloured curtain.

Preziosi and Farago argue that 'The polemecisim of the institution – in sanctioning a particular political interpretation of the facts of history – is to be masked in the institution's modes of organizing and presenting its facts' (2004c, p. 16). As I understand it, the central modes in which *Gallipoli's* facts are organized and presented are via an affective pedagogical approach, a testimonial-style narrative, the adoption of 'trauma discourses', and an overarching 'free-choice' model. With regard to the latter: 'The multiformity of exhibitions ensures that museum visitors will interact in an almost endless variety of ways with the exhibits and with each other' (McLean, 1999, p. 85). What is missing from such an account is that 'open-ended' interpretations are still ideologically freighted: no question is free of 'charge'. Moreover, "You can do what you want" remains a directive, and is better understood as: "You *will* do what you want." Within, of course, a museal space and broader 'political lifeworld' which do not offer such possibilities.[50]

Trauma is the central 'motif' of *Gallipoli* and vicarious trauma is a key means by which Te Papa 'moves' visitors. And as Foster argues, 'trauma discourses' continue the 'poststructuralist critique of the subject by other means, for, strictly speaking, there is no subject of trauma – the position is evacuated' (2015, p. 28). On the other hand, especially in therapy culture, 'tell-all memoirs' and exhibitions such as *Gallipoli,* trauma is 'treated as an event that guarantees the subject, and in this register the subject, however disturbed, [rushes] back as survivor, witness, testifier' (2015, p. 28). Although Foster was primarily concerned with its prevalence during the 1980s and 1990s, I would suggest that it remains prescient:

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[49] For example, *Gallipoli* is the product of myriad tensioned epistemologies: from social-history to military-history; from memorial practices to those of movie-making; from a pedagogy of affect to commercialism; from private enterprise to public policy. Nevertheless, although these epistemologies are *tensioned,* they are not, I suggest, necessarily conflictual.

[50] The outcome being tension and anxiety.

In trauma discourse [...] the subject was evacuated and elevated at one and the same time. And in this way it served as a magical resolution of contradictory imperatives of the culture of the period: the imperative of deconstructive analyses on the one hand, and the imperative of multicultural histories on the other; the imperative to acknowledge the disrupted subjectivity that comes from a broken society on the one hand, and the imperative to affirm identity on the other. In the 1990s, thirty years after the death of the author announced by Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault, we were witness to a strange rebirth of the author as zombie, to a paradoxical condition of absentee authority (Foster, 2015, p. 28).

When trauma and testimonial discourses are embraced as institutional methodologies the issue of absentee or 'zombie' authority is further ramified.

Adopting an 'affective approach' is also a means of avoiding overt positioning. For example, the *crisis of representation* – which in part triggered the 'new museology' – was about questions over control and power, particularly the power to 'speak for' or speak 'on behalf' of others. A logical move for museums was to reframe the terms of engagement. Rather than address the representational crisis, there was a move away from the *specular* (what with looking being synonymous with the political dimension of 'representation') and an embrace of *registers of affect.* In other words, affective public pedagogy offers curators schooled in postmodern and poststructuralist discourse an 'out' given that it privileges individual experience and encourages the reader/visitor to 'make what they will of it'. Further to this, it also affords institutions a demonstrable means of 'moving' visitors. The approach adopted by *Gallipoli's* creators may thus be seen as a means of rhetorically loosening the authorial reigns.

Changing hearts: Te Papa as forum *as* temple

[…] to improve the human condition, to act as sites for the formation of values and incubators of change, appears reminiscent of the older and now unacceptable moralising and reforming treatise […] Are the contemporary discourses of social responsibility simply a revisionist version of the older ideal?

Cameron as cited in Arnold-de Simine, 2013, p. 119

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With the adoption of its new corporate vision of *changing hearts, changing minds, changing lives,* and then with the production of *Gallipoli* and its 'emotional journey', has Te Papa tacitly and *perhaps* unwittingly acknowledged its role as a temple?[51] As in, being contingent upon and sanctifying a series of *congruent* if *elusive* master-narratives: neoliberalism, nationalism, the postmodern – traumatised – subject and individual. Also important to note is that the *forum* was a misnomer or fantasy in the first place; an appeal to that which could not ever occur – the forum as the Museum's 'vanishing point' or 'object of obscure desire'. Given institutional arrangements, the forum is inevitably inscribed and circumscribed in definite if fluid ways.

Additionally, there is no 'temple-forum' binary. The forum – as it is – has not simply adopted aspects of the temple, it *is* the temple. Discursiveness, 'the real' and 'affect', for example, are now sacred. As noted earlier, Te Papa has been perceived as being characterised and *punctured* by a disjunction between an ironic Pākehā approach and a spiritual and reverential Māori one. *Gallipoli* appears to signify a shift in this regard, though I would also contend that this was a fundamental misreading of its nature to begin with: the ironic approach *was* valorising and reverential and the playfulness concealed a reforming agenda: to, for example, re-fashion ideas of the subject. Now, the irony has gone underground, but cynicism – in the sense of 'cynical reason' – still riddles the institution.

Te Papa's forum, at least as demonstrated in *Gallipoli,* is essentially pedagogical rather than discursive. It is a forum *for* rather than a forum *to*. Again, possessive and conditional. The forum – as temple – is a *ritualised participatory spectacle*. As in, and as Wedde suggested, a place to *stage* debate rather than have it. The logic of immersion, participation and being 'audience centred' is collusive with neoliberal politics *and* the social justice model advocated by theorists such as Sandell, Janes and Hooper-Greenhill.[52] Te Papa is thus a forum not for ideas but for the display and regulation of emotion. With the active affirmation of affective practices the forum in any critical sense is obviated.

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[51] Te Papa's new vision signals, firstly, that there is a problem, and secondly, that the Museum knows how to and *can* fix it.

[52] Williams put it like this: 'If Te Papa is a forum primarily in [the] sense of providing for public interaction and self-visibility, this itself serves a certain ideological tendency' (Williams, 2003, p. 272).

The Museum 'as forum' signifies a drive towards the production of, in Message's words, 'an affective public sphere for dialogue and debate' (2006, p. 202). However, a desire for access, democracy and the recognition of cultural diversity does not signify a break with the traditional project of civic reform – which is genealogically imbricated with neoliberalism – but is instead a new take on it. As in, these objectives are governmental aspirations, and there is a symbiosis between neoliberalism, social policy and new museological goals. For example, social management discourses today highlight the value of community engagement. What is lost here is the understanding that hegemony relies on *self-management*.[53]

In 2006, Wedde wrote:

> A double-whammy of neoliberal market forces and Reithian public service expectation does not provide a democratically tensioned space in which [...] museums safely mediate public debate. Instead, it produces an internal organisational tension between pragmatic programmers and 'content providers' (curators, scriptwriters, researchers, 'creatives') (p. 14.2).

I would argue that this tension is not as problematic as it seems. Firstly, because within the rubric of neoliberalism, public service *is* corporate service – an addendum. Secondly, I suggest that corporatism interweaves with other institutional objectives and determines how it goes about fulfilling them. The supposed distance of the curatorial and pedagogical functions of the museum from such pressures cannot be glossed. They are implicated in this matrix of politics, culture and corporatism.[54]

Furthermore, and as Williams proposes:

> When market liberalism itself constitutes a cultural world view, the conceptual separation of 'customer focus' (as cultural policy) and 'commercial positivity' (as economic policy) is obfuscated. This conflation strongly suggests that the wider systems of belief and values culturally generated and transmitted – and the public policies through which they find expression – will eventually be

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[53] The Gramscian paradigm of hegemony may in this context be understood as: 'An internalised form of social control which makes certain views seem 'natural' or invisible so that they hardly seem like views at all, just the way things are' (Barry, 2009, p. 158).

[54] However, what is striking is the *sense* of separation.

harmonised with individualistic concepts informing market liberalism (2006, p. 2.3).

I would submit that this has now occurred. That Te Papa's commercialism – and its corporate public pedagogy – engenders *further* naturalisation of economic practices and models in culture was highlighted in Megan Davies' thesis of 2001. However, Te Papa's role as a 'corporate pedagogue' has still not been scrutinised closely enough and questions remain over how the imperative to be 'financially positive' intersects with its remit as enshrined in the Te Papa Act.

Figure 6.4: *Gallipoli* merchandise, 2016.

'In contemporary cultural mediascapes', Luke contends, 'the agendas of governmentality often compound themselves with systems of entertainment' (2002, p. 3). I would argue that entertainment and spectacle have been functioning in tandem with 'governmentality' *and* 'complex forms of enlightenment and aesthetic experience' (Huyssen, 1995, p. 24) in museums since their inception. Spectacle and entertainment are typically said to be means for museums to promote their *actual* agenda, to seduce visitors into instructional learning encounters (Crawley, 2012; Wilson, 2012). Read otherwise, spectacle *is* therefore the agenda: a 'spark for *possible* further learning'. Te Papa was formulated as a site of edifying infotainment and

remains committed to such a model. What has disappeared is the proclivity for the tongue-in-cheek. It is now interested in 'saving the planet' (Te Papa, 2014k).

III   States of Exception

Nation, trauma, memorialisation

'There are abundant signs', Harvey writes, 'that localism and nationalism have become stronger precisely because of the quest for the security that place always offers in the midst of all the shifting that flexible accumulation implies' (2011, p. 305).[55] As New Zealand's national museum, Te Papa plays an anchoring role as we 'drift amongst the multiple choices of the intensely commodified present' (Cummings and Lewandowska as cited in Preziosi and Farago, 2004d, p. 230). Te Papa produces consolatory (even when traumatic) collective symbols while also being a part of the neoliberal crisis: on the one hand acting *in* crisis – the crisis of capital – and on the other, pursuing narratives and a politics of reassurance.

Is it, Huyssen asks, that 'memory cultures' should be read as 'reaction formations to economic globalization' (2003, p. 16)? Or is it that memory cultures and 'trauma' implicitly validate the very "ethos" of the neoliberal-postmodern nexus? The privileging of memory over history could be seen as a corollary to the privileging of the individual over the collective, and a focus on individual testimonies is clearly concomitant with the 'death of master narratives' – with the end of 'history'. Meanwhile, trauma corresponds with the demise of 'universal truths' – it is relative and un-representable. Therefore, rather than being a supplement of the 'postmodern condition', could 'trauma' be seen to be *constitutive* of it? In that the elusiveness of the simulacral requires recourse to the 'real' of traumatic excess in order to guarantee or at least give some semblance of 'authenticity'.

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[55] As the state, in terms of its (re)distributive function, withers, as it becomes simply an apparatus to corroborate corporate interests rather than serve as a buttress against its excesses, other forms of social solidarity proliferate.

'Outbreaks' of nostalgia and memorialisation typically follow revolution, upheaval or economic crisis. That capitalism's normative state is crisis means that these are inevitably a constant feature of contemporary existence.[56] Furthermore, *war heritage* 'is always central to shaping and sustaining identities and legitimizing political systems' (Fedor, 2016, p. 243), while collectivised victimhood can readily be reconfigured as an empowering nationalistic discourse (Arnold-de Simine, 2013). *Gallipoli* stages a primal scene. Its spatial arrangement and narrative allude to a particular form of 'national exceptionalism': that of the nation being born not in triumph but in 'abjectness'. This narrative of a 'painful birth' is implicitly reiterated in the language of the exhibition, with the 'fatherland/motherland' of Great Britain portrayed, whether accurately or not, as the great betrayer.

> [I had] a fair idea that the British had used Australians and New Zealanders as cannon-fodder [and] after looking at the maps I was angry to start with. Typical. We were used (V06).

Gallipoli may thus be seen to inspire and mobilize a cohesive but *damaged* national myth.

What trauma and nostalgia have in common, Arnold-de Simine (2013) writes, is that they are both:

> [...] reactions to spatio-temporal displacements and the recognition of loss. They speak of the desire [...] to return to the familiar which has become alienated. They converge in the conflicting desires for familiarity and individuation, in the urge to know and uncover, but equally to forget and repress [...] (p. 201).

For Edkins (2003, p. xv), sovereign power *produces* and is itself *produced* by trauma, and by rewriting these traumas into a linear narrative of national heroism, the state 'conceals the trauma that is has produced'. *Gallipoli* signifies a shift in this regard – of sorts. It constructs a narrative of *national trauma* while occluding its part in the production of trauma and laying the blame for the nation's suffering not at the feet of its 'enemy' (The Ottoman Empire), but at its 'master's' (Great Britain). However, and to return to my earlier point, *damaged* is the key. It is both threat *and* appeal: a nation

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[56] By focusing on the 'new', Te Papa works to *sustain* nostalgia.

in need of mending, consoling *and* fearing. In this way, Anzac and its martyrological mode of memorialisation is an exemplary ritual of citizenship within the dispersed democratic-neoliberal paradigm. The nation 'called up' in *Gallipoli* is not one founded on a celebratory myth but one bounded in the 'real' of trauma.

Figure 6.5: Staff Nurse Lottie Le Gallais, 2015.

Acts of suspension

I would like to turn now to a speculative adaptation of Carl Schmitt's (2005) conception of the *state of exception,* particularly with regard to practises of memorialisation, Anzac and Te Papa itself. According to Schmitt, a controversial German political theorist, the law – the juridical legislature which underpins political authority – is founded on and maintained through recourse to extra-juridical power: 'The sovereign agency enjoys the power to suspend the law […] in the name of protecting the security of the state or re-establishing the stability to which law can then apply' (Santner, 2006, p. 13). Put simply, *Gallipoli's* particular form of memorialisation may be seen as a circumvention of normative museological, historiographical and critical discourses and practices in the name of re-establishing

the authority of Te Papa. With the caveat that this, again, reveals the arbitrariness of these practices.

In the exhibition, Gallipoli – which is already a key remembrance cipher in New Zealand and metonym for the wider war and for war more generally – is represented as an event without 'history'.[57] It exists as a historical state of exception: it is simply 'the (accessible) past'. When conflated with the national imaginary, this suspension may once more be understood as a means of reaffirming its integrity: to establish the validity of 'our' history an appeal to myth is made.[58] However, as Samuel Hynes (1999) explains, and in the context of the memorialisation of war, myth is not a synonym for falsehood. Rather, it should be understood as term to 'identify the simplified, dramatized story' that contains the meanings of 'war that we can tolerate, and so make sense of its incoherences and contradictions' (Hynes, 1999, p. 207).

Te Papa's appeal to 'myth' in part relates to its focus on the individual stories: they are 'myth like' both in terms of their drama *and* in making Gallipoli a relatable experience. With regard to its affective pedagogy, the appeal to embodied and emotional responses asks visitors to transcend critique; affect (and the satisfaction of 'being moved' it engenders) works to supplant critical engagement. Affect, in this instance, and due to its key referent – trauma – being 'beyond understanding', should be considered as another form of suspension, may be perceived to be a form of 'epistemic' violence.

Museums are sites 'in which politically organized and socially institutionalised power most avidly seeks to realise its desire to appear as beautiful, natural and legitimate' (Duncan as cited in Fraser, 2007, p. 296). Te Papa, *as* a ritual and as a *space* of rituals, depends upon the recognition of its authority and legitimacy in order for the ritual/s to have effect, while in turn requiring 'wider authority' to validate itself. Wider authorities such as the nation, its epistemic traditions, and, in this instance, the commercial and creative validity conferred by its association with Weta Workshop. Jem Fraser writes that 'The aura of objective knowledge [...], of a universal aesthetic,

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[57] War memorialisation more generally, I suggest, may be understood as the 'cultural logic' of the state of exception.

[58] Although writing in the context of Australia, Elina Spilia's words are also pertinent with regard to New Zealand: '[…] investment in an Anzac narrative of nationhood functions as a substitute site of mourning for a dominant culture that is unable to acknowledge and mourn the dispossession of the Aboriginal peoples' (2015, p. 78).

of historic treasures [...] and academic rigour are all deployed to secure the authority of the museum' (2007, p. 296).

Gallipoli makes use of all of these, while by way of the testimonial approach conveying a sense that it is 'of the people'.[59] The institutional adoption of 'bottom-up pluralism' risks, to return to an earlier point, a concurrent decline in toleration of critique. As in: there is no longer any 'outside' to refer to and there can be no critique if 'everyone' is included. Further to this, Te Papa's 'democratising practices' as demonstrated in *Gallipoli* are a false flag: adaptive strategies which work to assimilate, absorb and co-opt 'other voices' and which, by making it appear as if its 'authoritative didacticism' has been suspended or deferred, function to sustain the legitimacy of the institution. In this way, it can also *govern without being seen to govern.*

IV   Conclusion – Shifting Scales

This will set the tone for how New Zealanders remember the Gallipoli campaign for the twenty-first century.

<div align="right">Pugsley as cited in Te Papa, 2015e</div>

Between 1919 and February 2016, the number of New Zealand soldiers who served at Gallipoli was widely – though not unanimously – accepted as being 8556. However, in March of 2016, historians from the New Zealand Defence Force and the Ministry for Culture and Heritage amended that figure to between 16,000 and 18,000, though there was no revision of the number of New Zealanders killed (2,779) (Matthews, 2016). *Gallipoli* had relied on the original figure and had, in the final annexe, a 'casualty graph' illustrating the losses suffered by each nation involved in the campaign, and which showed the New Zealand forces having suffered, percentage-wise, the highest casualty rate (93%). The new figure suggests that casualty rates were comparable on all sides.

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[59] Moreover, and as Williams (2003) argues, Te Papa's 'pervasive kind of togetherness ('our place') and egalitarianism ('you decide') [...] serves to disarm critical reflection' (p. 301).

As I understand it, this revised figure both corroborates and undermines the reference in the exhibition's title to 'scale'. On the one hand, and as MCH historian David Green (2016) writes: 'These findings give Gallipoli an even more secure place in our national mythology'. However, on the other, the *scale* cannot but have been referencing the *extent* of the suffering: 'New Zealand thought it had a disproportionately high casualty rate, which fed into an old Gallipoli myth of New Zealanders and Australians as cannon fodder for the British' (Matthews, 2016). The 'casualty graph' was removed by Te Papa following the revelations.

Gallipoli: The scale of our war does not simply confirm conventional understandings of New Zealand's involvement in the Gallipoli campaign. It tells a story – hyper-detailed, hypertrophied, bloody and believable – which raises the stakes with regard to New Zealand's 'history of trauma', while simultaneously functioning to further distance the nation from its colonial origins. What does this story *ask* of us? To take on this trauma? *Gallipoli* is a theatre in which visitors are invited to act out rituals of remembrance. Although it may be seen as an attempt to find an 'affective syntax' with which to register something of the traumatic experience of Gallipoli, its injunctive entreaty is for visitors to identify and invest – it is predicated on cathexis, on emotional investiture. The desire to make *Gallipoli* an 'emotional journey' is as much an ethical and political imperative as it is a pedagogical one. *Gallipoli's* affective public pedagogy – its 'affective regime' – establishes a culture of remembrance which is sacralising not only of the trauma of Gallipoli, but of the nation and of the 'neoliberal subject'.

And yet, visitors to *Gallipoli* are afforded opportunity for heuristic learning experiences just as they are able to perform rituals of catharsis. Nevertheless, *Gallipoli's* 'soldier-narrator', labyrinthine spatial arrangement, fantastical-realist aesthetics and carefully choreographed soundscape combine to create a ritualised and 'sacred-real' affective environment from which, as the interviews with and observations of visitors and my own encounters demonstrated, it is difficult to maintain a distance. Visitors' 'subject positions' are engineered by the Museum and *Gallipoli's embodied commemorative politics* are disciplinary. In this way, I consider *Gallipoli* as a therapeutic event *and* instrument of governmentality: therapy as an instrument of governmentality. Affective public pedagogy as outlined here remains theoretically provisional, though to consider its use in the museum new would appear incorrect. It

is simply that it is now embraced, theorised and further enabled by the immersive and simulacral potentialities of new technologies, whereas previously it was repudiated or taken for granted.

New museums such as Te Papa are undoubtedly 'constituted across different organizational and operational spheres [and] made up of countless components and operations' (Dewdney et al., 2013, p. 189). However, it is my contention that despite its continual disavowal, the modern museum (as conceptualised by critical museology) remains integral to the 'new' museum. Therefore the notion that the museum in the twenty-first century is no longer a device of governmentality seems presumptuous. Further to this, to align affective and testimonial approaches with 'posthegemonic' aspirations would seem equally erroneous.

Gallipoli and the way in which it was developed exposes the emptiness of the promise of the new museology, while similarly revealing Te Papa's complicity with practices and the calculous of governmentality. Put otherwise, the adoption of flexible methods and the institutional promotion of philosophies of authorial dispersal mirrors and reinforces neoliberal agendas. Te Papa's imbrication with neoliberalism and its precarious funding arrangements have a decisive influence on its museology and on its facility to fulfil its public remit. The adoption of its aspirational new vision further problematizes its legislative function, and signals, I suggest, a need for a reappraisal of its role as a 'forum for the nation'. With regard to Weta's involvement, such practices of corporate co-creation obstruct the possibility of both endogenous and exogenous critique and inquiry.

If museums are sites for 'defining who people are and how they should act and as places for challenging those definitions' (Karp, 1992, p. 4), then the question here is who is being defined and what is being challenged? Within the exhibition there is what I perceive to be a laudable particularising of *traumatic human history.* However, by omitting the socio-economic contexts and consequences of the violence the suffering is depoliticized. It is my understanding that Gallipoli is already overdetermined in the national imaginary and the exhibition encourages over-identification. Furthermore, despite there being many voices, *Gallipoli's* choir is polyphonic rather than dissonant: there is no indeterminacy in the *telling* of the tale.

This lack of conflict and discord is concerning as such things, as Claire Bishop (2013, p. 176) writes, and drawing upon Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's concept of *antagonism,* 'do not ruin the democratic public sphere, they are conditions of its existence'. And yet, and as Huyseen contends:

> No matter how much the museum, consciously or unconsciously, produces and affirms the symbolic order, there is always a surplus of meaning that exceeds ideological boundaries and opens spaces for reflection and counter-hegemonic memory (as cited in Kavanagh, 1999, p. 7).

What Huyseen overlooks is the issue of ideology taking on – as it does in *Gallipoli* – the *countenance* of the 'counter-hegemonical'.

My enquiry into *Gallipoli*, which was developed via the deployment of a critical theory framework and interpretivist methodologies, is partial – circumscribed by circumstance and context – and in motion: it is neither neutral nor complete. However, and to paraphrase Foucault (2006), it is hoped that this research stimulates further scrutiny of the particular forms of 'political violence' that Te Papa continues to exercise 'obscurely'. On the counter in the gift-store outside *Gallipoli* stands a tissue-box contained within what appears to be a bespoke wooden holder. In carved-relief are the words: *Lest We Forget.*

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Appendix

Overview of *Gallipoli: The scale of our war*

Bell-Jar 1	Lieutenant Spencer Westmacott '[…] was one of our first men to land on Gallipoli in April 25th'. Westmacott was injured while 'holding off a Turkish attack' and was evacuated on the evening of the 25th of April.
Annexe 1	*The Great Adventure:* The first annexe documents the early days of the campaign and includes: a touch-screen kiosk documenting Westmacott's biographical details; a rifle in a case; a cross-section of a New Zealand serviceman's uniform and kit; a 3D diorama projection of 'Landing Day'; information panels on 'Digging in – the first three weeks'; a touchscreen with photographs of Gallipoli; an audio post playing 'Veteran's stories'; a wall with information about 'Johnny Turk'; a 'context' wall with information concerning the background to the war and New Zealand's pre-war military preparations and response to the outbreak of war; and an information panel and touchscreen concerning the genesis of the Maori contingent.
Bell-Jar 2	Lieutenant Colonel Percival Fenwick 'was one of our first doctors ashore. In the next god-awful 24 hours, he treated hundreds of us Anzacs on the beach'.
Annexe 2	*Order from Chaos:* 'Our landing on April 25th had been a bloody shambles. The Turks weren't about to let up, and we hung on by our fingernails'. Situated in the second annexe is a '3D cinema' showing images of Armistice Day (24 May 1915) and narrated by soldiers' recollections of this day; a cut-away model/diorama of Quinn's Post; a number of interactives including 'Wounds' (which shows in graphic detail what occurs when a bullet or piece of shrapnel hits a body), and 'Have a Shot' (a 'periscope rifle' which offers visitor the opportunity to 'pull the trigger'); a case containing a model of an artillery shell; panels introducing 'Student of War' Lieutenant Colonel William Malone; panels introducing 'our' snipers and stretcher-bearers; and a video screen – 'Gallipoli in Action' – playing the only film ever shot on Gallipoli.

Bell-Jar 3	Private Jack Dunn 'served as a machine-gunner with Lieutenant Colonel Malone's Wellingtons. […] he came down with pneumonia after the first brutal month of fighting. When he returned from hospital […] the poor bugger fell asleep at his post and was sentenced to death for endangering his unit. It could have been any of us'.
Annexe 3	*Stalemate:* 'In June and July, the Turks tried to drive us back to the sea. They'd hemmed us in, but we improved our defences and held them off. Stalemate'. The third annexe is comprised of three sections. Firstly, 'Bully beef, biscuits and water', which documents the living conditions on the Peninsula and which includes various 'interactives', text panels and an action station: 'Writing Home'. This interactive asks visitors to respond to the question: 'If you knew you might never make it home, what would you miss most? What would you say to your loved ones?' Visitors are asked to write their responses on a small round piece of cardboard or a pre-printed 'field postcard'. Secondly, a model of Lieutenant Colonel Malone's dugout which visitors can enter and which features an audio recording of an actor reading Malone's final letter to his wife. And finally, a tunnel/trench which contains graphic video re-enactments.
Bell-Jar 4	Maori Contingent machine-gun section: Private Colin Warden, Corporal Friday Hawkins, Private Rikihana Carkeek. 'The Maori Contingent machine-gun section was led by Aussie-born Colin Warden. On the night of the 7th of August, he guided his 16-man team up Rhododendron Ridge, just below the summit of Chunuk Bair. […] The next day, the boys came under intense fire. But they kept firing the guns no matter what […]. More than half of them were killed or wounded that day'.
Annexe 4	*Chunuk Bair:* 'Our attack on Chunuk Bair got off to a brilliant start on the night of August 6th'. The fourth annexe includes: a 'captured gun' in a case; a 3D diorama projection of the battle for Chunuk Bair; an interactive 'Field Telephone'; a listening post; a wall-length mural of a Chunuk Bair battle scene; and a 'wall of death' which documents some of those killed on Chunuk Bair.

Bell-Jar 5	Staff Nurse Lottie Le Gallais 'was a military nurse on board the hospital ship *Maheno,* which set out from Wellington in July. She hoped to meet up with her brother Leddie, who was stuck on Gallipoli, but their paths would never cross. In November, all of Lottie's letters to Leddie came back to her. An official stamp read: 'Killed, return to sender'. He'd been dead four months'.
Annexe 5	*Saying Goodbye:* 'Things got more and more desperate after Chunuk Bair. We'd lost countless mates, the cold was setting in, supplies weren't getting through, and the boys were in bad shape'. Annexe five includes: a model of the hospital ship *Maheno;* a series of text panels charting the last months at Gallipoli and the final evacuation; 'Off with a bang', a reconstruction of a 'self-firing rifle' used 'to make the Turks think our trenches were fully manned – and armed – while we evacuated'.
Bell-Jar 6 and Exit	Sergeant Cecil Malthus: "In France … even more than on Gallipoli, we lived in the shadow of death". The final text panel reads: 'Almost 3,000 of us had been killed on Gallipoli. But that was just the beginning. More than four times that number would die on the Western Front. The losses would be felt for generations. The full scale of our war was immense'. On the right before exiting annexe five is a bowl of paper poppies which visitors are invited to take. Outside the annexe and on the left, and behind a glass barrier and covered in water, are a pile of 'Memorial Stones' gathered from the sea at Anzac Cove. Above these stones are quotes from Anzac commander Lieutenant General Godley and Turkish commander Kemal Atatürk. On the right is a booth and desk where visitors are invited to share their thoughts by writing a message on their poppy. The instructions read: 'Gather a poppy and share your thoughts – someone's name, a war story, your response to the exhibition, or your feelings on conflict. Feel free to lay your poppy at the feet of the solider ahead of you, or take it home'. On the far-side of the bell-jar is a touchscreen kiosk with Malthus' biography. Outside the bell-jar and on the right is 'He wai' (a bowl containing water which visitors are invited cleanse themselves with), and on the left before exiting into the gift-store is a 'research station' (a touchscreen kiosk) with access to the 'Online Cenotaph' database.