

**Centennial Stances:**  
**Museums, Morals and the First World War**

By

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## Abstract

This thesis examines the extent to which New Zealand's Centennial Great War exhibitions influence visitor perceptions, particularly those regarding their personal moral values. Two case studies are used, in order to inform discussions on the current and desired roles of New Zealand museums in relation to activism. While this research aims to provide New Zealand museums with more relevant findings than literature gaps currently allow, any discussions and recommendations may be more broadly applied to other countries. Similarly, despite a focus on the topical and largely publicised subject of WWI '100 years on', discussions and recommendations are also relevant to general queries regarding museum representations, visitor interpretations and activism in museums. This research also intends to emphasise the benefits of interdisciplinary research by including museological, criminological and, to a lesser extent, philosophical literature.

The research methods used within the two case studies can be broadly separated into three parts. First, a thick description method is used to provide in-depth overviews of The Great War Exhibition and Te Papa Tongarewa's *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War*. This section attempts to present a largely unbiased description of Great War representation in New Zealand's capital. Second, the interpretations of ten visitors from each exhibition are gathered in the form of researcher-accompanied, audio-recorded visits. Such a research method intends to extract visitor thought processes in a relatively fluid and natural way. Finally, visitor questionnaires taken at the conclusion of each visit provide information on visitor demographics and overall thoughts regarding the exhibition, war itself and any inclusion of activism in museums. Alongside museum studies literature, criminological literature and debates are referenced to explain and exemplify the plentiful and diverse perceptions surrounding war.

Overall, this study found most participants to be wary of activism in museum exhibitions. However, it also found that New Zealand museum visitors tended to possess a strong desire to determine their own moral perceptions through exposure to as many alternative narratives as possible. Therefore, any opposition to activism is *not*, in this case, due to any overriding wishes to favour 'traditional narratives'. It is consequentially recommended that emphasis be put on clarity, transparency and multi-narrative approaches in museum exhibitions, as visitors appear to so strongly value their right to autonomous interpretation.

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## **Introduction**

### **Background**

Museums, like the communities and individuals they cater to, cannot thrive in a stagnant state. It is in complex fluidity that our societies exist, and in complex fluidity that our museums must also. Over the passing of decades, many museums have already adapted from a state of rather narrow representation to more community-aware/influenced institutions. One relatively recent way in which this can be seen is through the inclusion of activism in museum exhibitions. Contemporary museum studies literature has both identified and called for such activism in exhibitions around the globe, highlighting the inherently political nature of museums. The literature review for this research provides elaboration of such studies.

This literature on activism in exhibitions, alongside more general museological literature, was to me better understood in conjunction with my criminology background. While some authors are referred to across numerous academic disciplines, there is still a noticeable chasm between each subject and its related theories. Criminological literature often refers to the idea of hegemony and areas of political influence, yet rarely addresses the multitude of self-professed political museums. Museology talks of activism and involvement in forms of restorative justice, yet rarely backs this up with the plentiful relevant literature from criminology. In both disciplines, passing years have largely erased top-down, passive-audience models, and instead drawn up something more complex and appreciative of active audiences. Particularly in reference to activism in museums, therefore, I hoped to present a piece of research that promoted and exemplified the benefits of cross-disciplinary studies.

My stance as a researcher began as very ‘pro-activism’ in museums, viewing the involvement of museums in social movements as undoubtedly worthy, even necessary. Why should museums shy away from their potential ability to morally influence visitors to, for example, oppose inequality and environmental degradation? Why should they deny community voices yearning to be heard, simply to avoid potential controversy? Yet, of course, the issue of museum activism is not quite so simplistic. As seen in much criminological and philosophical literature, the issue of ‘morality’ is not clear-cut. What may be seen as valuable activism in one museum may be regarded as ‘immoral’ or narrow-minded by another, or become outdated over time. Moral questions are not easily addressed, as so many grey areas undoubtedly make

for hazy answers. It was decided, therefore, that this research would look to museum visitors themselves, in order to determine their own perceptions and wishes regarding activism in exhibitions.

Due to the emergence of centennial WWI exhibitions around New Zealand, particularly in the capital city of Wellington, it was decided that this research would use these exhibitions to generate the appropriate discussions. It was hoped that their topical nature and recent opening would allow for a reasonably large and interested number of visitors, many of whom would have been nudged into thinking more deeply about WWI due to so many publicised ANZAC (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) commemoration events around the country. Furthermore, as centennial exhibitions, it was interesting to see how a specific event was represented one hundred years on. Would the exhibitions view their centennial status as an opportunity to present any strong political viewpoints, or would they play a more traditional, commemorative role? Which stories would be told, and how? The two case studies in this research, The Great War Exhibition (GWE) and Te Papa Tongarewa's *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War* (TP), are both located in the same city and opened their relevant exhibitions in the same year. Therefore, any common or differing themes could provide for intriguing analysis, and not be easily explained away by differences in time or social-context.

Other reasons for a focus on war exhibitions in New Zealand include an awareness of the varying ways in which war has been presented around the globe. As there is obviously no one way to represent and interpret WWI, it seemed a suitable topic for the analysis of moral perceptions. Other subjects, such as WWII, were deemed less suitable as are portrayed with much less moral fluidity. It would be extremely rare and controversial today to find a museum exhibition supporting Nazi views and actions, as they have so clearly been labelled the, for want of a better word, 'bad' side. With reference to the First World War, however, the 'bad' side is considerably more subjective and dependent on an individual's moral stances and/or country of origin. To some, it is a country that was 'wrong', to others, certain leaders. Alternatively, some individuals will view *all* involved as having opposed their perception of morality. Yet, keeping in mind the wish of some museums to practise activism, can these moral perceptions be influenced by an exhibition? It is of interest to this research to determine which moral perceptions, if any, become evident in analyses of New Zealand's centennial WWI exhibitions and their visitors, and if they are subject to change.

## **Aims and Objectives**

In its most simplistic form, therefore, the aim of this research is to address the question:

*What impact, if any, do New Zealand's WW1 exhibitions have on visitor perceptions of the moralities of war?*

In Chapter One, the literature review and research design allow the reader to identify how this research was informed by various studies and authors, and how it hopes to add to this literature. Then, data from two case studies are used to address the question above. At each location, The GWE and TP's *Gallipoli*, thick description research has been used to identify methods of representation. These descriptions are presented in Chapter Two. In Chapter Three, accompanied visits and the questionnaire answers of ten visitors from each (twenty in all), are then discussed in order to determine the ways in which visitors perceive and are influenced by such representation. Finally, in Chapter Four the questionnaire answers and transcripts from accompanied visits are examined to determine what it is visitors actually want regarding activism in museums. Informed recommendations are then made.

Literature from museum studies and criminology is referred to throughout, in the hopes that a bridge can be formed between the two subjects. It is also hoped that this research will provide literature directly relevant to New Zealand museums, though with the opportunity for a broader application of ideas. In this way, certain interdisciplinary and geographical literature gaps may be somewhat filled. This literature is further elaborated upon in the following section: the Literature Review.

## Chapter One: Literature Review and Research Design

This chapter provides identification and analyses of the theories deemed pertinent to my research. It also reviews any notable gaps and trends in the existing literature, followed by an overview of my research design. To begin, moral theories from criminology and philosophy are sifted through, in order to define an uncomplicated framework for this thesis to work within. Next, literature on meaning making in museums is reviewed, expanded upon with relevant theories from criminology. Any existing case studies connecting the two fields are also analysed. The next section narrows the focus of meaning making to war in museums, along with any literature on war in criminology that can add depth to debates of representation. Following literature surrounding war, literature regarding justice and activism in museums is reviewed. The research design is then explored.

### Defining Morality

This research intends to determine the impacts (if any) of museums on visitors' personal moral values; specifically, visitor perceptions of the moralities of war. As so many theories and definitions exist surrounding the terms morals and ethics, it has proved vital to decide and explain exactly what is meant here by 'morality'. In an effort to remain afloat in the great depths of philosophical moral theories, assumed definitions were first extracted from criminological theory. This also assured consistency when applying criminological debates on war to centennial representations and interpretations in museums. Definitions have, however, been elaborated upon with philosophical theories deemed relevant.

Rather than adopting the common interchange between the terms morals and ethics, I have taken ethics to mean "moral philosophy" (Arrigo and Williams 2006, 28). Ethics in criminology refers more to the *consideration* of what is moral, most commonly in a research setting (Mcfarquhar 2011, 88). This distinction is backed up in philosophical literature on moral theory, defining ethics as "philosophical investigation into morality" (Timmons 2002,

19). While ethics deal with philosophical problems arising “out of practice or human conduct”, moral problems are “relatively specific and practical” (Wellman 1975, xv-xvi).

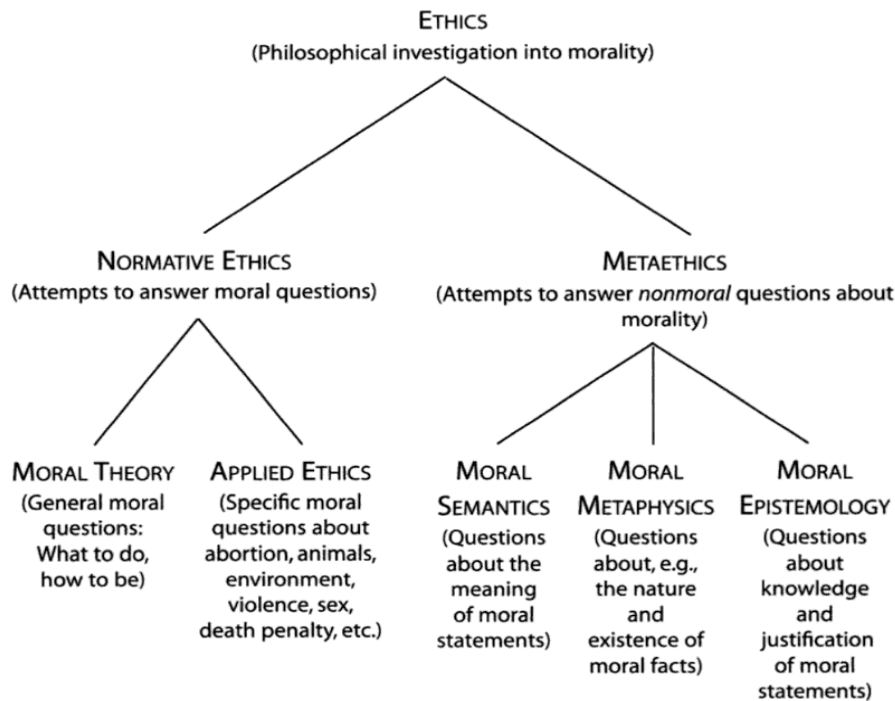


Figure 1. ‘Main Division of Ethics’ (Timmons 2002, 19)

Morality itself is less so a philosophy, more the actual nature (intrinsic or perceived) of an act. In this case, I hope to discover very specifically to what extent visitors view WWI and its associated acts as moral or not, and whether this is subject to change.

### **Moral Theories**

Criminological literature elucidates the changing perceptions of crime and morality through the years. Such a change is supported in the similarly evolving literature of philosophy. The link between the two academic fields is most simply communicated in an inter-disciplinary book by Arrigo and Williams (2006). They consider the relationship between philosophy and criminology to be strong yet under-examined (Arrigo and Williams 2006, 3). They believe that philosophy holds value for the study of crime, as “only several centuries ago, the boundaries between what are now considered to be the physical and social sciences and philosophy were not so clearly demarcated” (Arrigo and Williams 2006, 4). In turn, this thesis posits that consideration of criminology specifically holds value for the study of moral issues

and war representation in museums.

Arrigo and Williams (2006, 6) begin their study of crime and moral values with Plato and the ancient Greeks, where morality and virtue oppose immorality and viciousness. By the Middle Ages, the framework of “crime as sin” had emerged, in which law-breaking was seen as a lack of faith and transgression against God (Arrigo and Williams 2006, 7). The idea that morality is dependent on the commands of God falls under philosophy’s “divine command theory”, through which an act “is right because God commands it” (Timmons 2002, 23). More recent moral philosophy, however, has “little or nothing to say about religion”, with twentieth and early twenty-first century work tending to be “dismissive or patronizing” (Wainwright 2005, xi).

A more contemporary moral theory is that of moral relativism (Timmons 2002, 37). Moral relativism opposes any universality thesis, as it does not accept the existence of universal moral standards that exist outside of cultural influence (Timmons 2002, 41). Velleman (2015, 75) goes as far as to say that moral relativism is a pair of observations; not an argument. He expresses doubt over a universally valid morality, and found that humans live “by mutually incompatible moral norms” with no evidence of universally valid norms (Velleman 2015, 75). Bauman (1993) strays even further from the idea of any set and definable moral standards. Bauman (1993, 12) promotes a postmodern approach, acknowledging a diversity in moral beliefs that opposes universalism, but declaring moral relativism to be overly relativistic and nihilistic. Postmodernism, unlike modernism, does not accept the existence of any “all-embracing, total and ultimate formula of life without ambiguity” (Bauman 1993, 245). Instead, humans are regarded as morally ambivalent, moral phenomena as non-rational, and any search for absolutes unprofitable (Bauman 1993, 4; 10-12). Bauman (1993, 54) believes that only rules can be universal; moral responsibility is an individual matter. Society’s rules provide us with a means of ethical reasoning, not moral urges (Bauman 1993, 61).

Linking such theories to contemporary criminology, Fuller (1942, 624) provides an early, yet relevant, account of morals. He distinguishes between morals and crime. A law is not necessarily the formal embodiment of universal morality, but rather a legal expression of values from the society’s dominant group. As societies have become increasingly expansive and diverse, so too have individuals’ values within these societies, meaning “some common denominator for conduct is needed”: the criminal law (Fuller 1942, 626). Many illegal acts

seen to threaten general welfare, such as murder, are widely considered ‘wrong’, yet there are also many acts considered criminal in a legal sense that are “not offensive to the moral conscience of a considerable number of persons” (Fuller 1942, 625-627). For example, gambling and liquor law violations. That these forms of crime survive points to “a public whose personal tastes and morals diverge from the values expressed in the criminal law” (Fuller 1942, 625).

The idea that morality is more a personal issue than a universal or divine one, embodied in our legal system, can be seen in debates over the enforcement of morals. For example, Devlin and Hart’s opposing views over the *1957 Report of the Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution* or, *The Wolfenden Committee Report* (Arneson 2013, 436). The British Committee commented that “there must remain a realm of morality and immorality which is, in brief and crude terms, not the law’s business”, thus recommending a relaxation of law on sexual conduct (Arneson 2013, 436). Hart concurs that criminalization of largely harmless acts, simply due to the prevailing morality of society at one time, is wrong (Arneson 2013, 438). He holds that current positive moralities may not necessarily withstand the criticism of critical morality, as social norms do change over time (Arneson 2013, 438). Devlin objects, believing that because society is in part held together by “shared moral beliefs”, the criminal law ought to be influenced by “the core shared moral beliefs of its members” (Arneson, 2013, 436). In this case, he suggests a collective judgement against homosexuality, despite the fact that some people “sincerely believe that homosexuality is neither immoral nor unnatural” (Hughes 1962, 673). The answer to such debates is not the concern of this thesis. However, the fact that such questions arise at all points to an assumption in criminology that legality does not necessarily equate to morality, and morality is subject to variation amongst different individuals.

Relatedly, just because an act is legal, such as killing during war, does not necessarily mean that all individuals will view this as moral. Hence the term ‘moral values’. I take this to mean our individual perceptions of morality, how each of us categorises different acts as either right or wrong, and to what extent. We may all have equal moral standards in relation to some acts, signifying universalism, or it may be that all of our moral standards are subject to outside influences, signifying relativism. It is of interest to me to determine what visitor moral standards concerning World War One are, and whether the external factor of a museum exhibition may influence this.

## Literature on ‘Meaning Making’

Museological literature on meaning making and visitor studies is useful here, as it can be used to apply moral debates to a museum context. Such literature discusses the ways and extents to which exhibitions can influence visitor perceptions. In this section, relevant literature from the field of museum studies will be discussed, followed by an overview of similar literature from criminology that can be used to further our understanding of the relevant processes at work.

### ‘Meaning Making’ in Museum Studies

Literature surrounding museums as political meaning-makers is plentiful. It emerged alongside the shift to ‘new museology’ and greatly emphasises the role that museums have in shaping a society’s values and beliefs, as opposed to simply displaying ‘incontestable truth’ (Corsane 2005, 57). Tony Bennett has been influential in this field. In his early writings, Bennett (1988, 73) juxtaposes the display of power relations through exhibitions with Foucault’s work on institutions of confinement as articulations of power. Bennett’s depiction of eighteenth and nineteenth-century museums is very much based on their being “a context for the *permanent* display of power/knowledge” (Bennett 1988, 79). Yet over time, Bennett (2007, 54; 59; 84) begins to speak of active audience concepts, and the idea that intersections between the ‘top’ and ‘bottom’ rungs of the political ladder may have “more complex intersections” than concepts of “government descending from above” and “resistance emerging from below”. In his 2013 book, Bennett (25) also remarks upon limitations of this “exhibitionary complex”. He instead proposes a less rigid “culture complex”, “to encompass the roles played by a broader range of knowledge practices and institutions in the governance of conduct” (Bennett 2013, 25).

I certainly do not wish to promote Marxist-reminiscent views that museums are tools of the powerful, used to control those of lower societal rungs. Rather, I agree with the multidimensional description put forward by such writers as Timothy Luke (2002) in his book, *Museum Politics: Power Plays at the Exhibition*. Luke’s case studies highlight the complex relationship between people, museums and the resulting stream of ever-changing interpretations. Influences that museums and politics have both on each other and the values of their ‘public’ are reiterated as being in flux, yet powerful. Luke does not focus specifically



on the construction of hegemonic concepts surrounding social responsibilities, moral narratives and the legitimacy of certain actions, as this thesis does.

Luke (2002, xiii) provides ongoing criticism of the “blindness in mainstream political science” towards museums and their “rich opportunities for political analysis”. He does, however, display favour towards his traditional area of study: politics. He notes the 1990s and early twenty-first century “struggles to define power and knowledge at museums” as being part of broader culture wars and institutional changes. (Luke 2002, xiii). He neglects to recognise that museum studies views this shift specifically as that from ‘old’ to ‘new’ museology, following Peter Vergo’s work in 1989. (Corsane 2005, 57). Nevertheless, the idea that it is beneficial to connect our academic fields and learn from one another, rather than segregate our knowledge, is a compelling one.

### **Exhibition Studies**

Luke’s depiction of museums as complicated institutions finds support in a cacophony of recent exhibition studies. Although the literature of ‘old’ museology was, to Peter Vergo, “too much about museum *methods*, and too little about the purposes of museums”, the ‘new’ scope of museology is much more humanistic and theoretical — accounting for the politics and complexities of museums (Vergo, 1989, 3-4). The primary concern of new museology is the link museums have with people, and the possibilities of societal development through partnerships with an active public (Bose and Seth 2010, 26). Now, a “considerable body of literature concerning audiences has developed within museum studies” (Waterton and Dittmer 2014, 126). While not necessarily focusing on New Zealand, centennial WWI exhibitions or even visitor perceptions of social issues, many recent exhibition and visitor studies add weight to assumptions of this thesis. Namely, that numerous representations and interpretations can potentially pertain to just one exhibition, and that impacts may differ amongst visitors due to external influences.

Andrea Witcomb (2015, 321-344) explains current trends within the study of exhibition strategies and design. As a reflection of the “revisionist agenda” and socio-political engagement seen in many contemporary museums, museum studies in the 2000s began to examine the “poetics as well as the politics of museum work” (Witcomb 2015, 321). Witcomb (2015, 323) evolves Tony Bennett’s 1995 term: a “pedagogy of walking”, wherein 19<sup>th</sup> Century museum visitors are described as being sculpted “to serve the nation’s needs”, via

evolutionary principles presented and viewed in a linear sequence. Bennett here assumes knowledge production through the placement and viewing of objects, rationalising vision as separate to any greater sensory experience. By the 1980s a less didactic, more interactive form of pedagogy emerged in museums (Watkins, Noble and Driscoll 2015, 160). Instead of reading singular interpretations, visitors began to literally and metaphorically listen to a variety of voices and their differing narratives (Watkins, Noble and Driscoll 2015, 161). This “pedagogy of listening”, however, rarely “sought to challenge the subjectivity of visitors in relation to the other” (Witcomb 2015, 326). Speaking of more contemporary experiences, Witcomb (2015, 325) posits the concept of “a pedagogy of feeling”, in which our other senses work *alongside* vision, and thus allow for bridges of understanding across a plurality of exhibited perspectives.

Waterton and Dittmer (2014, 123), too, note a “developing interest in the politics of affect emerging within museum studies”, as well as in the associated theory of assemblage. Assemblages are “conceived as entities composed of heterogeneous elements irreducible to their role within the larger assemblage” (Waterton and Dittmer 2014, 123). They are fluid systems, their individual elements able to enter and leave multiple and changeable assemblages (Waterton and Dittmer 2014, 124). In the case of museums, this refers to the many elements coming together to make an exhibition. By adopting a more-than-representational focus, assemblage elements, including those typically regarded as ‘background noise’, can be examined to explain any “wayward encounters and unintended consequences” (Waterton and Dittmer 2014, 124). Waterton and Dittmer (2014, 125) appreciate the agency of non-human elements, and the potential for change amongst human subjects entering the assemblage’s collective agency.

Also investigated in the literature of recent years concerning itself with sensory experiences is the use of affect in museums to encourage certain reflections and actions (Witcomb 2015, 322). Sarah Matthews (2013, 272) talks of affect in relation to the Canadian War Museum, hoping to delve deeper than more common literature on representational analysis by investigating the personal, affective experiences of visitors. To Matthews, affect is an “internal phenomenon” allowing for an encounter between the ‘self’ and “the outside world” (Matthews 2013, 274). She specifically looks at the “affective realm of experience” at exhibitions representing “difficult histories of social devastation, violence and war” (Matthews 2013, 273). This is done by considering the encounter of museum visitors with one

of Hitler's parade cars and Kearns' 1996 painting *Somalia Without Conscience*, as well as her own encounter with these visitors (Matthews 2013, 273).

Numerous exhibition techniques have been examined with reference to these theories of assemblage and affect. For example, the 2013 exhibition 'First Peoples' in Australia's Melbourne Museum relied heavily on parataxis in order to instigate moral considerations through affect (Witcomb 2015, 332-333). Here, warmth symbolises the sense of community and belonging in the early indigenous community; coldness the loss of belonging and community (Witcomb 2015, 335). Light signifies connections between people and country; darkness the "collapse of this harmonious state" (Witcomb 2015, 334). First person narratives filling the exhibition also serve to create emotive force (Witcomb 2015, 337). The reliance on multiple techniques to enflame emotive responses amongst visitors, in this case, demands the generation of empathy in order to "right a wrong" (Witcomb 2015, 339-340). Matthews (2013) comments on the sometimes unintended consequences of assemblage techniques. The visual associations made by placing Hitler's parade car next to Nazi paraphernalia was, to much of the public, a "glorification of the Nazi regime" (Matthews 2013, 278). This directly opposed the museums intent to evoke critical awareness of Nazism's role in the war's development (Matthews 2013, 278).

### **Museum Visitor Studies**

The influence of exhibitions on visitors are further magnified in the sub-field of visitor studies. Visitor studies literature adds that all interpretations will rely upon contextual factors pertaining to each of the visitors, including their interactions with one another. Museum-goers are not blank canvases destined to leave as exact, uniform representations of the exhibition's intended narrative. Smith found that visitors to British slave-trade exhibitions reacted very differently to the identical themes due to their personal identities – in this case, their ethnic identity (Smith 2015, 446). Most Asian British or African Caribbean respondents used the exhibition content to assess just how recognized or misrecognized their own experiences of racism were (Smith, 2015, 467). White British and European respondents more commonly attempted to distance themselves from the negative reflections explored in the exhibition (Smith 2015, 468).

Schorch, studying visitor reactions within the Immigration Museum Melbourne (IMM), found that Samin, a student previously from Afghanistan, interacted with the 2011 exhibition

‘Identity: Yours, Mine Ours in a way that connected her personal experience as a ‘refugee’ to wider historical contexts (Schorch 2014, 7). Students from a predominantly Anglo-Australian school, however, were offered an opportunity to empathise with humanised stories and faces not readily available in their home or school life (Schorch 2014, 10-13). For them, the active engagements of empathy and reflexivity allowed the unsettling of prior judgements and understandings (Schorch 2014, 12-13). The research here suggests that “the life worlds of students, their homes and schools, are intertwined with the interpretive engagements with the exhibition” (Schorch 2014, 14). Falk also praises the recent focus on social and cultural contexts influencing an individual’s interaction with exhibitions, though urges for research looking at “*all* these variables” (Falk 2004, 84-85). The museum “does not, therefore, etch its presence on a blank-sheet” (Schorch, Waterton and Watson 2017, 41).

Schorch gathered similar findings through his narrative method at New Zealand’s Te Papa, where American visitor Bruce narrated ways in which his prior cultural experiences in the States influenced the ways he could “engage with the other” in Te Papa (Schorch 2015, 447). This type of learning was not necessarily that assumed in older museology books, as it was not the memorising of content but reflexive, personal shifts by means of a sensorial and qualitative experience (Schorch 2015, 452). Here, both museums and visitors “exert interpretive agency”, becoming “mutually entangled through narrative engagements across cultural differences” (Schorch 2015, 452).

These two studies by Schorch are also expanded upon in his work with Waterton and Watson, looking at museums as canopies which allow encounters that may lead to a more “cosmopolitan appreciation of difference” (Schorch, Waterton and Watson 2017, 93). They concur with the assumption that museums are able to engage the emotional and sensory assemblages of their visitors (Schorch, Waterton and Watson 2017, 98). Te Papa and the Immigration Museum Melbourne are described as locations in which humanization and cosmopolitan engagement via interpretation allow for “a moral and emotional relationship between self and other” – and thus, a “cross cultural museum canopy” (Schorch, Waterton and Watson 2017, 101; 108-109). They term this process of cultural bridge-building, enacted at Te Papa and the IMM, “affective cosmopolitanism” (Schorch, Waterton and Watson 2017, 108-9). Affective cosmopolitanism highlights the non- or more-than-representational

encounters with ethical qualities that arise from the “affective-subjective dynamic” of museums (Schorch, Waterton and Watson 2017, 109).

My thesis considers all of these available theories and techniques, and their potential ability to influence visitors in a variety of (sometimes unpredictable) ways. They are applied to my considerations of the potential influence of New Zealand museums on moral judgements.

### **‘Meaning Making’ in Criminology**

Despite the vast amount of literature elaborating upon the influencing abilities of museums, I have found no criminological research directly relating to museums in general and their potential hegemonic role. Research related to museum studies is mainly on heritage crimes, particularly looting and illicit trades (Grove 2013, 244). Such a gap seems surprising, especially considering the arguments of media-focused criminological literature.

First, I discuss introductory literature on criminology, to make clear initial connections with museums, and allow for currently blank pages to be filled. Bradley and Walters offer one such book, as does Walsh (Bradley and Walters 2011; Walsh 2015). One relevant theory is the criminological strand of social constructivism, looking at how crime is a socially designated label that “is never static; it is constantly changing” (Bradley and Walters 2011, 10).

Understandings of crime as a social construct can help to make sense of the various moral debates existing around WWI – a non-criminal event. The legality of an act does not, under social constructivism, equate to its inherent moral nature. Both legality and any associated moral perceptions are subject to change over time. This, as opposed to proclamations of the unchanging moral nature of anything labelled non-criminal, helps to explain the possibility of numerous, potentially changeable perceptions of the moralities of war. It can also allow greater understanding of potential cultural influences on our personal moral standards; in this case, that the numerous representations of war available at museums could possibly alter visitor perceptions.

The concept of hegemony in criminology also provides an expansion of museum studies’ research on meaning making, though historically reflects a top-down approach where powerful individuals politically and ideologically influence passive masses. Popularised in the 1960s as part of the Marxist criminological theory, hegemony describes the process by which the interests and values of one group of people come to be seen as natural, in the majority’s best interest and, ultimately, ‘common sense’ (Jewkes 2004, 16). Hegemonic theory is usually

accredited to Antonio Gramsci who, while imprisoned by Mussolini from 1926-37, wrote of hegemony as a bourgeoisie means of consensual domination over the proletariat (Litowitz 2000, 515-518). Hegemony is based on the idea that ideological power cannot feasibly be maintained through coercion and force alone (Flint and Falah 2006, 1382). Gramsci illustrates that integrative power, achieving agreement over the seemingly beneficial ideologies and leadership of an elite, is much more easily sustained and less prone to resistance (Flint and Falah 2006, 1382).

By alleging a singular, universally-ideal way of life, a hegemonic state can construct the image of a 'prime modernity', in the hopes of generating a "global desire to consume and emulate its products and way of life" (Flint and Falah 2006, 1382). The concept of a prime, ideal modernity allows for actions and institutions beneficial to the hegemonic power to be repackaged as necessary for the 'right', modern lifestyle (Flint and Falah 2006, 1382). This process is achieved through the wide dissemination of messages through a variety of cultural and social institutions, including: the media, education systems and the law (Jewkes 2004, 16). Another institution, as stated by Litowitz, is the museum – indicating the theory's relevance to museum studies (Litowitz 2000, 519). Yet to maintain contemporary relevance of Gramsci's core ideas, Litowitz suggests replacing the Marxist "hegemony of a class with the hegemony of a dominant code", as the process existing today is considerably less centralized (Litowitz 2000, 550-551).

Flint and Falah use the United States' War on Terrorism to explain and exemplify the recent use of hegemonic power (Flint and Falah 2006). Here, assurances of a moral mission became a means of justifying violence as part of a necessary and just war (Flint and Falah 2006, 1385). Challenges to the United States' construction of a 'prime modernity' were hence counteracted by imbuing "the prime modernity with moral values; the construction of a *prime morality*" (Flint and Falah 2006, 1388). A prime morality adds weight to justifications by claiming the existence of a universal moral code and labelling alternative views as morally corrupt (Flint and Falah 2006, 1389). By labelling those states associated with terrorism against the United States as criminal, "rogue states", a war against terrorism could be portrayed as a just defence against those threatening the 'basic' moral values of humanity (Flint and Falah 2006, 1392). Study of this hegemonic communication is important, as it allows a description of the actual process of meaning making, not just the impact. In examining such a process, one highly applicable to the idea of exhibitions as a museum's

messenger, the political aspect of museums can be more thoroughly understood.

An overview of ‘othering’ should also be examined. ‘Othering’ is the use of representation to justify acts towards certain groups, and is commonly investigated with reference to state crimes (Hinchmann and Hinchmann 1994, 61). Aside from othering victims through definitions and jurisdiction, the process can also occur through enforced territorial transfer or outsourcing, where prisoners are sent to states known to torture (Jamieson and McEvoy 2005, 514-517). Othering may even refer to the perpetrators of state crime, as a means of distancing themselves from accountability. These techniques include: denial and deception through perfidy, legal leniency towards Special Forces, collusion with indigenous paramilitary groups and the paid use of private contractors and mercenaries (Jamieson and McEvoy 2005, 506-514). Historically, othering is evident in museums such as Lombroso’s museum of psychiatry and criminology, which deemed certain skull types ‘deviant’ (Ramsland 2009, 72). It also relates to representations of ‘war enemies’, or ex-prisoners of converted prison museums. Knowledge of this process, by which certain groups and their associated acts are deemed ‘good or bad’, can further our understanding of potential influences of museum exhibitions on our moral standards.

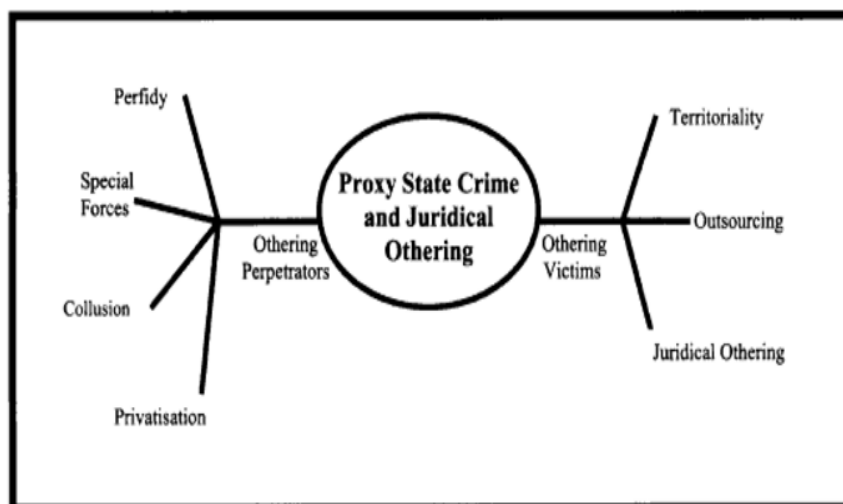


Figure 2. ‘Proxy state crime and juridical othering’ (Jamieson and McEvoy 2005, 505).

Within media-focused criminology, the aforementioned theories lend weight to the idea that

“crime and fear are socially constructed, and the news media have become an inextricable part of this construction” (Tamang 2009, 198). This strand of research has received much attention and broadening since the 1970s emergence of “the modern British wave of crime and media studies” (Dowler, Fleming and Muzzatti 2006, 839-840). Criminological literature proclaims that the “cultural formation of moral evaluations does not randomly occur” (Barak 1994, 4). For example, social constructions regarding issues of the ‘worst’ or most frequent crimes may arise from the fact that news stories have a tendency to overplay violent, rather than non-violent or white-collar, crimes (Barak 1994, 11). Dowler, Fleming and Muzzatti (2006, 839), in a more emotive manner comment, upon the “public’s unending thirst for information on bizarre and violent crime”. Other media distortions may arise from one-dimensional reflections that play to and reinforce stereotypes of class, gender and race (Barak 1994, 10-11). There has, over time, been a blurring of boundaries between news and entertainment, allowing for sensationalistic tendencies and the selection of certain crimes or stereotypes over others (Tamang 2009, 197-198). Lack of diversity or context in representations can also arise from repetitive revivals of well-known stories or themes, either for public interest or the contextualization of newer stories (Dowler, Fleming and Muzzatti 2006, 839). As with exhibitions, not all voices, stories and contextual elements can necessarily be presented in the representation of an issue or event. In sifting through available resources, concern for audience interest and aversion to controversy increases the risk of producing distortion, bias, or “homogenized, mainstream and uniform versions of reality” (Barak 1994, 11).

However, Barak (1994, 8) recognizes that crime news reflects not only the socially constructed perspectives of the privileged elites, but also of the popular masses. Media presentations of ‘right and wrong’ exhibit a complex process of social control that “may facilitate both order and change” (Barak 1994, 15). For example, the news media helped to frame opposition to the Vietnam War as respectable, once the war had to numerous sections of the public lost its legitimacy (Barak 1994, 15). Barak’s earlier work more heavily emphasises ideas of mass communication’s hegemonic powers regarding “accumulation, legitimisation and repression” (Barak 1988, 568). Though even here Barak (1988, 584) notes “newsmaking” opportunities for individuals wishing to use the media to counteract any harms arising from biases or distortion. Society is not, therefore, presented as something under the propagandist rule of the state. Meaning-making is much more complex and fluid. How this fact presents itself with reference to New Zealand’s representations and interpretations of



WWI, or the desires of visitors regarding a museum's role as communicator, is of particular interest here.

Relatedly, Doyle (2006, 879) suggests a more interpretive style of research looking at what certain crime stories mean to particular audience members, rather than the more common examination of direct institutional and political effects of crime and the media. As with recent museum studies writers, Doyle (2006, 871) disagrees with passive audience models that deny agency in their assumptions of a homogeneous public. Doyle (2006, 872; 877) writes of varying frames of meaning, and contextual variables relating to both audience and media-form that result in "a broad range of parallel and interacting influences on various audiences in different social realms". In 2008, Carrabine stated that "it has now become the orthodoxy to insist that media audiences work with the texts before them", as opposed to passively consuming "the messages sent by powerful cultural industries" (Carrabine 2008, 57). Tamang (2009, 195), too, reinforces the idea that while news media is important in shaping knowledge and attitudes concerning crime, audiences should not be viewed as passive. Consequentially, we ought to note that a singular method of centennial war representation in a museum will not necessarily evoke homogenous emotions or moral viewpoints amongst its audience — just because it encompasses issues of fear, moral standards and politically-charged deaths. Taking further regard of Doyle's criticisms, a research method allowing for more qualitative than reductionist data also seems appropriate.

Such authors are better understood with the work of Jewkes. Jewkes (2004, 6-18) explains the influence of mass society theory and the Marxist dominant ideology/hegemonic approach in shaping early views of the media as a top-down tool of ideological control over a passive audience. Jewkes (2004, 237) writes that "media images are *not* reality; they are a *version* of reality that is culturally determined", much like the aforementioned museum literature tells us of exhibitions. Aside from technological and political variables structuring the news gathering process, media 'reality' is also influenced by "the assumptions media professionals make about their audience" (Jewkes 2004, 37). As with exhibitions, stories presented in the news are selected depending on their 'newsworthiness' and perceived public appeal, not some single and unarguable 'truth' (Jewkes 2004, 37). These representations are dependent not only on the interests or policies of the organisation from which it is to be distributed, but also differing interpretations within these organisations (Barak 1994, 113).

## Linking Museology and Criminology with Case Studies

Some interlinked case studies have emerged, though they are mainly restricted to penal and genocide museums, and rarely look to New Zealand. Nevertheless, they provide invaluable information regarding moral narratives in these institutions of ‘dark tourism’, where crimes and horrors of the past are made known. They have also constructed a narrow bridge between the two academic spheres which this thesis aims to widen. Welch (2013, 480) mentions the rising attention given to former prisons as museums by scholars, listing studies by: Brown, 2009, Huey, 2011, Strange and Kempa, 2003 and Walby and Piche, 2011. In Welch’s own 2013 study, *Penal Tourism and a Tale of Four Cities: Reflecting on the Museum Effects in London, Sydney, Melbourne and Buenos Aires*, he does exactly as the title suggests. He declares that, in presenting past methods of punishment, the fact that they are “no longer used to punish prisoners serves as evidence of enlightened and humane progress” (Welch 2013, 497). The idea that penal museums can shape our view of moral justifications concerning punishment is of great relevance here, though must be broadened.

A similar study by Walby and Piche in 2011 is also a primary reference for the thesis. They study six penal museums in Ontario, attempting to fill a geographical gap in the literature (as mine does by focusing on New Zealand) (Walby and Piche 2011, 456). Their narratives also proposed that artefacts can serve to “insinuate that we have humanized or reformed the way we treat those caught up in the penal system” (Walby and Piche 2011, 455). This not only implies that museums can show past methods as ‘wrong’, but also that they can ‘sanitise’ present incarceration, which is often presented as “inevitable and necessary” (Walby and Piche 2011, 455). The study concludes that certain museum practices served to make light of modern punishment issues, encouraging audiences to see themselves as separate to the deserving prisoner (Walby and Piche 2011, 463).

Memorial museums have also received more interest recently, as seen in the theses of Sodaro, 2011, and Ivanova, 2014. Sodaro (2011, 143) looks at the role of memorial museums in the public’s moral education. She notes that “museums play a particular role in society that makes them especially effective as mechanisms for moral education”, an idea highly relevant to my topic (Sodaro 2011, 6). However, she focuses solely on memorial museums and their attempts to instil values in visitors opposing those seen in the histories they present (Sodaro 2011, 5).

Her case studies include such museums as Hungary's House of Terror and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (Sodaro 2011, 71). New Zealand is, unsurprisingly, unmentioned. Sodaro (2011, 35) also mentions the body of literature surrounding such topics as being 'small'. Ivanova (2014, ii) collects data from two Cambodian museums, examining genocide narratives through 45 minute interviews. Ivanova is much more visitor-centred, analysing whether visitors possess Universalist or Relativist views, or if this changes after visiting (Ivanova 2014, 4). In some cases, transformative experiences were found to occur (Ivanova 2014, 4). Her work adds to the literature surrounding transmissions of moral views in museums.

## **War Debates and Representations**

Having analysed research concerning meaning-making and museum, I now focus on war itself. As in seen such controversies as that surrounding the 1995 Enola Gay exhibition, a myriad of polarising views exist in relation to war (Luke 2002, 19). It is in constant caress with moral concepts, exposing humans at their most destructive; as both saving and stealing lives. Expansive amounts of literature in museum studies pertains to the display and commemoration of war in museums. Such research is used here to provide examples of meaning-making concepts outlined in the previous section. The complexity of these representations and interpretations of war in museums is then elaborated upon with the use of criminological perspectives on war.

## **War in Museum Studies**

An article by Scott (2015, 489-502) supplies a comprehensive overview of the representation methods museums may adopt when exhibiting war. He analyses how display methods influence the way in which museums tell stories, elaborating on the three main categories of celebratory, sanitary and realistic (Scott 2015, 490). He compares the horrors presented in anti-war museums, the detached approach of technology exhibitions and the glorification when exhibiting 'trophy' (Scott 2015, 490). Scott (2015, 489) also notes the affects of museums "promoting a particular representation of war", as for some visitors it may be "one of the main ways that they will learn about war". Scott (2015, 499) feels that "efforts should be made not only to insert a human presence into objects relating to our military heritage, but also to humanise the enemies that fought against our soldiers". A very different view to those

curators who felt that a sanitised display of Enola Gay was their only choice. His focus, again, is more on military museums. Similar studies have also been conducted by Haymond and Malvern, who once more highlight the breadth of possible representations and interpretations, as well as how these tend to change over time (Haymond 2015, 462-468; Malvern 2000, 177-203). Mitter (2000, 279-293), also, provides information on the ability of museums to shape representations in her study of the Beijing War of Resistance Museum. In order to fit in with contemporary politics, the museum's official narrative after World War Two's 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary involved a "much stronger rhetoric against Japan, and a downgrading of the fierce attacks on the Nationalists and Chiang Kai-Shek", common in the Mao era (Mitter 2000, 280). For example, "the Hall of Martyrs" depicts the sacrifice of Chinese soldiers having fought the Japanese (Mitter 2000, 285-286).

Inuzuka (2016, 148) stresses the importance of location in moulding the representations, or "collective memory" exhibited by a museum. Inuzuka (2016, 156) finds that the Chiran peace museum for tokko (kamikaze) pilots in Japan presents the two contradictory concepts of peace and militarism. The museum's superficial message of peace is at odds with the depictions of heroic sacrifices that have "become the basis of today's peaceful and prosperous society" (Inuzuka 2016, 159). Inuzuka attributes this contradiction to the geographical and associated political context of the Chiran museum. Use of the term 'peace' in the museum and various surrounding landmarks "can possibly be attributed to the popularity of pacifism in contemporary Japan", although the emotional and nationalistic nature of tokko deaths in Japan has meant that "there seems to be some unspoken consensus that the memory of the tokko cannot be tarnished" (Inuzuka 2016, 159; 163) Furthermore, the economic impact of "tokko tourism" on Chiran's economy has likely commercialized the town's memories of the pilots, contributing to the avoidance of critical scrutiny (Inuzuka 2016, 160).

The context of an exhibition's establishment may even contribute to differing representations of the same event, as seen in Whitmarsh's (2001, 1) study of London's Imperial War Museum (IWM) and the In Flanders Fields Museum (IFF) at Ypres/Ieper. Looking at the IWM's representation of World War One, it is important to note contextual facts of the museum, such as its location in England's capital and status as Britain's national museum of war. Therefore, the IWM "plays a part in the creation of a sense of nationhood", emphasised by the fact it was established during wartime (Whitmarsh 2001, 3; 7). To avoid appearing disrespectful, the

IWM used traditional forms of commemoration to maintain wartime attitudes (Whitmarsh 2000, 12). The IWM's broad historical range means that 'myths', or well-known icons, are used for a "relatively simple, morally uncomplicated narrative" (Whitmarsh 2001, 7). Focus is on British and Commonwealth forces, with little effort made to enable empathising with former enemies (Whitmarsh 2001, 8). This avoidance of critical analysis by dehumanising former enemies and focusing on unemotional topics, like uniforms and technology, is strongly linked to the criminological theories of 'othering', and is very typical of traditional commemoration.

At the IFF, however, displays like the Christmas Truces "attempt to break down pre-conceptions about former enemies" (Whitmarsh 2001, 8). Peace is the main message of this Belgian museum, and the testimonies of individuals from all sides of the war are used to "illustrate the horrors of war and the need for peace" (Whitmarsh 2001, 12). The IFF opened in 1998, replacing a Remembrance Museum (Whitmarsh 2001, 3). Unlike the IWM, the IFF is not funded by central government, and is more willing to question traditional images of the wisely governed state (Whitmarsh 2001, 4). It is also located on the site of conflict, in a now-designated Peace City, while the IWM is geographically distanced enough from its exhibited events to avoid too emotional an attachment (Whitmarsh 2001, 6). It seems, therefore, that "a memorial will tell us more about its builders than about those to whom it is dedicated" (Heathcote, 1999 as cited in Whitmarsh 2001, 2.) Consequentially, this research investigates representations, not just interpretations, emerging in the context of New Zealand's centennial WWI exhibitions.

### **War in Criminology**

The scope and details of differing perceptions of war, in both representations and interpretations, can then be scrutinised with the use of criminological research. Commonly reiterated is the fact that, "while mainstream criminologists have historically ignored the problems of war and state violence, critical criminologists have studied them for decades" (Kauzlarich 2007, 68). War is an issue of human rights, rather than more simplistic law-breaking. Consequentially, most mainstream war-related literature shies away from the concept of war as criminal, focusing instead on recognised war crimes (Klein 2011, 86). It is of interest to this research to bring to the fore debates both proclaiming and disputing the idea

of war itself as legitimised criminality, and to see how such debates come to light amongst museums and their visitors.

Klein (2011, 97), particularly, provides an analysis of war and the affect of ideology on individuals. His concept of ideological influence, like that of museum studies' Bennett, is somewhat more 'top-down' than authors like Luke, seen in his declaration that through questionnaires "we can better understand the influence of war culture on public opinion and learn how to educate and organize against the prioritization of war by the ruling class". However, it is the intention of this research to carry out such questionnaires, alongside accompanied visits, so knowledge of Klein's criminological analysis is still of use. Ruggiero (2005, 240) also promotes the idea of criminalizing war, again noting that studies of white-collar crime and labelling theory have allowed for more recent studies to branch out from the acceptance of war as legitimate behaviour. Ruggiero (2005, 246) presents a very clear view of war, that – "Violence, predation, social control and state action, despite attempts to publicly sanitize their manifestations, are engaged in one, central, obsessive task, namely killing". Kauzlarich's study then specifically questions peace activists, unearthing varying opinions regarding war and morals even amongst a subgroup with seemingly similar viewpoints (Kauzlarich 2007, 81). His focus, however, is on the Iraq War, which has been publicised as more unjust than WWI.

In terms of more deeply looking at victimology, McGarry and Walklate interview soldiers, attempting to understand the "paradox of soldiering" in which individuals are both a victim and, essentially, a killer. They make the explicit link between war and moral conduct, asking: "Does he morally 'do the right thing' for himself by not wanting to kill, or accept the moral agreement of his role as a soldier: to fight and, if necessary, kill?" (McGarry and Walklate 2011, 908). They refer to Quinney's statement, that individuals may be both a criminal and victim, which in the case of this research highlights the complexity of exhibition representation and visitor interpretation (McGarry and Walklate 2011, 902). Kauzlarich, Matthews and Miller (2011, 175) also write of victimology and state crime, noting that "scanning the criminological literature, scholars have identified victims of state crime as: civilians and soldiers in war". Yet that this has been neglected in mainstream criminology shows that the issue is one in which the questions of morals are numerous and complex. How this presents itself in museums, often seen as places of teaching, can be made clearer through both the gaps and debates in criminology. Through criminological analysis of war and the

issues of morality that encompass it, exhibiting strategies of museums and responses of their visitors can be better understood and analysed. It is of use, therefore, to allow for research more explicitly connecting ideas from the two fields.

## **Justice and Activism in Museums**

Finally, in terms of reflexive analysis and potential recommendations regarding the stance of museums in society, the work of scholars such as Sandell and Message are appropriate. They are not alone, as write of the renewed political and social agency of museums alongside a number of scholars (Fleming 2010, 2012; Janes 2009, Silverman 2010). Message (2014, 31) scrutinises the issues of activism presented in museums, such as those at the Smithsonian Museum of History and Technology. She focuses on American Indian and Black Civil Rights movements, examining how topics were presented in museums, how they were responded to and their role in the respective movements (Message 2014, 31). The book *Museums, Equality and Social Justice* includes a chapter by Sandell, which looks at museums and the human rights frame (Sandell and Nightingale 2012, 195-215). The chapter examines the consequences and implications of museums engaging with issues of human rights (Sandell and Nightingale 2012, 195-215). Sandell recognises that the past twenty years have seen a growth of literature looking at museums as politically charged and, more recently, their purposeful engagement with “controversial and morally charged topics” (Sandell and Nightingale 2012, 195). He also refers to universalism and relativism, as Ivanova does, looking further into concepts of morality (Sandell and Nightingale 2012, 197). He looks at the responses to museums purposefully participating in human rights issues and sees managing consequential controversy as “likely to become increasingly important for museums that purposefully seek to shape a more equitable and fair moral order” (Sandell and Nightingale 2012, 197).

Literature has also pondered the role of museums as pedagogical tools of human rights work and a means of restorative justice through narratives. If museums are willing to confront the occurrence of otherwise silenced injustices, victim narratives can be “integrated into the mainstream historical meta-narrative of a society and officially recognised by the state (Fromm, Golding and Rekdal 2014, 54). This form of reconciliation “is one path to restorative justice” (Fromm, Golding and Rekdal 2014, 54). Attributed to the “memory boom of the

1980s”, the proliferation of memorial museums led naturally to an increase in issues-based museums engaging more in social justice than the display of artefacts (Carter 2013, 336). This new trend saw museums attempting to reconceptualise themselves into symbolic reparation and “effective venues for empowering diverse communities to address social and political inequities” (Carter 2013, 329; 336). Carter (2013, 326) uses Chile’s Museo de la Memoria y Los Derechos Humanos to exemplify the pedagogy of human rights in museums. The museum pursued truth and justice as a means of reparation and prevention (Carter 2013, 330). The Museo de la Memoria y Los Derechos Humanos is one of slightly less than a dozen self-identified human rights museums, and was founded in memory of the human rights abuses carried out from 1973 to 1990 under General Pinochet’s dictatorship (Carter 2013, 326). It is not a memorial, but rather a living museum, with fluid exhibitions and programmes intended to recuperated histories from silenced pasts “for the collective memory and catharsis of society” (Carter 2013, 327; 334). Whitmarsh (2001, 2) gives another example of restorative justice in museums, mentioning that the “fall of communism in Eastern Europe has allowed some memories of war to be publicly commemorated for the first time”.

However, aside from questions over pedagogical models and skills best suited to the task, institutions claiming a moral basis for their existence do run the risk of ‘taking sides’ and ‘stepping on toes’ (Carter 2013, 337). Fromm, Golding and Rekdal (2014, xxi) query whether “seeing something as unjust is a solely politically-based viewpoint”, or something more objective and universal. Tensions over which ideological and political stances will be authorised to “write the national meta-narrative for reconciliation” are only to be expected (Fromm, Golding and Rekdal 2014, 72). Furthermore, even neutral intentions behind exhibitions may generate unintentional intolerance and prejudices (Fromm, Golding and Rekdal 2014, xxiii). Consequentially, a question arises that I similarly ask of New Zealand visitors: “Should museums try to define and make explicit a moral basis?” (Fromm, Golding and Rekdal 2014, xxi).

My findings regarding the potential moral influences of New Zealand museums can be compared to such research professing the need for activism and/or ‘justice’ in museums, in order to see whether such a role in New Zealand is likely, or even possible. If it is found that New Zealand museums have very little influence on the moral values of their visitors, museum activism may require further consideration.



## Summary

Evidently, there is a strong foundation of literature to build upon, mostly amongst the more contemporary trends. Philosophical and criminological theories reviewed have defined ethics as consideration of morals, and moral standards as something relatively individualistic and separate to the concept of legality. Museological and criminological literature alike have identified and expanded upon the complex processes that influence ‘meaning’ amongst an active audience. This has allowed for some literature declaring the ability of museums and media to influence moral standards. A review of research into the various representations, interpretations and controversies surrounding exhibitions of war also unearthed a wealth of in-depth literature. Understandings of this literature, however, could benefit from the criminological debates on war as criminal that were also reviewed. Recently, more literature has emerged relating to the potential role of museums as activists, leading to questions over the role individuals actually desire for their museums. Overall, however, it is evident that there are many dots to connect. The literature reviewed exposes a lack of comprehensive works bringing all the ideas and case studies together.

It is the aim of this thesis to provide the information and analyses that will begin to connect these dots, bringing together the research from different disciplines to form a more cohesive picture. Two case studies, in the form of centennial Great War exhibitions in New Zealand’s capital city, are researched to determine the similarities and differences in representation and consequential visitor interpretations. The thoughts of New Zealand museum visitors are examined to see how the public engages with exhibition topics that are so tightly bound to issues of emotion and morality. Their interpretations are considered, alongside more general opinions relating to New Zealand’s museums. Specifically, the rights and roles of New Zealand museums in influencing our moral values.

## Research Design

Studies, theories and gaps in the literature just reviewed have helped to sculpt the aims and methodologies of this research. As such, a number of qualitative research methods have been adopted to address the primary question of this thesis:

*What impact, if any, do New Zealand's WWI exhibitions have on visitor perceptions of the moralities of war?*

In doing so, the following secondary questions are also addressed:

- *How do New Zealand's centennial exhibitions present the Great War?*
- *Do visitors perceive the Great War exhibitions as neutral, anti-war, glorifying or as a means of justification? Do such representations align with their own viewpoints?*
- *Did the method of representation influence visitor preconceptions?*
- *Should museums seek to remain 'neutral'? Or do such institutions have a duty to teach more than just 'facts'? If so, to what extent do they possess this ability?*

Details of the specific research strategies and methods are provided in this section. Decisions behind the use of two case studies is explained, as is the use of thick description research. This data on representation is used alongside visitor interpretations, which were obtained through accompanied visits and short questionnaires at each exhibition. Following an overview of the wider research strategies, the methods are explained. The processes for data analysis are then elaborated upon. Justifications for use of these strategies and methods in demonstrating visitor perceptions, and possible museums influences and/or desired roles, are given throughout.

## Research Strategy

### Case Studies

Following contemplation of case studies included in the literature review, a case study approach based on qualitative data seemed best suited to this thesis. Detailed descriptions of representations and interpretations have allowed for comprehensive conclusions and recommendations regarding activism and morals. Such qualitative data enabled this thesis to more deeply understand thought processes and their potential to transform; not to simply

count whether or not visitors agree or disagree with the museum's messages. Data from a two New Zealand museums has therefore been gathered, and is presented and discussed throughout this research.

The suitability of using more than one location, in order to present narratives of New Zealand museums and their representation of moral values, lies in applicability. Collective case studies refer to the study of more than one 'case' to investigate phenomena, conditions or populations. They are commonly chosen through the belief that "understanding them will lead to better understanding, perhaps better theorizing, about a still larger collection of cases" (Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2007, 243). A case study is an empirical inquiry that "investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context", especially when boundaries between context and phenomenon are not clearly evident (Yin 2003, 13). As put forward by Yin (2003, 13), the use of a case study research strategy for my research allowed the deliberate investigation of "contextual conditions". Yet mixed methods were required as, for example, questionnaires alone provide only a limited means of investigating context (Yin 2003, 13). By comparing two museums of differing types, and their relevant exhibitions, data obtained can be applied to museums on a broader scale. The use of two case studies also results in a more credible representation of New Zealand museums, rather than '*a* New Zealand museum'.

Selection of the case studies was done through a purposeful sampling method, rather than through random selection of New Zealand museums. This research discusses only information-rich cases, from which much can be learned about "issues of central importance to the purpose of the research" (Patton 2003, 46; 230). In this case, this means looking solely at museums with centennial exhibitions relating to WWI. At least one well-known museum with high visitation was considered necessary, as the topic revolves around widespread perceptions. Consequentially, the TP was selected. The second case study, the GWE, was included as is also located in New Zealand's capital city, but is smaller and more topic-focused. Ideally, more case studies would have been included, in order to examine exhibitions outside Wellington. However, due to time, financial and word-count restraints, no other museums have been examined. Aside from secondary readings, therefore, the primary sources of data for the thesis came from these two case studies.

As a large and well-known institution with high visitation numbers, TP provides more credible data relating to hegemony than museums of less social influence. Furthermore, it is in

New Zealand's capital city of Wellington, and is the country's national museum. Especially to tourists, TP may therefore be seen as broadly representing New Zealand values and perceptions. A smaller museum has also been included for contrast. Peter Jackson's GWE is housed in the Dominion Museum building, the site of a former national museum which is currently being used to host the GWE (Richardson, 2016, 3). The GWE was selected as a case study of interest, as war here is the primary focus. TP, alternatively, attracts individuals interested in multiple topics due to its wide-ranging exhibitions. The inclusion of one site presenting many topics and another focused solely on WWI also adds some variety to current research, which focuses solely on dark tourism, army or peace museums.

In addition to suitability, the factors that Denscombe (2010, 4) sees as most important to consider when deciding upon a research strategy are feasibility and ethics. By selecting only two New Zealand museums for case studies, and ensuring those exhibition spaces were deemed 'information-rich', collecting narratives at each has proved highly feasible. There were no international locations to visit and the small number of case studies helped to diminish problems relating to time constraints.

Ethically, this style of research design was not likely to cause any harm. To further ensure this, any visitors involved have been assured of confidentiality (Denscombe 2010, 7). They were also all alerted as to the nature of the study and the right of free will regarding their participation. All those involved were required to first give their voluntary and informed consent (Wilkinson 2001, 16). This refers both to visitor participants and the chosen museums. As a further ethical precaution, no visitors under the age of sixteen have been involved in visitor research.

Ideally, this research would investigate a much larger number of New Zealand museums, from both the North and South Islands. It would also include the use of in-depth interviews with both museum staff and visitors from each of these institutions. However, time, costs and word counts made such an ideal highly unfeasible, especially for a 12-month thesis.

## **Data Collection Methods**

### **Thick Description Research**

The methodology used to describe *representations* at each of these locations is largely influenced by the 2011 study of Walby and Piche. Extensive field notes were taken at six

penal museums in Ontario to investigate the polysemy of meanings offered to visitors (Walby and Piche 2011, 456). At each location, they took photographs, wrote up narratives supplied by tour guides and labels and took notes on the space and staff in general. Welch, in 2013 (479), shaped his study with a similar research design, labelling it ‘thick description’ research. It is used here in the same museological context. I have analysed the narratives presented at museums in a way that does not deny the influences of wider context, and have taken into consideration Yin’s call for more than questionnaires alone in context-heavy case study research (Yin 2003, 13).

Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007, 250) particularly recommend the use of thick description when working with a comparative, qualitative research design. They stress the importance of context in meaning, a fact that becomes best understood in the avoidance of narrow focus (Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2007, 250). They conclude that “in qualitative studies involving multiple cases, qualitative researchers must strike a fine balance between obtaining thick description from each case and obtaining comparative description from each comparison” (Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2007, 250). It is therefore confirmed as appropriate to follow in the footsteps of the aforementioned studies, by applying thick research to more than one location when gathering qualitative data.

The thick description method of obtaining qualitative data allows a richness better able to “deal with the intricacies of a situation” (Denscombe 2010, 304). By describing the settings, themes and narratives in great detail when examining New Zealand museums, greater credibility is established than with ‘thin descriptions’, which report facts with little contextual detail (Creswell and Miller 2000, 128). In terms of addressing both the primary and secondary questions of this research, thick description allowed for an overview of commemorative WWI exhibitions, which endeavoured to remain void of opinion. The thick descriptions provide a foundation from which visitor perceptions can then be analysed and any purposeful or unintentional affects reviewed. The vivid detail can also provide readers with a more experiential account that may be easily applied to other settings or similar contexts (Creswell and Miller 2000, 128). This was regarded as beneficial to my research, which aims to inspire reflection amongst museum staff and visitors concerning the existing and potential influence of museums more generally — not just in one establishment.

This research method will specifically serve to generate discussions relating to one of my secondary questions:

*How do New Zealand's centennial exhibitions present the Great War?*

Field notes for this observation method were taken onsite in the form of written notes and photographs. TP and The GWE were contacted for permission before any observations are undertaken. As aforementioned, this use of thick description allowed for in-depth accounts of the exhibition space, providing context for the reader when visitor perceptions are then examined. Denscombe (2010, 208) recommends being non-selective about what is observed, so as much of the exhibition was described as possible. To provide further context, related advertisements or web-content from the museum were also included. Opinions do not feature in the main body of this research section, as the methodology intends only to present to readers neutral facts regarding the exhibitions layout, content and narrative. However, this means ignoring any 'feelings' of the researcher in this section, and so foregoing Denscombe's (2010, 214) recommendation to offer holistic explanations. Denscombe (2010, 87) also stresses the importance of researcher self-reflection, to give readers an account of how personal contexts "might have a bearing on findings". Consequentially, separate summaries including reflexive researcher comments are also included to make clear how researcher perspectives may have influenced the 'neutral' descriptions. Staff and visitors are not observed or described in this thick description process.

### **Accompanied Visits and Questionnaires**

One limitation voiced by Walby and Piche (2011, 456) regarding their case studies is the fact that no interviews were conducted, as respondents' views were not a focus. In order to mitigate similar limitations in my own research, the *interpretations* of visitors were considered by using a mixed method strategy (Denscombe 2010, 6). Yin (2003, 9) explains that it is by no means uncommon to use multiple methods within any one study. After the neutral observation of WWI exhibitions was completed via a thick description approach, therefore, other research methods were used in order to explore:

- *Do visitors perceive the Great War exhibitions as neutral, anti-war, glorifying or as a means of justification? Do such representations align with their own viewpoints?*

- *Did the method of representation influence visitor preconceptions?*

Questionnaires and accompanied visits, rather than structured interviews, were used for this aspect of the research. Accompanied visits allow the fixed and/or transformed opinions of visitors to present themselves organically, and ‘in the moment’ through prompts and conversation. In this case, visitors were given an audio recorder and told to speak aloud any thoughts they had while visiting. This helped mitigate the limitations of forgetfulness or forced thought processes potential in post-visit interviews. The methodology used by Hooper-Greenhill, Moussouri, Hawthorne and Riley, in their 2001 Wolverhampton study, strongly influenced that which is adopted here. It has been described as one which “can be repeated in other research sites with no major modification” (Hooper-Greenhill et al. 2001, 32). However, while the aforementioned researchers accompanied “eighteen single adult visitors” on their visits, this research further takes into account the influences and mentalities surrounding adults visiting in groups of two or more (Hooper-Greenhill et al. 2001, ii). In this case, therefore, they need not be alone.

It was pre-determined that this research would study ten visitors from each of the exhibitions – twenty in all. The transcribed visits meant that including more would most likely be too time consuming, while less would decrease the credibility of concluding comments, due to such a limited representation of visitors. The participant selection process combined a purposive sampling method with convenience sampling to allow for a reasonably balanced sample. When possible, visitors of a certain age or gender were approached in the hopes of achieving as much of an age and gender balance as possible. However, on ‘slow’ research days, visitors tended to be asked on a first-come basis, to ensure visitors from all research days were represented, a method Denscombe (2010, 37) labels convenience sampling.

Participants were asked to “think aloud” along their own pathway through the exhibition – the data being gathered through prompts to talk about what is seen and felt rather than a multitude of specific questions (Hooper-Greenhill et al. 2001, 4). This allowed visitors to more naturally voice their opinion regarding war, morals, the representation of commemorative exhibitions and its relationship to their own views, as well as the level of influence they feel museums do and/or should have. If participants remained silent for long periods of time, or made only vague comments, researcher prompts such as “why do you think that?” and “what are you

thinking about?” were used. This use of prompts to talk aloud, rather than direct questions, meant that no specific thoughts were forced upon the visitor.

Field notes on visitor behaviour and movement have also been recorded, including mentions of: “date and time; length of the visit; route followed and stops made” (Hooper-Greenhill et al. 2001, 4). This sort of accompanied research approach is credited as providing “very rich material” from naturally occurring conversation, though is not commonly used due to the great “input of time and labour both for data collection and for analysis” (Hooper-Greenhill et al. 2001, 28).

Brief questionnaires were also used at each visit’s conclusion, to obtain easily comparable data from each of the participants. Denscombe (2010, 157-169) notes that questionnaires can allow for an easy and economical acquisition of facts (such as demographic information) and opinions (such as those regarding museum representations, roles and affects). Questions here were predominantly demographic in order to record the age, gender, occupation and ethnicity of visitors, as well as the regions they live and were raised. Their reason for visiting, along with brief statements regarding their perception of war and desired role for museums, have also been included to allow for additional evidence in the analysis of their transcripts. Such questions consider the cultural theories that suggest understandings to be influenced by “prior knowledge and experience” (Hooper-Greenhill et al. 2001, 1). Any information not obtained through conversation in the accompanied visit will consequentially not go amiss.

This questionnaire method was very well suited to this study, which intends to determine the extent of influence, if any, that WWI exhibitions have on visitors’ beliefs. The questionnaire methodology also increases the data’s credibility as ensured that certain facts about each of the participants are gathered and in a form more readily comparable than recordings of an entire visit. Questionnaires were completed at the conclusion of each visit, as it was thought that beginning with a questionnaire could negatively influence the opportunity for organic conversation to occur and heighten visitor awareness of the fact they are being studied.

In terms of limitations, non-response bias should be considered. Certain visitors are more likely to participate, meaning it can be, and was, difficult to get a diverse range of museum-goers. This meant that participants were not spread out evenly over all demographic groups. In an attempt to mitigate non-response, research was carried out over an entire week for each



exhibition to allow more time for certain groups. As thanks for those who did participate, chocolate was given to participants upon completion of their visit.

Sampling days and times had to be considered, to avoid too-greatly emphasising certain visitor groups dominating certain days and/or times. To mitigate this, an entire week was used for research, with separate accompanied visits taking place across all days and times. Nevertheless, it transpired that the smaller institution, The GWE, had fewer visitors throughout the week of research than TP, limiting the number and diversity of potential participants. This may have been due to the entrance fee to The GWE and the occurrence of earthquakes right at the start of the GWE research week.

Overall, the main limitation here is the reasonably narrow participant pool. Online surveys alone would be both cheapest and easiest means of obtaining data, but for this study it was more appropriate to conduct research within the exhibition spaces. I wished to obtain immediate reactions people have to the issues presented in museums, so delays between visits and answering the survey would have been detrimental to the study. It should also be noted that participants were most likely unable to voice their thoughts as freely as this research hoped, due to constant awareness of being recorded.

## **Analyses and Recommendations**

### **Data Analysis**

Notes taken from the thick description observations were written up into field notes “as soon as possible after the observation”, to avoid relying too heavily on dubitable memories (Denscombe 2010, 208). As this data for each of the exhibitions is predominantly to provide context evidence, no comparative analysis is necessary. Rather, neutral descriptors and photo evidence will be provided in Chapter Two for each of the exhibitions, prior to the corresponding visitor data for each in chapters three and four.

Yin (2003, 101) recommends creating a case study database, as too often the data is synonymous with the information presented in the final report. This leaves no recourse for those wishing to inspect raw data. As such, even though the final write-up of thick descriptions will “contain enough data that the reader of the report can draw independent conclusions about the case study”, any notes not included will be stored and kept for a later date (Yin 2003, 102).

For each of the locations, a quick overview of the different visitors accompanied is given in this research. This provides further context to the reader before delving into participants' views. Information on participants from each of the exhibitions has been extracted from the questionnaires. The questionnaires allow for comparable, demographic data, giving a quick snapshot of all involved. Time taken by each participant in the exhibition and details of the group size they visited with is also provided for context. Any under or over-represented visitor types at each of the exhibitions can then be easily identified.

For more statistical analysis of this data, a data matrix was created in excel. By assigning numerical values to the demographic data and times spent by visitors, details of participants can be compared both between and within each of the exhibitions. Details such as age were assigned ordinal variables (Gray 2009, 452). Those such as place of origin had to be coded as less specific nominal variables — such as 1 for North Island, 2 for South Island and 3 for overseas (Gray 2009, 451). Again, any data not presented has been stored in case of later examination.

Further data from the accompanied visits, aside from the questionnaires taken at their completion, includes audio recordings and brief notes on visitor paths. These were typed up and organised by visitor and exhibition as soon as is possible. In terms of organisation, all data was divided into two categories – keeping separate the data from each of the exhibitions. This way, clear overviews of each of the exhibitions and their visitors involved were obtained and compared. Likewise, all questionnaires were kept with their corresponding transcripts from the accompanied visit.

After transcribing the audio evidence from the twenty accompanied visits, each transcription was thematically analysed. To avoid including around twenty hours-worth of conversation in the research, common conversational themes were identified throughout all transcriptions. For example, all comments of approval towards the GWE were grouped together, as were identified by the researcher as frequent amongst the ten GWE participants. Comments of approval were then also regarded as frequent throughout the ten TP transcripts, so were similarly grouped together. In this way, common conversational themes relating to each museum could be discussed, and compared. Furthermore, the differing conversational themes addressed by each individual participant could also be examined, to compare differing interpretations between them.

To compare the visitor questionnaires between and within the two case study exhibitions, cross-case synthesis was utilised. Cross-case synthesis is a pattern-matching analysis of multiple cases, which can be done through word tables (Yin 2003, 120; 134). Main points and/or common themes from each of the visitors, within each of the case studies, are displayed in a word table “according to some uniform framework” (Yin 2003, 134). Here, they can be categorised by each question and answer. Conclusions and comparisons can, if condensed into word tables, be more easily made between the two exhibitions that continuously trawling through numerous documents will allow. Yin (2003, 137) warns that this method of analysis will rely “strongly on argumentative interpretation, not numeric tallies”, though this is to be expected from qualitative transcripts. Where possible, such data has also been coded and presented in graph form.

### **Reflexive Analysis and Recommendations**

Finally, a reflexive analysis of the findings is provided by addressing the questions:

*Should museums seek to remain ‘neutral’? Or do such institutions have a duty to teach more than just ‘facts’? If so, to what extent do they possess this ability?*

Particularly in this final section of the research, which analysed the potential use of acquired data and related theories, readers must be given “some insights into the possible influence of the researcher’s self on the interpretation” (Denscombe 2010, 87). Much literature has made clear the need to practice reflexivity, particularly in qualitative research (Blaikie 2009, 53). More-so than in quantitative research, interpretations of qualitative data is “bound up with the ‘self’ of the researcher” (Denscombe 2010, 305). There exists, then, the potential for what is referred to by some researchers as a ‘crisis of representation’ (Elliott 2005, 169). My stance as a researcher is as a result not one of assumed neutrality and detachment from the findings, but rather a reflexive one in which transparency and critical analysis are key. As my analysis relies strongly upon separate ‘narratives’ of the museums, their chosen exhibition and related visitor perceptions, reflexivity is much more crucial than if I were working with statistics. In this way, concluding recommendations for the desired and potential uses of activism in New Zealand museums can be made in a way open to further research and/or debate.

### **Summary**

To gather the information needed to address my primary and secondary questions, accompanied, audio-recorded visits were paired with concluding questionnaires at two case study locations. These exhibition case studies, The GWE and TP's *Gallipoli*, were selected through purposive sampling. Both are centennial WWI exhibitions, and both are in New Zealand's capital city of Wellington. Thick description research at each location allowed for discussions over the representation used at such exhibitions.

Ten participants from each exhibition were included. Selection of participants loosely followed a purposive method, in order to represent a range of demographic groups. However, non-response and the need for twenty participants overall meant that a 'back up' convenience sampling method was used. The qualitative data gathered from the twenty accompanied visits and questionnaires allowed for discussions relating to interpretations of exhibitions. The questionnaires specifically determined whether participants felt the museum influenced their ideologies/moral standards in any way, and whether they think exhibitions should even attempt to have such an influence. In other words, whether they support activism in museums, or would prefer them to stay away from activism and adopt a relatively neutral stance towards any ideological issues.

By transcribing each participant's entire visit, any statements made in the concluding questionnaire can be backed up or refuted, increasing credibility. The questionnaires then increase credibility by ensuring I do not make assumptions based on preconceptions. If visitors are found to in no way notice or agree with the exhibition elements that I believe construct perceptions and values, then I will know not to over-emphasize my own personal opinion. As aforementioned, the use of thick descriptive research also increases credibility.

The sample size, although large with reference to the undertaking and transcribing of each audio-recorded visit, does act as a limitation. Obviously, any themes surrounding centennial WWI representations in New Zealand would be better analysed with the use of more than two case studies. Likewise, data would be more representative of visitors in general if had come from more than ten participants per exhibition. Furthermore, participants' statements throughout will most likely have been influenced by their constant awareness of participating in a study. Although reflexivity will be used to avoid making any bold yet unsupported claims in this research, any concluding statements should be read as representing only a small population sample.

## Chapter Two: Thick Description of Case Studies

Thick description observations of Wellington's WWI exhibitions, The Great War Exhibition and Te Papa's *Gallipoli* are provided in this chapter to determine:

*How do New Zealand's centennial exhibitions present the Great War?*

An unbiased method of observation is attempted here, although the possibility remains that researcher opinions and perceptions have come through in the descriptions. The inclusion of in-depth descriptions in this chapter gives more context to the visitor responses in Chapter Three. All photographs supplied are taken by the researcher, unless stated otherwise.

### The Great War Exhibition

The first exhibition to be researched in this study was the GWE, housed in the Dominion Museum building next to the Pukeahu National War Memorial Park in Wellington, New Zealand. The centennial exhibition opened in April 2015 and will remain open until the 11th November 2018 (Great War Exhibition, 2016). The exhibition's website, [www.greatwarexhibition.nz](http://www.greatwarexhibition.nz) (2016), immediately mentions that: "The Great War Exhibition, created by Sir Peter Jackson, commemorates the role played by New Zealand in the First World War."



Figure 3. The Dominion Museum Building exterior November 2016.

As detailed in the “Visit: Information” section of the website, the exhibition is open daily from 9am-6pm, closed only on Christmas day. Entry for visitors over sixteen is \$15, or \$25 for a 45 minute guided tour. Visitors sixteen and under can enter for free, unless they take part in the tour for \$5 (Great War Exhibition, 2016). There is also an exhibition guidebook available for \$10. The guide is 29 pages long and contains a foreword by Sir Peter Jackson, along with messages from Wade-Brown, Mayor, and Richardson, the author (Richardson 2016, 1).

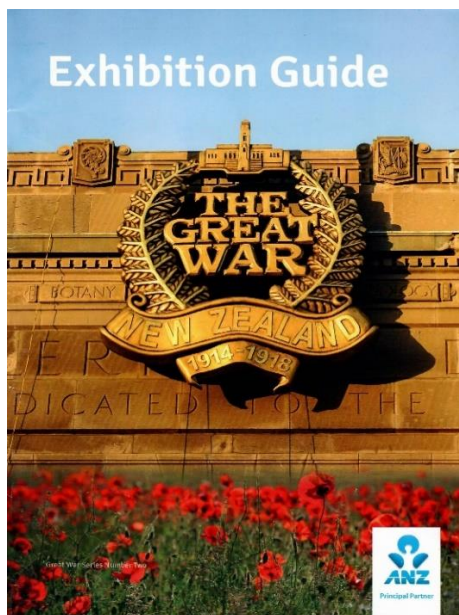


Figure 4. Exhibition Guide (Richardson, 2016).

Visitors to the exhibition may also enter the space “ANZ Presents Gallipoli: The New Zealand Story in Colour”, though this section was not included in the study, as not all participants wanted to see this space as well as the primary exhibition. A café and gift shop are also available. There are no other exhibitions presently in the museum space.

Photographs, descriptions and visitor responses were all obtained from Monday 14th November until Sunday 20th November 2016. Due to an earthquake early on the 14th, the usual flow of visitors may have been altered. Some participants mentioned having to change travel plans, or researching the GWE as a result of TP being closed.

## Belgian Village

The GWE begins through glass doors, in replicated Belgian streets. Without a tour guide or booklet, the Belgian location is not immediately evident. However, it is hinted at with the French language present on peeling posters and shopfront signs. The first of these is a makeshift shoe shop display to the left of the entrance, entitled “Bottier Chaussures”.

The Exhibition Guide by Richardson (2016, 4) explains that “Belgium has been chosen as the opening point of the exhibition because it was in Belgium that the internal conflict became a world war.”



Figure 5. Belgian Village Posters (GWE)

Pre-war Belgium is presented with dim lighting and an ever-present audio loop of birds, horses, church bells, carts, soft chattering and footsteps. In doing so, most senses are targeted, rather than just the visual. The ground has the look and unevenness of a grey cobblestone street. The walls are disguised by quaint shop fronts, wooden doors and second-floor windows lit with a soft yellow light. Even the winding exhibition path is marked by a low stone wall which, along with the ground and walls, is host to fake plants such as ivy.





Figure 6. Belgian Village Entrance (GWE)



Figure 7. Belgian Village Boulangerie (GWE)

The interpretation panels explain in detail the political atmosphere of Europe on the cusp of the First World War. They vary between text with pictures, maps, a tabled timeline of politics by country and their corresponding flags, and back-lit panels including colourised photographs. Specifically, they include: “Queen Victoria and her Grandchildren”, “The Tinder Dry Kindling: Europe tension at breaking point”, “The Fuel: The Schlieffen Plan of



1905”, a timeline entitled “The Fuse is Lit: The Dominoes Tumble”, and a map of “The Allies & Central Powers: with the size of their armies at the start of the war”. None address the setting, although a Belgian flag does hang around the corner from the entrance, above a shop window of cheeses. This beckons visitors towards the next section, ‘1914’.

### **1914: Over by Christmas**

To pass from the Belgian streets into the exhibition’s next section, visitors are immediately confronted with the theme of death and associated loss. A giant War Graves Commission headstone replica serves as an archway, engraved with “1914: Over by Christmas” as “a reminder of the optimism felt on both sides when war broke out in August 1914” (Richardson 2016, 5). The lighting is starker here; the village sounds more distant. The walls consist of blown-up photographs of a graveyard, in which “1914” and “sacrifice” can be seen on the headstones.



Figure 8. 1914 Gravestones (GWE)



Figure 9. 1914: Over By Christmas (GWE)

Through the archway, the flooring loses its cobblestone effect and becomes smooth, although the lighting once again dims. To the right is a Belgian Fort diorama, complete with ammunition stores and soldiers preparing for German invasion (Richardson 2016, 5). There are, however, no labels. The gun cabinet to the left, meanwhile, includes the names of each weapon presented. The next display contains a 1/3 scale model of the 42cm M-Gerate “Big Bertha” Siege Gun, along with a seemingly weathered interpretation panel detailing the history, use and dimensions of such guns. Opposite, a stone wall contains a window hinting at the models placed around the corner. Colourised, back-lit photographs and some framed propaganda posters are also present in the room.



Figure 10. 1914 Rifles and Diorama (GWE)



Figure 11. 1914 Big Bertha (GWE)

The two models represent an officer and young man in an army recruiting office. They are highly detailed and the setting avoids a detached and clinical presentation by immersing the visitor in a room of peeling wallpaper, an old light switch and a curling recruitment poster. The largest poster displayed is framed and urges readers to “Join the brave throng that goes marching along”. The guide book elaborates on high enlistment levels in Britain in 1914, and a similar sense of adventure amongst New Zealanders (Richardson 2016, 7). There are no such facts or interpretation panels in the room itself.



Figure 12. 1914 Recruiting Office (GWE)

The next room is perhaps the busiest, hosting a plethora of models, vehicles and uniforms. The ground is littered with horse shoe imprints and rogue ‘weeds’, and the sense of optimism is again reinforced with an audio loop of men singing marching anthems such as “It’s a long way to Tipperary”. To the right of the room’s entrance is a farewell scene, with the young man shown in the recruitment office being sent off to war by his mother. The models are backgrounded with a colourised photograph showing a departing train of soldiers, along with framed propaganda posters declaring that the “women of Britain say GO!” Next to the models is a display of faceless manikins dressed in WWI uniforms from various countries, although neither the guide book nor the display confirm which countries these are. Opposite, atop a replicated hillside, are model horses and their riders pulling an 18 pounder gun (the description for which is found when exiting this room), and a suspended shorthorn plane with life-sized model pilots. The middle of the room is taken up by a double-decker London bus, painted khaki and decked with model soldiers. This too has a descriptive panel towards its rear. Before exiting this room through a stone archway beneath the ‘hill’, one passes two glassed-off machine guns, shelved one atop the other before a curved photograph of long grass and blue sky. The final artefacts are two bikes with guns attached to them mounted on to the wall.



Figure 13. 1914 Models (GWE)

Within the archway are more posters urging recruits to join and home-stayers to live frugally and sensibly. There is also a large map depicting “The Western Front, 1914”. A glass cabinet cuts through the middle of the room, containing small labels and their associated military-wear. The objects here range from German Pickelhaube to British Soldier’s hobnail boots and puttees. A two-paragraph interpretation panel on early military headwear can be seen at the back of the case.

### **1915: Digging In**

To signify the passage of time, visitors pass beneath a second headstone archway, this time engraved with the words “1915: Digging in”. Directly opposite, in the darkened room, a blown up headline from The Daily Mirror proclaims on May 21<sup>st</sup> 1915 that “Devilry, thy name is Germany! Soldiers, trapped by a gas cloud, lie unconscious in the trenches.” Beneath is a map of “1915 Flanders – Ypres Salient Gas Attack, May 25<sup>th</sup> Line”, a French propaganda poster, a “phrases from the Great War...still in use today” placard, defining the phrase to ‘break new ground’. Underneath is a wooden box entitled ‘chlorine gas’. The box is intended to smell like chlorine gas when opened, although this is quite hard to determine as there are no instructions and the smell appears to have faded. This intention to recreate smells is confirmed in the guidebook, assuring that “the poisonous elements are not present!” (Richardson 2016, 22).

Immediately to the left is a trench replica. Five model soldiers hunch in seemingly bleak conditions, each passing the time their own way. The mannequins are greatly detailed, with their photographs, food, radio, periscope and even pigeons. The only interpretation panel refers to the Lee Enfield Rifle, noting that if British infantry did not accurately fire 15 rounds per minute while training, their pay was docked. Nearby placards define more phrases from the war, like ‘Bangers’ and ‘Wash Out’. The backgrounded noises here consist of the odd gunshot ringing through the room.





Figure 14. 1914 Trench and Display Case (GWE)

Around the corner to the right is a giant piece of artillery labelled the “BL Six Inch Gun.” The history and firing details of such guns is included on an interpretation panel, made to look bent and blood-stained, upon a rough floor marked with debris of wood and stone. Life-sized model soldiers add action to the scene, apparently firing the gun. An empty display case is mounted on the blackened wall behind them, along with various maps, blown-up newspapers, and phrases from the war. There are also various paintings of zeppelins. Opposite is a glass display case of hand grenades, machine gun parts and a cross-sections shrapnel shell from a British 18-pounder. Labels indicate the specific names of each artefact. The flooring in this room is a smoother wood and the lighting softly illuminates the room’s points of ‘attraction’.



Figure 15. 1915 Model Machine Gun (GWE)

Another glass display case cuts through the room, containing a variety of gas masks and brief descriptions of their ‘make’ and use. More cases then show numerous medical artefacts and souvenirs of war. A nurse’s uniform dresses a headless manikin behind the glass, accompanied by an interpretation panel on ‘The Red Cross’ fundraising drives and care facilities. Another label towards the ground declares the uniform to have belonged to a Mary Astley, though then moves on to talk about the fate of her brother.

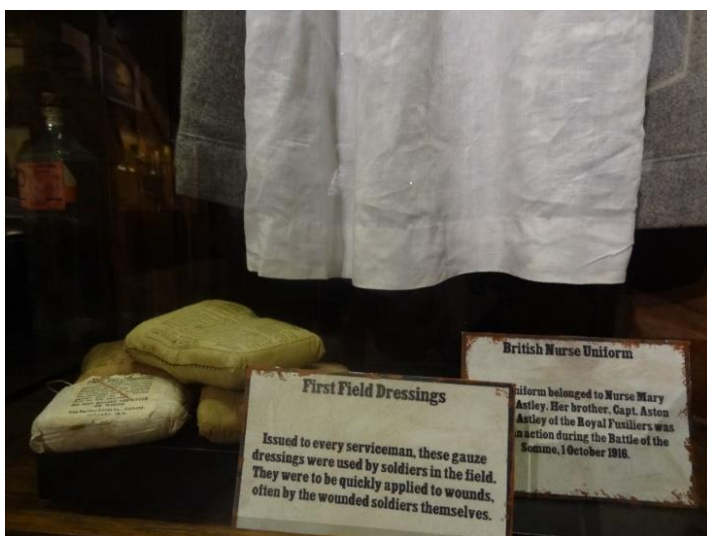


Figure 16. 1915 Medical Display (GWE)





carrying a distressed ‘damsel’ amidst the words: “Destroy this man brute, Enlist”.



Figure 18. 1916 Illusion and Poster (GWE)



Figure 19. 1916 Diorama (GWE)

Backlit, coloured photographs line the walls, such as one of a “Mark I Tank straddling a British trench during the battle of the Somme 25 September 1916”. Propaganda posters and

phrases from the Great War similarly decorate the black walls. Some text is present, creating a timeline, such as the interpretation panel dated March 15<sup>th</sup> 1916 in which “America Strikes Back” (at Mexico). The next, April 1916, “America Divided”, outlines German populations and political attitudes of Americans at the time. This is next to a display depicting “Field Mortar – ‘Minenwerfer’”. The ‘Minnie’ bomb is described in another of the exhibition’s blood-splattered label and shown with life-sized model soldiers, presumably Germans, ducking beneath a mess of barbed wires and rubble to escape a British tank. The scene is enclosed in a low, glass barrier. Further to the left is a label elaborating on WWI tanks.



Figure 20. 1916 MK1 Tank Display (GWE)

Opposite and in contrast to this machinery is a case of homemade trench raid weapons, including clubs and knives. The wall beside it is lined with alternating timeline labels and colourised photographs, focusing on Mexico, Rasputin and tanks. There is also another wooden ‘smell box’, this time holding a faint smell professing to be Phosgene Gas. The floor here suddenly uses glass to expose dry soil scattered with broken bottles, stones and tools. A label explains it to be soil from Longueval and the Somme battlefield. To the right is another glass case, mainly filled with labelled gas masks, and stairs leading around the tank. Here, glass panels show British soldiers inside the aforementioned tank, along with caged pigeons,

and the German soldiers below.



Figure 21. 1916 Trench Clubs (GWE)

### 1917: Muddy Progress

The gravestone to 1917 is titled ‘Muddy Progress’ in reference to “the quagmire at Passchendaele” (Richardson 2016, 19). To the left, a glass case holds an assortment of guns and labelled with their names. Another glass case holds a single model soldier readying himself to fire a gun. The model holds a likeness to that in the recruitment office, but only tour guides confirm this as being intentional. Lining the wall beside and opposite the model is a diorama within a glass case. The diorama shows a stretched out and muddy battlefield, detailed with puddles and tunnels.

The wall is again scattered with phrases from the Great War, blown-up newspaper clippings and framed, coloured photographs. The photographs show trenches, soldiers (often from New Zealand), machinery, horses and a soldier buying cakes from a local woman. Along the floor is another glass panel, this time baring soil from the Messines Battlefield. A case of camouflage helmets stand beside it.

Dazzle camouflage is present throughout the rest of the room. The bright colours are explained in the guide book as disrupting an object’s shape and providing “that same level of shape disruption on black and white photographs”, making “a target’s range, speed and direction” harder to estimate (Richardson 2016, 22). This is not explained in the room. The label for “Howitzer”, coloured brightly, focuses more on the weapon’s firing details. Also

enclosed are three small, black model soldiers holding paint pots and two coloured photographs exemplifying dazzle camouflage.

Along with more photographs of camouflage use on the surrounding walls is a large photograph labelled: “A haka opens the New Zealand Divisional Boxing Championship, Doulieu, France, July 1917.” Beneath it is a camouflaged sign reading: “A Dazzling War, Disruptive Pattern Camouflage”. Above; the wings of a camouflaged aircraft. In addition to camouflage photographs, the opposite wall holds two photographs of the muddy battle conditions and a label labelled “Feb 1 1917, U-Boats Resume Hunting”.

A model of a dazzle-camouflaged Bruno Railway Gun takes up a large amount of the ground space, in addition to more glassed-off soil on the floor, this time from Passchendaele. The gun’s label describes the original gun it has been modelled off, making clear it is a 1/3 scale model. There is also a smell-box labelled ‘Mustard Gas’. Near the exit are propaganda posters: one appearing to show a uniformed woman beckoning viewers to join the marines, a large map and a model soldier in a narrow glass case. The soldier is identified in the guide book as American, indicative of “America’s declaration of war on Germany on 6<sup>th</sup> April 1917” (Richardson 2016, 23).



Figure 22. 1917 Bruno Railway Gun (GWE)



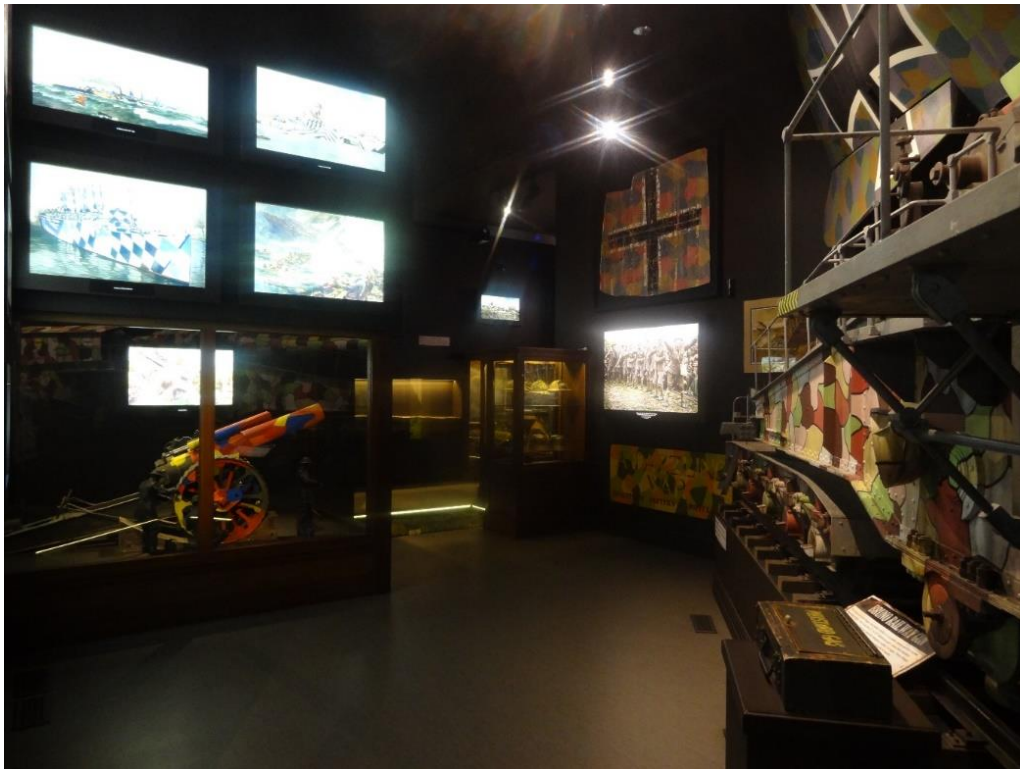


Figure 23. 1917 Dazzle Camouflage (GWE)

### **1918: Last Man Standing**

The last headstone, “1918: Last man standing” leads to a room displaying numerous photographs. The room is broken up by a series of free-standing black walls. The general pattern is one colourised, backlit and titled photograph per wall, grouped in threes to resemble three sides of a square. Richardson (2016, 19) writes that Peter Jackson’s decision to use digitally colourised photographs came from a wish to show the war as the troops saw it, and to bring “a sense of immediacy to the Exhibition”.



Figure 24. 1918 Colourised Photographs (GWE)

Some photographs do not have labels, although these may be due to a backlighting error. Most photographs show soldiers in various conditions and situations, from a variety of countries. The scenes range from smiling troops to near-missed explosions and even scenes of death. New Zealanders are more present in these photographs than any other country. In some cases the photograph's provider and/or funder is also included. War phrases are also along the walls.

Upon entering, three life-sized models can be seen behind a glass case, made to look like gas-masked soldiers running forwards, grenades in hand. At the far side of the room, a glass fence shields a scene of injury: one soldier alone amidst rubble, clutching a bleeding arm. At this point the sound of birds becomes evident. This audio accompanies the exhibition's model display of a young boy and his seated grandfather amongst poppies, grass and four gravestones. The graveyard scene's background includes the propaganda poster from earlier: "Join the Brave Throng that goes Marching Along", contrastingly merged with the painting 'Gassed', depicting "the aftermath of a mustard gas attack" in 1918. (Richardson 2016, 25). The guidebook here is outdated, as it shows only one grave, that of the Unknown Soldier. A donation box for poppies and a bench beneath fake trees are provided for visitors. Tour guides again will explain that both this elderly man and the injured soldier are part of the recruited-soldier's story, tying the various scenes throughout the 'years' together. This is not stated in either the exhibition or its guidebook.



Figure 25. 1918 Graveyard Display (GWE)



Figure 26. 1918 Donation Poppies (GWE)

Immediately before exiting the main exhibition area through glass doors, visitors walk into a small, white-walled area with bench seating. Signs table up “Deaths in the Great War”, photographs show a lone soldier by a cross and maps compare Europe and the Middle East in 1914 and 1919.

## Summary

The GWE has been described in as unbiased a way as possible, in order to provide an overview of the representation, void of any opinions. However, reflexivity calls for wariness regarding such claims. Descriptions are most likely influenced by my own perceptions and interests. As not all artefacts and exhibition elements could feasibly be written down here, it is also likely that this overview is influenced by whatever I as a researcher noticed and was drawn to. For the sake of transparency my own interpretations will here, briefly, be made known. From a personal point of view, the GWE seems largely focused on visual aesthetics, using models and artefacts to tell a story, rather than narratives. The story presented is of all WWI soldiers, not one 'side' or country, and it is predominantly depicted through a timeline of artefacts and dioramas. It uses numerous sensory elements, such as audio soundtracks, varied lighting and attempted smell-boxes. However, the visitor is more a viewer than an engager, there being few interactive elements. Explanations regarding artefacts and context is scarce in places, though this can be mitigated by purchasing a tour guide or guidebook. Unlike aforementioned peace museums, such as Ypres/Ieper's In Flanders Fields Museum, there does not seem to be any attempt at presenting a strong moral message. Nor does the GWE actively attempt to justify the actions of any one group, as Mitter (2000) explains the Beijing War of Resistance Museum as doing.



## Te Papa Tongarewa: Gallipoli

The other exhibition researched in this study was TP's *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War* exhibition, also in Wellington, New Zealand. TP's website, [www.tepapa.govt.nz](http://www.tepapa.govt.nz), explains in the "Exhibitions – Gallipoli scale of our war" section that this centennial exhibition opened in April 2015 and will remain open until April 2019.

Like most exhibitions within TP, entry is free and can be visited 10am-6pm daily, except on Christmas Day (Te Papa, 2016). Elsewhere in the museum visitors can explore a variety of exhibitions, most pertaining to New Zealand's natural and social history. There are also two gift shops and two cafes. All photographs are taken by the author, unless stated otherwise.



Figure 27. Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War Exhibition Entrance (TP)

There is a website dedicated solely to Gallipoli: The scale of our war, in addition to information on the main TP website. This website, [Gallipoli.tepapa.govt.nz](http://Gallipoli.tepapa.govt.nz) (2016), declares in the "about" section that: "To mark the World War I centenary, Te Papa has joined forces with Weta Workshop to create an exhibition like no other." This website provides information on the images, stories and artefacts on display at the exhibition.

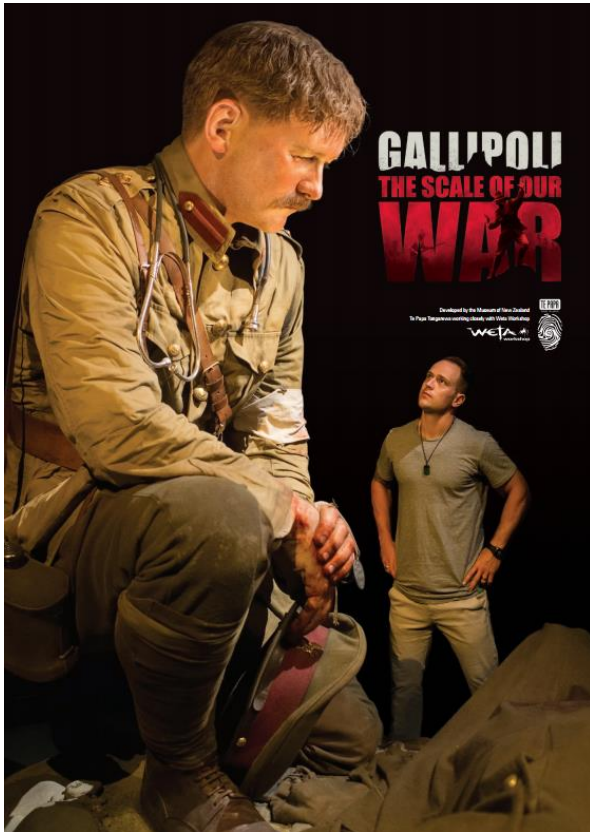


Figure 28. TP and Weta Workshop, *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War*. Official Poster, 2015.

Photographs, descriptions and visitor responses were all obtained from Monday 5<sup>th</sup> December until Sunday 11<sup>th</sup> December 2016. Participants were approached while lining up to the specific exhibition entrance, rather than at the museum entrance. Visitors on all days within this study had to line up to enter ‘Gallipoli’, despite there not being lines for any of the other exhibitions. The length of these lines greatly varied throughout each day.



Figure 29. Gallipoli Exhibition Map (TP)

### The Great Adventure

The first sight upon entering the Gallipoli exhibition is a larger-than-life model depicting a Lieutenant Spencer Westmacott. He half lies across a stony terrain and the facial expression implies he is shouting. His handheld gun points straight towards the entrance, and the room's lighting is dim. Background music plays at a noticeable volume, alongside a recording of a male reading the Lieutenant's words, as though spoken directly by him. The words also make a visual appearance, illuminating the black wall. After walking around the model, visitors reach wall text elaborating on Lieutenant Spencer Westmacott. They then enter a larger, less dimly-lit room. Poppies with dates in red and white text create a path on the floor; a timeline to walk upon. The first, for example, reads: Day 1, 25 April, Landing at Anzac Cove. Red crosses are scattered on the floor around it, varying in quantities depending on the number of soldiers who died on that date. Numerous information panels line the walls, along with various black and white photographs. Most wall text is written in both Māori and English.

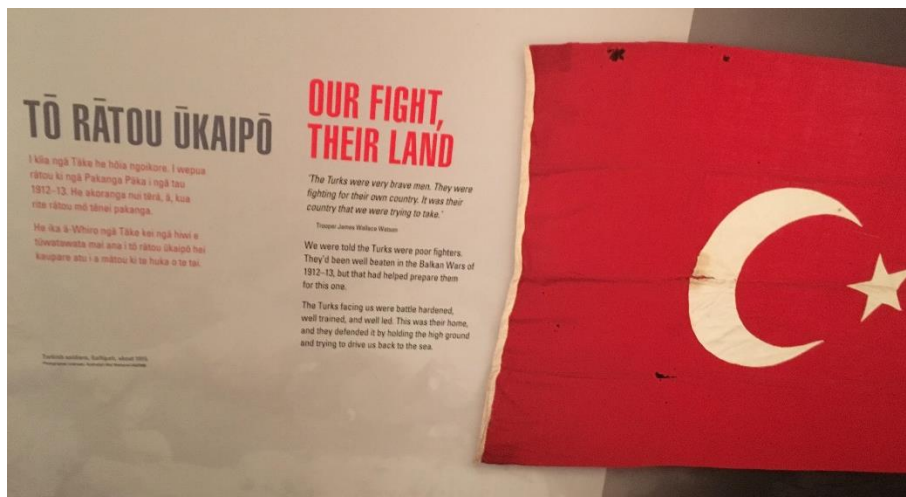


Figure 30. 'The Great Adventure' Bilingual Wall Text (TP)

Some quotes are written in a larger text, such as the Lieutenant's quote by the entrance: "So ended the most glorious day of my life." Free-standing and in-wall glass cases hold artefacts, all of which have descriptive labels linking them to a certain function, time, place and/or person. There are also interactive screens, one allowing visitors to read more about the Lieutenant. In front of a coloured mural of Anzac Cove to the left of the entrance is a wire-manikin, exhibiting a cutaway view of what soldiers would have been wearing. An interactive 3D map opposite the entrance uses coloured 'blobs' and an audio loop to recount details of battle – red for Turks and blue for Anzacs. White text also emerges in the 'water', making statements such as: "The Turks attack all along Second Ridge."



Figure 31. 'The Great Adventure' Quote Lieutenant-Colonel William Malone (TP)

Along with another timeline, pull-out maps, screens showing black and white videos from the time and information on, for example, recruitment, more New Zealand soldiers are introduced on the walls, often with a picture, replica of their battalion's badge and quote. One such man is Lieutenant Thomas (Hāmi) Grace. All is from the 'Anzac' point of view.

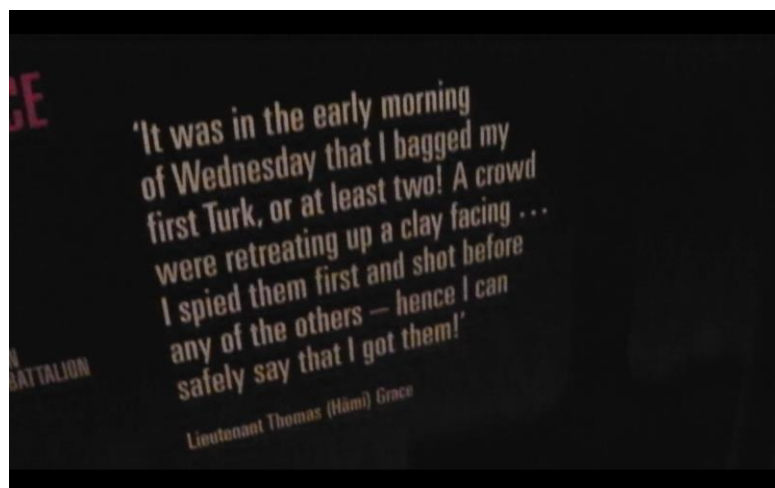


Figure 32. 'The Great Adventure' Quote Lieutenant Thomas (Hāmi) Grace (TP)

When describing the training of 'schoolboy soldiers', a quote from the Anti Militarist League and National Peace Council shows a different point of view: "We women, whose mission is peace and love, must speak out... Turn back this tide of barbarism!" There are also interactive elements that let visitors listen to veterans speaking. It is not until near the end of this room when the break out of war is described that a quote from Private Cecil Malthus explains the room's title: "the great adventure began." Material covering the wall closest to the room's exit is occasionally decorated with illuminated quotes. Beneath is a Turkish flag, map and some shorter quotes on the Turks, such as one admitting there "were very brave men" and "it was their country we were trying to take." Also included are early argument "for the Māori right to fight".

### Order from Chaos

Upon entering the section 'Order from Chaos', visitors are met by another oversized model, this time of Lieutenant Colonel Percival Fenwick – a doctor. He is depicted kneeling beside a wounded soldier. An audio loop provides extracts from Fenwick's diary, read out as though by him. Phrases such as "perhaps it will someday be known as Bloody Beach Bay" are illuminated on the wall in cursive writing alongside the male voice reading them out. The music here is slower and softer than in the first room.



After this darkened room again comes a wider, lighter one. The first text panels and interactive screen give more information on Percival Fenwick, one of the first doctors ashore. There is a focus on casualties and all photographs are in black and white. The Turkish dead are noted as well as the Anzacs, a quote from Fenwick describing: “The Turkish dead lay so thick...swollen, black, hideous, and over all a nauseating stench that nearly made one vomit.”

Glass cases include, for example, a Turkish bugle collected by Percival Fenwick. The first date on a continuing floor-timeline is Day 26, 20 May. To the left of the entrance, a 3D screen shows Fenwick’s photographs of a burial truce, warning that images may disturb some viewers. Seating is provided.

In the middle of the room, display cases contain and elaborate upon both medical equipment and shells/weaponry. To the right of the entrance, a large panel presents a small biography on Lieutenant Colonel William Malone. A replicated metal badge is shown depicting Mount Taranaki, but labelled ‘Wellington Infantry Battalion’. Others, such as Lieutenant Thomas (Hāmi) Grace have similar but smaller biographies, with badges and black and white photographs included. Information is also provided more generally on the role of snipers.

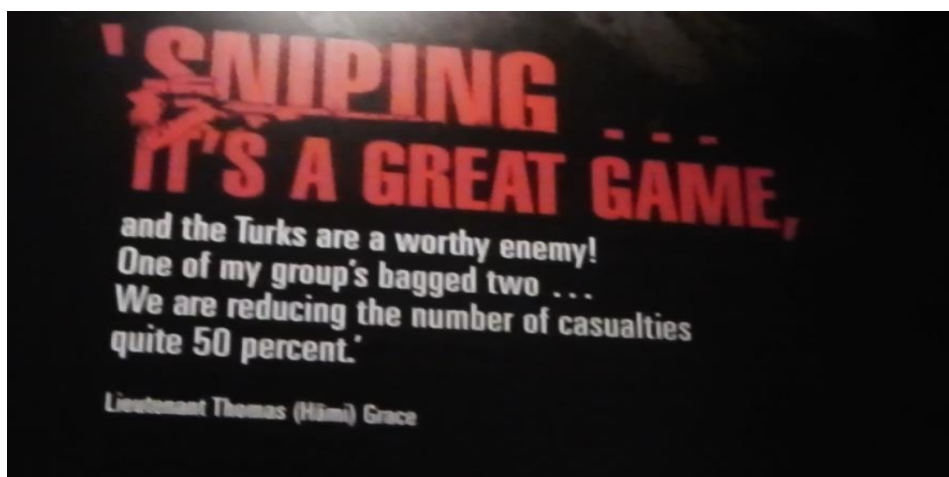


Figure 33. 'Order from Chaos' Quote Lieutenant Thomas (Hāmi) Grace (TP)

Glass cases built into the left-hand wall display artillery shell fragments, and offer relevant descriptions beneath the title: ‘Thousands of men were dying around us. Here’s what did the damage.’ A large screen beside them allows visitors to visually see the effect certain weapons had on the human body, as shown by a virtual, skeletal figure.

To the right, a large trench diorama is encased in glass. There is a high amount of detail

concerning the miniature soldiers, the dusty terrain and the shelter terraces. A text panel identifies the scene as Quinn's Post, an exposed area distanced merely a grenade-throw from the Turkish side. Different areas and their uses are identified on an interpretation panel. Wall panels then go into further detail regarding Quinn's Post and a Private Ormond Burton of the New Zealand field ambulance. Before exiting the room, visitors can peer through a periscope rifle, as though they were a sniper at Quinn's Post.

### **Stalemate**

The 'stalemate' section begins with a dark room and oversized model depicting Private Jack Dunn. Words of his are read out, as though by him, and his phrases illuminate the wall. He sits alone, eating a fly-ridden tin of meat.



Figure 34. 'Stalemate' Private Jack Dunn (TP)

Once through into a lighter room, visitors can read wall panels or use an interactive screen to find out more about his story. Dunn had been sentenced to death after falling into a pneumonia-induced sleep at his post, though was luckily excused from this sentence. The first

date on the continuing timeline path reads: Day 71, 4 July. Before turning to text panels, the walls are made to look like stone.

The immediate section of the room has a focus on soldiers' conditions. Visitors can, to the left of the entrance, pull out boxes to see the type of food eaten, pretend to write a highly censored letter home and see an example of a latrine used at Anzac Cove in 1915. There is also a black and white video reel showing photographs directly to the left of the entrance. Slow music continues from the previous rooms to this one. Display cases contain personal items, such as "small pleasures" including pipes and cigarette cases. As usual, their material, date of use and owners are listed.

NOTHING is to be written on this side except the date and signature of the sender. Sentences not required may be erased. If anything else is added the post card will be destroyed.

---

*I am quite well.*

*I have been admitted into hospital*

{ sick } and am going on well.

{ wounded } and hope to be discharged soon.

*I am being sent down to the base.*

*I have received your* { letter dated \_\_\_\_\_

{ telegram „ \_\_\_\_\_

{ parcel „ \_\_\_\_\_

*Letter follows at first opportunity.*

*I have received no letter from you*

{ lately

{ for a long time

Signature }  
Only. }

Date \_\_\_\_\_

(Postage must be prepaid on any letter or post card addressed to the sender of this card)

Figure 35. 'Stalemate' Postcard Interactive (TP)

Other text panels talk about disease and continue to introduce more soldiers and their stories. One also shows on a map where the Māori Contingent had come from, depicting which tribes were for or against sending soldiers. As in the other rooms, alternate between black and white photographs and coloured paintings, or murals. The main colour scheme is quite dark, with an emphasis on black, white and red.





Figure 36. 'Stalemate' Trench Information (TP)

Around a corner to the right, a free-standing glass case displays shovels and describes the need to dig tunnels in the trenches. There is also a wall lined with four different hats, which visitors can try on. The descriptive wall panel adds that visitors can take a selfie to share on provided social media sites, using the hashtag #Gallipoli. Small mirrors made to look like dog tags also line the walls. More hats are shown above in glass casing. Wall panels talk about the “ragtag army” coated with sunburn.



Figure 37. 'Stalemate' Hats (TP)

An interactive screen allows visitors to learn more about the different badges seen alongside mini-biographies of the soldiers, such as what the symbols meant and which applied to each unit. There is also an option to “build a badge”. A text panel beside, labelled “Brothers in arms” provides further detail and a glass case provides examples of the actual badges and their makers. The far corner of the room has been set up to look like Lieutenant Colonel William Malone’s dugout, which visitors can sit in and listen to an audio loop reading the letters he wrote to his wife. Copies of the letters are also provided if people want to read along. Photographs are also included.

As visitors walk further around the corner to the end of the room, the text panels start to talk of new recruits, rum rations, plans to break the stalemate and, eventually, “the night before the big attack”. Two rifles in glass cases mark each side of the narrowing room. Audio extracts of Te Wainohu’s sermon and the rumble of explosions greet visitors as they then walk through a dark, tunnel-like pathway with a vibrating floor. Screens on the right wall add to the immersion, as colour videos depict soldiers further along the trench sitting, running and shouting before getting caught up in the explosives. Once out, an audio recording of the Haka increases in volume, quotes on the wall emphasise the movement into battle and an encased bible accompanies a story of Private Hone Tahitahi, whose life was saved when it stopped a Turkish bullet.

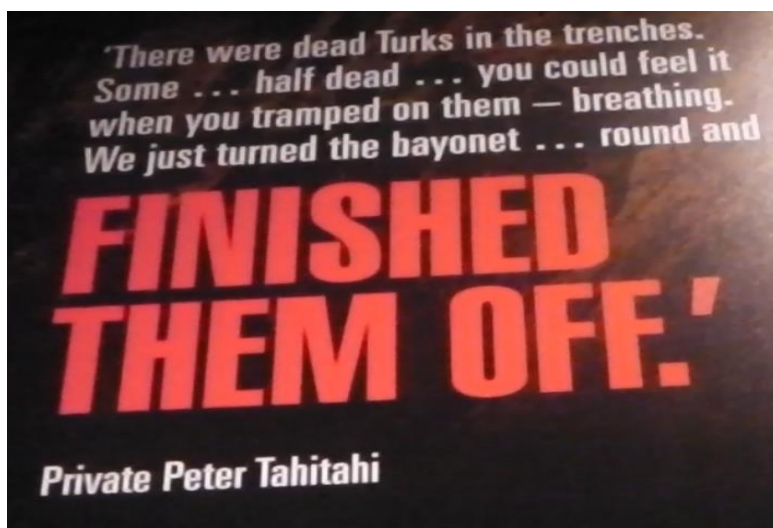


Figure 38. 'Stalemate' Quote Private Peter Tahitahi (TP)

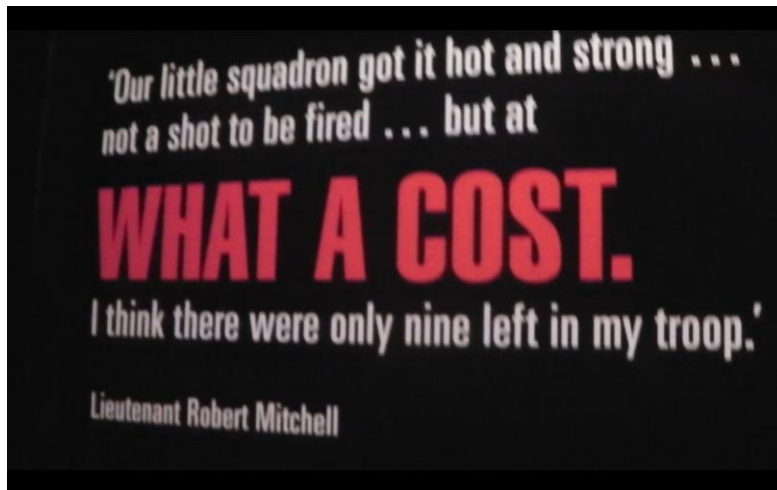


Figure 39. 'Stalemate' Quote Lieutenant Robert Mitchell (TP)

### **Chunuk Bair**

The next room of models depicts Private Colin Warden, Private Friday Hawkins and Private Rikihana Carkeek. Friday Hawkins of the Maori Contingent Machine-Gun section is shown manning a machine gun alongside Rikihana Carkeek, their commander Colin Warden lying fatally wounded beside them. The audio track accompanying the voice-over is drum-heavy, mingled with recreated battle-sounds and men shouting.



Figure 40. 'Chunuk Bair' Private Colin Warden, Private Friday Hawkins and Private Rikihana Carkeek (TP)

Short biographies of these men and their experience at Chunuk Bair is provided on text panels and an interactive screen upon entering the next room. Some of their belongings, such as binoculars which Warden had taken from a Turkish soldier, are displayed in labelled glass cases. Timelines are shown on both the wall panels and floor, the floor version beginning with “Day 104-108, 6-10 August, Battle for Chunuk Bair”. Many red crosses are scattered around this text.



Figure 41. 'Chunuk Bair' Timeline and Wall Text (TP)

The entire right wall is covered with text panels in black, white and red, along with black and white photographs and small murals in dim colours. One of these uses a quote from Captain John Hastings to announce the death of Colonel Malone. To the left is an information panel on Morse code which teaches the alphabet and gives instructions on how to “send an urgent message in Morse Code!” Again, visitors may also use headphones to listen to relevant veteran’s stories. As with the first room, a 3D map makes use of technology to show the movement of troops in different coloured ‘blobs’ across the landscape, and white text accompanied by an audio loop explain these movements and the dates they occurred in greater detail.



Figure 42. 'Chunuk Bair' 3D Map (TP)

Around a corner to the right is a large glass case containing a machine gun. A label titled “Wall of Death” describes generally how “you create a wall of death” through skilful positioning of the gun, detailing the mechanics of such a gun and the fact that “four men were killed while firing this gun.” Further along in the same display is “captured gun”. The text panel explained that “our boys captured this German machine gun”, which was more modern than those used by the Anzacs.





Figure 43. 'Chunuk Bair' Machine Gun Display and Mural (TP)

A large, coloured mural depicting the Anzacs in battle at Chunuk Bair spans the left hand wall. Before exiting the room, wall panels use small bibliographies and black and white photographs to outline a small sample of those Anzacs who died at Chunuk Bair. William Malone's biography is accompanied by a memorial plaque sent to his family after the war.



Figure 44. TP, *See-Saw Battle*. Mural Image taken from the Exhibition Website, 2016.

## Saying Goodbye

Before entering the darkened room containing a large model of Sister Lottie (Charlotte) Le Gallais, a nurse, the music becomes much softer and blue lighting washes slowly over the floor, like waves. She is depicted as crying while reading a letter and a female voice reading her words explains that she has just been made aware, through returned post, of her brother Leddie's death. As with all the other rooms of models, bar the first, black benches line the walls to provide seating.



Figure 45. 'Saying Goodbye' Sister Charlotte Le Gallais (TP)

The next room first lets visitors read "Lottie's story" of being a nurse aboard a hospital ship. The ceiling is covered in white, draping material and the centre of the room is taken up by a diorama of the hospital ship *Maheno*. One side shows the outside, the other a cut-away view of the inside. Behind it, to the left, a display shows a moving contraption, the 'drip rifle', where water was used to create self-firing rifles. This would trick Turkish soldiers into thinking trenches were fully manned while men, in fact, evacuated. A coloured wall mural

close to the exit depicts the evacuation in action.

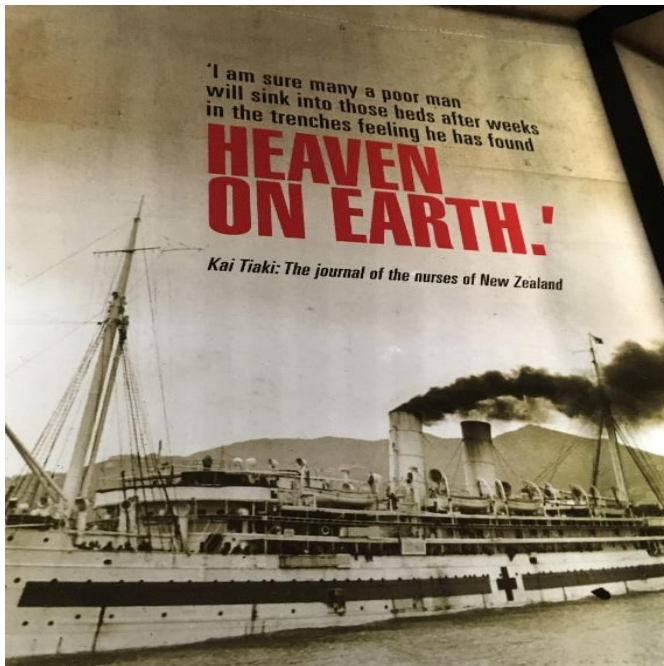


Figure 46. 'Saying Goodbye' Quote Kai Tiaki: The journal of the nurses of New Zealand (TP)

Information panels, again, line the walls, explaining the evacuation process, the mixed feelings of relief and failure amongst the Anzacs and the hospital ship's role. Information and artefacts relating to Nurse Lottie are also included throughout.

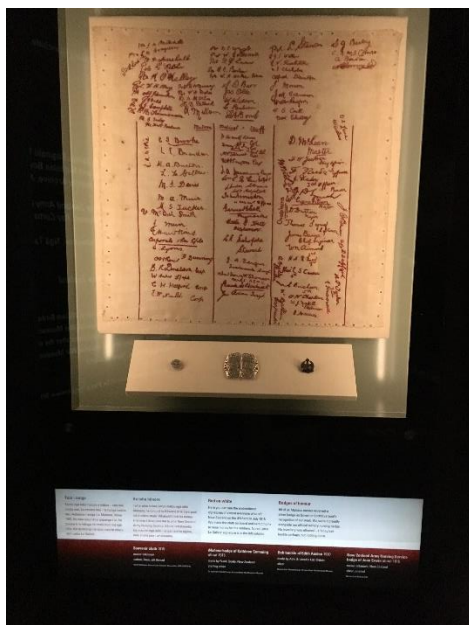


Figure 47. 'Saying Goodbye' Maheno Nurses' Embroidery (TP)



To the far right of the entrance, a large screen displays a loop of black and white photographs. A glass case containing soldier's belongings explains how men would make sure their friend's belongings were taken home to their families. Before leaving the room, visitors walk along a list numbering those killed at Gallipoli. Beside it, a large statue of a poppy contains many small paper ones, which can be picked up by visitors if they so choose. While the soft music continues in this room, the occasional sound of a distant explosion can be heard.

### Western Front

Before exiting the exhibition, visitors are given the option of writing on a paper poppy, which can then be left around the darkened corner, at the foot of a large model depicting Sergeant Cecil Malthus. As usual, a corresponding account is spoken as though by the man the model is depicting, with phrases also illuminating the black walls. After walking around the model on a ramp, visitors can use an interactive screen to discover more about Sergeant Cecil Malthus. The final room before a gift shop allows people to sit down and/or use a screen to discover extra information about the war and exhibition. In respect of Māori customs, visitors can use water provided at the exit to cleanse themselves of the exhibition topic's "*tapu* of death" (Sullivan 2012, 12).



Figure 48. 'Western Front' Paper Poppies (TP)



Figure 49. 'Western Front' Sergeant Cecil Malthus (TP)

### Summary

Here, once again, an attempt has been made to describe TP's *Gallipoli* exhibition in as unbiased a manner as possible. The elements selected to be included, as well as descriptions of them, will however undoubtedly vary between researchers. Therefore, I shall again make clear my own interpretations as a researcher.

The TP exhibition makes clear from the outset that it will focus on the Anzacs at Gallipoli, and does so. There is little mention of other soldiers involved. The exhibition's story is told predominantly through the narratives of individual Anzacs, using artefacts alongside. There is also a strong emphasis on emotion, using music, narratives, models and audio loops to immerse visitors in certain stories. There is also a strong emphasis on interactive engagement throughout. While emotive emphasis on respect for the Anzac experience is strong, there are no explicit moral messages presented. In other words, it is not engaging in activism.

The two exhibitions can be compared, though such comparisons are predominantly the researcher's personal opinions, and should be read so. Most simply, the GWE has an emphasis on artefacts; TP's Gallipoli on personal narratives. Both use multi-sensory methods and highly detailed models to immerse the visitor in their stories, though TP has more focus on interactive elements. Furthermore, the GWE lays out a condensed timeline of WWI as a whole, while TP has a much narrower focus of the Anzacs at Gallipoli.

Institutional context is also influential. The Gallipoli exhibition at TP is free to enter, and can be visited alongside other exhibitions on a wide variety of topics. It is also the national museum of New Zealand. The GWE in the Dominion Museum building, however, is accredited as being created by Sir Peter Jackson, and requires an entry fee. For more context throughout the exhibition, a tour guide or booklet are recommended, and can be purchased for an additional fee. There are presently no exhibitions housed with the GWE that are unrelated to WWI. Therefore, visitors to the GWE are most likely representative of a smaller population sample than those going to TP. Their interpretations will be discussed in the next chapter.

## Chapter Three: Visitor Responses

Ten visitors from each of the two exhibitions partook in an accompanied visit, followed by a questionnaire. Data gathered from these participants will be observed here to determine:

- *Do visitors perceive the World War One exhibitions as neutral, anti-war, glorifying or as a means of justification? Do such representations align with their own viewpoints?*
- *Did the method of representation influence visitor preconceptions?*

### The Great War Exhibition Visitor Responses

As reiterated throughout the Chapter One, it is a common consensus amongst museologists and criminologists that audience interpretations to exhibitions and the media will vary depending on contextual factors pertaining to each individual. The accompanied visits and questionnaires undergone at the GWE supported this theory. Despite all seeing the same exhibition, in the same week, the ten participants each interacted and responded differently. First, demographic data from the questionnaires is presented here to give an overview of all participants. Next, transcripts from their accompanied visits are thematically analysed, followed by an overview of their answers to the questionnaire's topic-focused questions. Finally, an overall analysis of responses is provided.

#### Who were they?

In total, six female and four male visitors participated. Only five of the ten were raised in New Zealand, although a total of eight now reside here. The most common age group was 22-30, encompassing 6 participants. Two were 31-40, one was between 41-50 and the final one 61-70. Table 1 below outlines all demographic questionnaire data gathered for each participant. Pseudonyms have been used to allow participant anonymity and all information besides gender and age is in the participant's own words.

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Region Live In</b>	<b>Region Raised in</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
<b>Jieun</b>	F	22- 30	Auckland	New Zealand	Korean	Student
<b>Amanda</b>	F	31- 40	Wellington	NZ	Pakeha	Student/ Researcher
<b>Diane</b>	F	61- 70	Idaho (US)	Idaho	Caucasian	Social worker
<b>Nadia</b>	F	22- 30	Wellington	NZ/Tasman	NZ/ European	Student
<b>Emily</b>	F	31- 40	Wellington	USA - Midwest	Mix-race and religion	Student (current)
<b>Andrew</b>	M	22- 30	Wellington	USA	White	Student
<b>Fiona</b>	F	22- 30	Wellington	New Zealand	Kiwi	Investment Accountant
<b>Michael</b>	M	41- 50	Canada	Canada	Caucasian	Transportation
<b>Keith</b>	M	22- 30	Wellington	Australia	Anglo- Australian	Student
<b>Richard</b>	M	22- 30	Wellington	Taranaki	NZ European	Skilled trade

Table 1. GWE Participant Demographics

Seven of the ten participants in Table 1 stated “Interest” as their reason for visiting. Diane visited to “learn more about WW1”, Emily to “remind myself why I hate war exhibitions” and Fiona explained: “Due to the earthquakes earlier in the week I didn’t need to go into the office so I thought I’d check it out. I’ve always wanted to come to it also.”

Figure 50 below lays out the different times taken for each participant to view the exhibition. Times were taken from the recordings of accompanied visits, so do not include questionnaire time. Jieun took the least amount of time, at 36 minutes and 29 seconds, while Nadia took the longest at 1 hour, 17 minutes and 26 seconds. Participants with equal visiting times signify those who went round together, where both wished to participate.

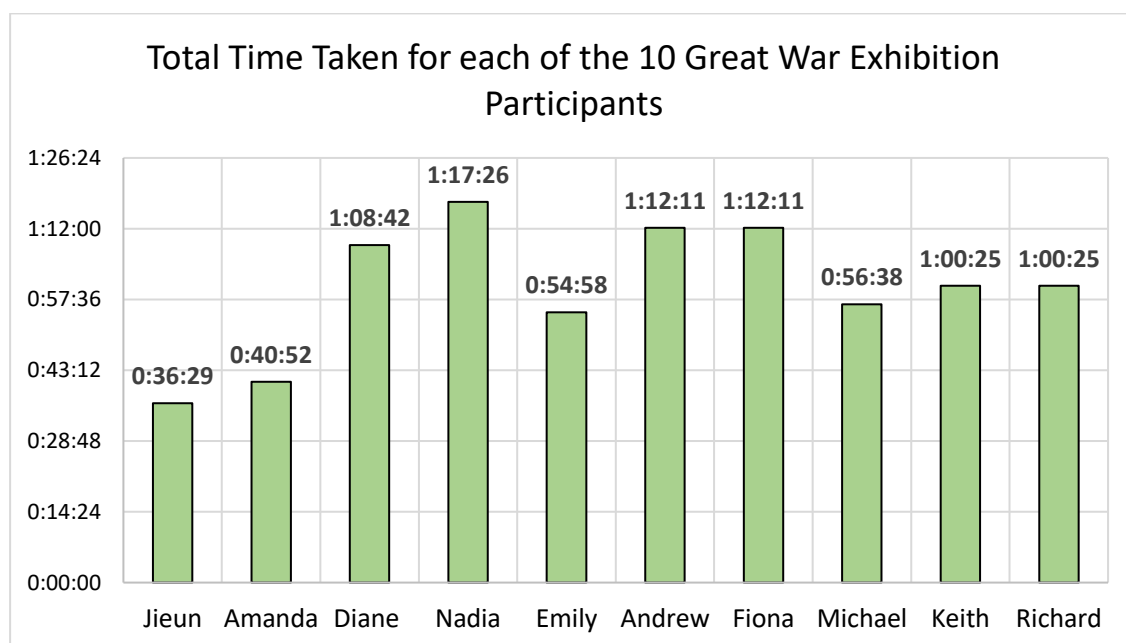


Figure 50. Time Taken for GWE Participants

### Themes

Common themes do exist amongst the participants. As such, transcripts from the accompanied visits can be largely broken up into nine conversational categories relevant to the research topic. These are: Criticisms, comments of approval, the acquisition of a new fact, visitors supplying their own fact, comparing exhibition elements to something else, describing something as tragic or morally wrong, describing something as creepy or scary, declarations of confusion and, finally, comments concerning ‘real’ artefacts versus replicas. Figure 51 below outlines the number of participants whose spoken thoughts fell into each category. For

example, the most common theme was that of approval, with all ten participants at some point complimenting an aspect of the exhibition.

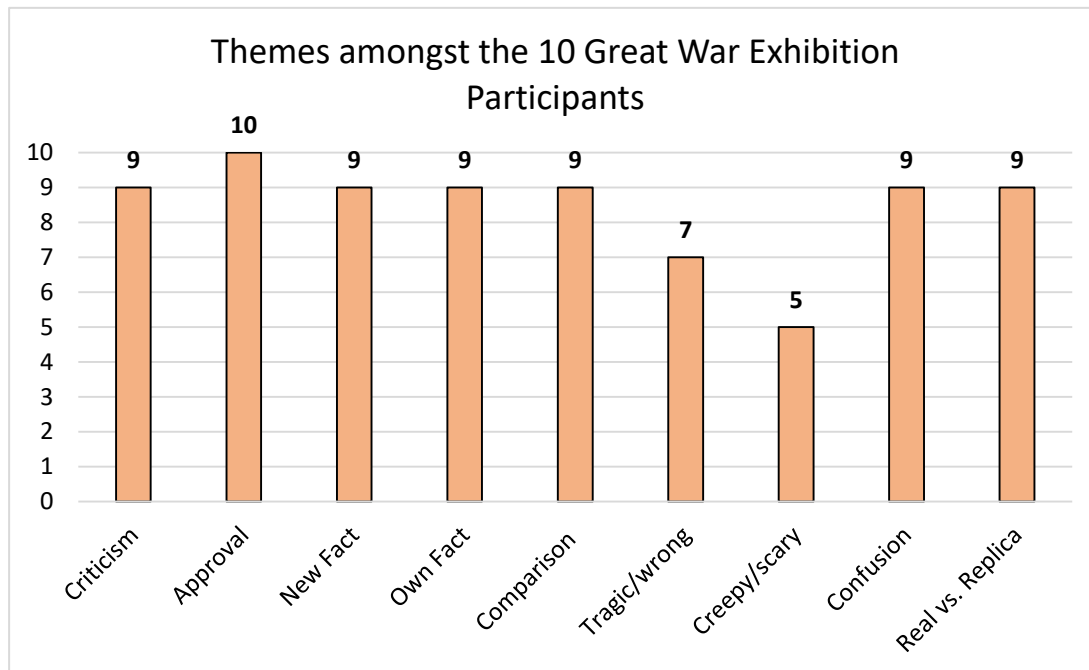


Figure 51. GWE Themes

Figure 52 then outlines exactly which themes each participant used. For example, Participant Three, Diane, only used three of the conversational themes: approval, learning a new fact and commenting upon the tragic nature of war. It also shows the popularity of approving comments amongst participants, as all possess the blue square representing the approval conversational theme. Yet to better understand the similarities and differences within these conversational themes, participant transcripts must be further elaborated upon.

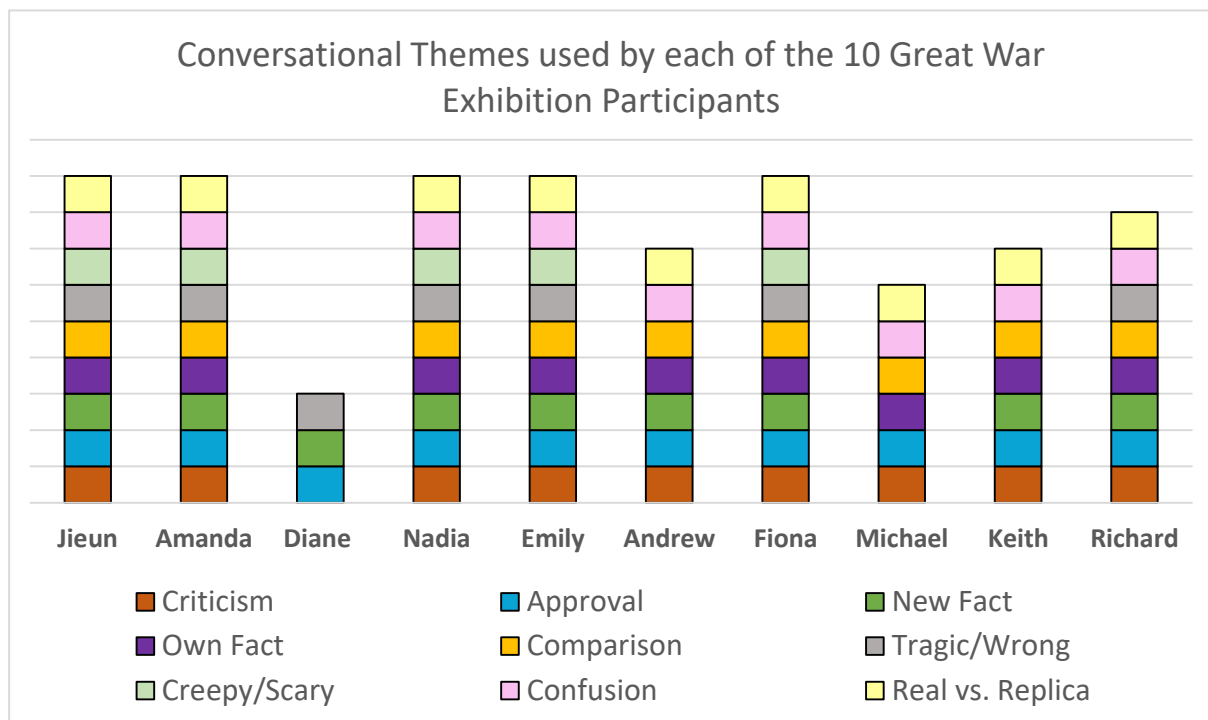


Figure 52. GWE Themes per Participant

### Criticisms

Criticisms relating to the exhibition's representation of war, moral issues and its overall ability to influence visitor perceptions are outlined here. It should be noted that some approaches criticised by participants are later complimented by others.

A common criticism in the Belgian Village was summarised by Richard, who couldn't "imagine a lot of people would stay here and want to read the start." Jieun, for example, said "I can't read all of that bit like, I wanna look at the cool stuff." Only three of the ten participants did not express similar sentiments. This common criticism indicated that much of the exhibition's initial content was left unread by most participants.

In terms of representation, some elements were perceived as being either biased, sensational or sanitised in comparison with their own preconceptions of World War One. Amanda and Emily both used the phrase a "bit dramatic" to describe certain texts. Amanda also found the 'Phrases from the Great War' to be "a bit trite" amongst "a really powerful story" and thought that the trench scene in 1915 was "very much told from the allies' point of view." Nadia felt the numerous "happy" photographs seemed "like they're trying to make it look like it's not as



bad as it was” and Emily thought the model trench in 1915 portrayed “a romanticised version of bleakness.” Keith commented at the graveyard display that “there should be more than five” gravestones, as “you’re disconnecting like five gravestones there, when in reality it was, you know, thousands.” Similarly, Richard felt that the list of men dead at the end of the war “should be a much bigger thing”, that “they should have a much bigger focus on the loss of life.”

Most criticisms made by Michael and Keith revolved around certain facts not being included. For example, Michael felt there was “not much mention of New Zealand” (a comment also made by Andrew) and joked at the 1916 trench display that it was “too bad you couldn’t get the water and the stink.” Keith similarly noted that “there would be more mud and it wouldn’t smell as nice as it does. But I suppose you can’t really include those things in a public area.”

Nadia, Emily and Fiona all echoed Amanda’s opinion that there was “quite an emphasis so far on things, rather than stories”. Amanda talked of “men and their guns”, admitting the guns “all look kind of the same to me” and that she would have preferred “a continuity of story”. Nadia also admitted she would “be willing to stick around a bit longer” to read personal stories, which “will always affect people more than a prop.” By 1917 she was “kind of sick of guns now to be honest” as “they all kind of look the same.” Emily disliked manikins, dismissing them as “men with their dolls.” The final graveyard scene was met with the comment: “Life-sized doll diorama for the men who like war.” She also found little interest in cases of artillery, stating she “would just melt it down and use it for things we need in modern times.” However, she disliked how the case of medical equipment changed “quickly from talking about medicine to tanks”. Emily was also frustrated that paintings in 1916 “don’t match with anything, they obviously tell a story, but the story’s not being told here.” Fiona, too, didn’t find the guns “very interesting at all.” To them, context and narratives would have created more of an affect than objects. No male participants expressed these views.

Visitor traffic did influence participant pathways, perhaps playing a part in the differing interpretations expressed amongst participants. Jieun skipped the recruitment office at first “because there’s quite a few people there.” Amanda said in 1917 she would “probably go and look at that if there weren’t people there” and Fiona had noted that she “wouldn’t wanna be in here with a lot of people, it’d be awkward.”

There were also more individual criticisms that somewhat distracted participants from any intended messages in the exhibition. For example, Nadia found the recruitment officer's pose odd, saying: "he looks really awkward and he's making me feel awkward." She also disliked maps with "too much going on", as well as displays and rooms with "too many" things "to really know where to look." Richard was slightly taken aback by the donation box at the graveyard display, stating: "I don't think you should have a donation box inside an exhibition that you've already had to pay for" because "I think part of the fee that you pay to get in should go towards it." His statement led Keith to change his mind and agree with this point, indicating the influence of visitors on *each other*.

More commonly, however, participants mentioned wanting some more information about objects on display. This is later elaborated upon in the section: Confusion.

### **Approval**

Comments of approval are useful in seeing which representation methods aligned with visitor preferences and preconceptions. They can also, especially in conjunction with criticisms, indicate what it is visitors to New Zealand's centennial WWI exhibitions actually want out of the experience.

For instance, attempted realism was often complimented. Seven of the ten participants stated approval of the detail in displays. Four specifically mentioned the trench display in 1915, Amanda explaining that it made her focus on "the actual reality of day to day life in the trenches." Further along in 1915, at the gun scene, Richard commented: "I like how it's lifelike as well, so it makes it very...visceral." Diane often commented that "the detail in these exhibits is fantastic", adding that "the photos definitely bring the war to life." Michael also commented on detailing, noting that "the cobbles look really good" and that "naming the boulangerie 'Wilhemina'" was an "interesting touch." Keith, too, praised the "attention to detail", noting that with model-scenes "they've even used the correct ammunitions casing." Four participants also complimented the illusion in 1916. Nadia thought it made you think about "the destruction of war" as "it's right there in front of you, changing."

Andrew generally approved of the displays of models, calling them "the next best thing to having like live actors". Fiona also, unlike Emily and at some points Amanda, preferred having manikins involved "to make it look realistic" and often pointed out little details like

bread in the shop windows and the miniature people in the dioramas. Michael also enjoyed how “life-like” the models were, with “sweat beads on the guys face”, “hair on the back of the hands” and the fact that “the models look young, which they were.” Overall, Richard found the “Peter Jackson-y” feeling of the exhibition good, noting “he’s got a very good eye for detail” which “makes people more connected to it”, meaning “it holds interest a lot more.” For example, he thought they’d “captured the facial expression of the young man very well” in the recruitment office, “determined, but also very, very unsure of himself.”

Aside from the high level of detail, the participants had many individual preferences. Some felt that the multi-sensory use of audio in the exhibition aided affect. For example, Amanda liked the marching songs in 1914 as it “suits the tone”, “kind of setting it up, how it started for most of the soldiers, and maybe the rest of the exhibition will tell the real story”. Fiona approved of the smell-boxes, as enjoyed having “another sense you can explore”. Visually, she also liked the positioning of the soldiers in the 1915 trench “because normally you see them facing you but this time it’s like we’re just looking in.” Keith similarly found the different ways of viewing the 1916 tank interesting, as “we were looking at it before from the German, Austria-Hungary position. Whereas now we’re looking at it from the British Empire position. Doing the attack.” Michael also commented on certain visual elements being affective. He liked that the uniform display in 1914 had “no faces”, stating that “the anonymity of the uniformed soldiers is a good touch.” Andrew followed and enjoyed the reappearance of the recruited model-soldier throughout the exhibition, and liked being able “to see the numbers of the size of the armies” on maps — a comment echoed by Jieun and Nadia.

Others praised the inclusion of certain topics and themes that aligned with their interests and ideologies. Nadia, for example, thought the display of injury in 1918 was necessary, as “you can’t just ignore it.” Another intriguing element was a picture of “the horse in Passchendaele. It’s a story that’s often not told.” She also liked the Haka photograph showing “that the culture still lives during war.” Keith also approved of the injured soldier model “because it shows the fate of many just left in no-mans-land”. Michael, from Canada, found it “nice to see a Canadian picture” and was the only participant to say the “pigeons inside the tank” were “excellent”, rather than wonder about their use, as he had relevant prior knowledge.

In terms of the representation of ‘sides’, Richard liked “that it’s not biased towards one side. Like there’s often mention of New Zealand but it’s not in a like...we’re the greatest, sort of way.” Keith added that “it’s kind of petty just focusing on our side.” Andrew, relatedly, approved of the inclusion of “Turkish stuff” as “if you’re gonna have like a big dedicated exhibition like this I think the way to do it is to feature a bunch of the different factions involved.”

Although numerous female participants criticised the lack of affect in using many encased objects as a display method, male participants tended to approve of this. Andrew liked rifle cases, finding it “interesting just to see like how the morphology of them has changed over time.” Michael, Keith and Richard also liked how the weapons were displayed in glass cases, Michael commenting specifically on the “good display of the rifles”. Richard added that, to him, objects held “interest longer than words.” He particularly liked “the cut of the artillery shells” to show “what goes in them.”

Additionally, while Amanda found the text panels showing phrases from the Great War still in use today to be “trite”, Emily found them “interesting. Kind of quirky”, and while Nadia found the “busyness” in 1914 distracting, Fiona enjoyed that “walking through there makes you feel like you’re in amongst it.” Again, these discrepancies show the power of individual factors in visitor interpretation.

### **New Fact**

It should be noted that, although much text was unread, the authenticity of any new information that was acquired was not questioned by any participants. Despite conversational themes supporting the idea of an active audience, visitors still appear to use museums as a learning space. This conversational theme also shows what participants took away from the exhibition space.

Jieun learnt visually from the 1916 diorama on trenches, as “didn’t know they like extensively went down to bunk beds, like they don’t show that in the movies.” Overall, however, she seemed to be using the space as a prompt for conversations of prior knowledge, rather than a space for learning. Amanda had “never actually heard of the Schlieffen Plan”, though had little interest in reading the panel on it in the Belgian Village. Emily said that the Belgian

Village supplied “a bit more information that I remember getting in American high school about the start of WW1 and the individuals in power”.

Diane, alternatively, saw the experience as a chance to “learn a lot more than what I knew before”, as felt her husband was the one “that...knows about war, reads about war – I’m not.” The main facts of interest to her throughout the tour were that American “planes were used in World War One” and that “New Zealand lost more soldiers on the Western Front than they did at Gallipoli”, as “Gallipoli is the one we hear about.” She also found the armed bikes interesting, commenting that “no one thinks of people going to war on bicycle.” Fiona, too, said she “didn’t know people had guns on bikes, that’s really cool.”

Nadia also found the armed bikes interesting, and mentioned at numerous points whether or not information was new to her. For example, she “thought that the British army was bigger on the Western Front than this map is showing” and was interested to see how phrases from the war have changed in terms of their usage today, such as “bonk”, “blotto” and “bumf”. She also explained when looking at a photograph of a local woman selling goods to a soldier, “I guess I knew that already but I hadn’t really thought about it that much.” To Nadia, therefore, it seems that the exhibition was a means of building upon her prior knowledge.

Andrew was interested in learning the “numbers of the size of the armies”, as “that is not just a stat that I would happen to know off the top of my head”. He also found the maps useful as never really “knew where the actual line was for the trenches.” Keith thought that the surgical equipment looked “more advanced than I was expecting”, in contrast to a comment by Jieun that “we should feel lucky that we’re not using” them, and Richard “didn’t realise that there was such diversity in uniforms” and was interested to read how British soldiers “had to fire 15 rounds per minute or their pay was docked.”

### **Own Fact**

Participants often supplied their own facts or stories, emphasising the importance of individual’s backgrounds in shaping their experience of exhibitions. Amongst these participants, there is a clear pattern of males using the space to recall relevant facts to a greater extent than females – who more commonly supplied a personal story.

Jieun was with a friend, and seemed to be using the museum space as a prompt for conversations of prior knowledge or personal stories. Throughout 1914 and 1915, between

pointing out exhibition elements of interest, she spoke of her mother writing to “ajusshi which means like...middle aged men” throughout high school and university, only to now realise the soldiers would have only been in their twenties. The trench scene in 1915 sparked a conversation about “this guy on YouTube” who “reviews old military rations”. The 1916 trench diorama prompted a conversation about the friend’s brother who was in the army, and throughout 1916 and 1917 she talked about a “sad video” that was “saying like when you’re in the war you have to change your way of thinking” and not stop for fallen friends. Amanda similarly noted that the gas masks made her “think about my grandfather who was in World War Two and he came back from the war with terrible health.” Again, this is not a story relating to WWI, but a prompted thought of links to war more broadly. Fiona did not mention any pre-learnt facts, but did talk about how the large gun shells in 1915 reminded her “we had a shell like that and we used it as an umbrella stand in my home.”

Nadia tended to us her prior knowledge to make sense of the exhibition, rather than reveal personal stories. For example, after spotting the recruitment display, she added: “I know you had to be a certain height to go on to battle. They didn’t want short people.” Additionally, she was unsurprised at German armour seeming more advanced than the British, as “knew that the Germans were better at technology.” Emily similarly compared her level of knowledge to facts in the exhibition, though less often. She remembered the assassination of Franz Ferdinand as it was “what I did learn in high school” and declared: “I’m pretty sure I’ve seen parts of this photo before” when examining the Haka photograph in 1917.

Michael was highly knowledgeable about WWI, to the extent that he interacted with the exhibition almost like a teacher. Text on the royal families in the Belgian village was noted as “the same old information from many books”, including Kaiser Wilhelm II’s “poor little useless left arm. Kind of overplayed but, people seem to think that plays into his mentality.” He also suggested more information “to show how far the Serbians actually went to comply with the crazy demands” of Austria-Hungary. In 1914 he noted: “1914 section done and no mention of the Christmas truces.” In 1915 he felt shell casing art should have been included, as “soldiers spent so much time in the trenches they made art out of the shells and things. Would’ve been a nice touch.”

Keith interacted similarly to Michael, largely using the exhibition to recall his own knowledge. He felt that an explanation of how “Belgium used to be neutral” should “have

been earlier on.” By 1914 he expressed having prior knowledge of “most of what we’ve seen”, it being “a bit of an oversight” that “there’s no mention of how Turkey was forced” into the war. Other examples include noting a display case in 1914 that was “missing the Lee-Enfield rifle.” Combining personal experiences and facts, Keith noted that the tank in 1916 was “roomy compared to modern tanks” and admitted “Tankies in the Australian army play this game called – ‘who can stay on the tank the longest’ when they’re out bush.” He used the machine-gun display in 1917 to point out “one of the problems with the Lewis machine gun, with the top-mounted drum magazine is that it misfired because it got full of mud.” He also described elements to his friend and fellow participant, Richard, which had no textual explanations, such as the dazzle camouflage which was used to break up shapes.

Richard admitted that his WWI knowledge came from high school and that he didn’t “remember it that well”. However, he still used the space to recall facts. For example, he knew opposing sides in trenches “were quite close” but was surprised at the 1917 diorama implying “a matter of like 20 metres.” Additionally, Richard’s interaction was undoubtedly influenced by Keith, whose prior knowledge was focused on through Richard’s questions.

Andrew expanded on the less descriptive weaponry labels by supplying his own facts. For example, he explained that the encased gun labels in 1914 “might not be the year the gun was used, it might be the year that model came out”, a model name that then “continues to exist forever.” He also explained that the shells in 1915 “are just like the shells you get off shooting like a rifle”. He also supplied some personal stories, such as looking at his mother’s photo albums and realising “when I think about the 70s I see everything in sepia tone.” A picture of a tank stuck in a trench made him “empathise with these guys” as “I’ve had a stuck vehicle before and it sucks.”

### **Comparison**

The use of comparisons is then perhaps the best exemplifier of individuals’ lives influencing their interactions with exhibitions. Often these comparisons were made to the media, contemporary events and other war exhibitions. Jieun, for example, read in 1916 of Rasputin’s murder and commented that “...it’s like a horror movie where they just won’t die”, linking historical fact to films.

Amanda often made comparisons. When reading of Queen Victoria in the Belgian Village she

remarked on “tv programmes that seem to be picking up on her life story.” She was also reminded “of high school social studies” when reading the texts, as “it was presented pretty much exactly in the same way.” The 1914 diorama made her “feel like I’m in a Tin Tin comic”, while 1914 was described as looking “exactly like the same exhibition up at the War Memorial Museum in Auckland.” The models around ‘Big Bertha’, were then compared to “plastic soldiers”, “the little ones you get when you’re a kid.” The machine gun display reminded her “of the Vietnam war” due to the guns and rice paddies. Display cases reminded her “of the Waiohuru Military Museum. They have a lot of this kind of, just stuff.” The diorama in 1916 looked “like a really, really elaborate children’s birthday cake” and the overall layout felt “a bit disjointed”, particularly “when you compare it to the Te Papa exhibition”. Additionally, a picture in 1917 made her “think of ‘the English Patient’.”

Nadia compared the Belgian Village to “one of those old time set-ups”, reminding her “of Canterbury Museum; of old Christchurch.” The homemade trench weapons in 1916 “look like something you’d see in a movie like...an ogre would have one or something.” She also stopped at the text on Rasputin “because I know the name”, though admitted “I only know Rasputin from Anastasia.” As with the previous participants, Nadia’s comparisons refer mainly to New Zealand and movies/the media.

To Emily, originally from America, the entrance “looks like a movie set.” She also joked at every gravestone-entrance into the separate years that the quotes were “Quite Trump-ish”, as “the Trump presidency is totally gonna be like this.” Posters pleading for help in Belgium made her “think about Syrian refugees” and the recruitment office reminded her of the “National Army Museum. They have a very similar set up.” She disliked the dramatism of propaganda posters, wondering:

...if even today we don’t try to evoke the same kind of feelings when disaster strikes, like 9/11 and everybody trying to show their patriotism with French fries turning into freedom fries and thousands of men and boys going off to war and dying in Afghanistan and Iraq, and places that they really didn’t need to be.

The ‘Destroy This Mad Brute’ poster in 1916 was compared to King Kong, the illusion scene compared to “some of those horrible scenes in Star Trek” and the homemade club likened to “a miniature baseball bat with nails hammered into it.” She, too, linked Rasputin to Anastasia.



Andrew, also American, felt that the machine guns in 1914 looked out of place, “considering the ground they have underneath it. Like, looks like we’re in a swamp in Georgia.” He, too, said that the ‘Mad Brute’ poster “reminds me of King Kong”, though went further to look up the film’s release date on his phone in case the poster was “a super topical pop culture reference”. (It was not). Andrew also thought that the masked models in 1918 were set up “like the cover of a Linkin Park album.”

Fiona was reminded of the TV show “Lost” when watching the illusion scene in 1916, but found the audio-loop quite funny as kept “hearing like the bottle noise...like there’s a bit that sounds like a bunch of glass falling and I keep feeling like I’m in a recycling centre.” Generally, the building reminded her “of a church”.

Michael, a Canadian, made comparisons only to other exhibitions. He found the display of uniforms in 1914 “fantastic. Not many places with that mixture of uniforms all in the same place.” However, he would have liked more of a focus on Māori involvement, stating that “any Canadian war museum also points out the native Canadians contribution to the war.”

Keith and Richard joked about a man on a poster in 1918, which looked “like Colonel Sanders.” Richard also explained his interest in dioramas, saying “I used to have train sets when I was younger so maybe it goes back to that.”

From all these comparisons, the backgrounds and interests of participants begin to present themselves. The fact that we can glimpse at a person’s personality simply by examining their interpretations of an exhibition strongly implies an importance of individual context in exhibition interpretation.

### **Tragic/Wrong**

The use of words like ‘tragic’ and ‘wrong’ provide insight into visitor moral values regarding war. Gendered conclusions should be regarded cautiously here due to the predominance of women in the study, but from the data gathered it did seem that female participants were more likely to express sadness, or to reference tragedy and moral discrepancies in war.

For Jieun, perceived realism in models and dioramas seemed to spark reflections of death in war. The trench diorama in 1916 got the response: “Oh my god, sad. It’s so realistic even. All those dead soldiers.” She also stopped at the injured model in 1918, regarding it as

“very...severe” because “they’ve got blood and stuff. It looks very realistic too. Oh look he got shot...Oh my gosh.” Amanda was, by 1916, “starting to get depressed by all this!” She went on to say that “there’s just sort of a relentless sadness to it all. That...that we did this to one another, you know? The number of people who died. In such miserable conditions.” However, she did note that “the first time I came through this exhibition I was a lot more emotional about the whole thing. But now I’m being a little bit more critical.” On her previous visit, Amanda’s thoughts had apparently revolved more about “the stupidity of war and...just sadness for the people that died”. Hearing of fatality levels amongst the horses used in WWI, Diane felt that “the information about the horses is just tragic. And the information about the men, the boys, when they went over.”

Fiona was the only participant to express sadness in the 1914 section, in the recruitment office. She did not really like the display, explaining that “It’s a bit sad, to think he might have just died.” She felt similarly about the propaganda posters, saying “it’s kind of sad, the message they’re sending.” Nadia, when looking at the propaganda posters in 1914 felt more specifically that the fact “people didn’t have a choice” was “wrong”. She did not, however, express sadness, as the previous examples did.

Emily was the most vocally anti-war, particularly by the last two sections of the exhibition. Her responses leaned more towards anger and frustration at the museum’s elements and what they represented. When spotting a poster in 1916, she said – “Ah, ok. Yeah, buy US government bonds dad! Because I’m gonna go die. I don’t get how those two are related. National pride is bullshit.” The masked models in 1918 drew her attention, including their “beating sticks. Christ al-fucking mighty. That’s just awful. This is what you face? It’s what you have to do? This is how you act, and behave, and feel? This is what you do to each other?” She noted death in various photographs, presumably “trying to bring home” that “war means death”, as well as more general destruction. “You’ve got photos of the destruction, buildings that are just barely skeletons of themselves.” She also pointed out the injured manikin in 1918, “screaming in pain because he’s got shrapnel in his arm...and...he’s all by himself.”

Keith and Richard, who went round together, expressed opposing views. The 1916 trench-diorama caused Richard to remark that “It just seems so utterly pointless, doesn’t it?” Keith replied that “you smash them with artillery first so they hide in their trenches, whilst

meanwhile your troops are here waiting and ‘bang’, they hit them when they’re most vulnerable.” Richard did not seem to have his views changed by the conversation, commenting of another diorama in 1917 that it looked like “A really shit time for everybody.”

### **Creepy/Scary**

In terms of affects that the exhibition had on participants, one unexpected theme was that relating to gas masks. When referring to something in the exhibition as scary, participants were most commonly talking about the display cases of gas masks; not weaponry. Jieun, for instance, stated “ooh look at these freaky gas masks.” Amanda then felt that the first gas mask display in 1915 was “spooky”, as “It kind of emphasises the whole dehumanising aspect of the war” and shows “the frightening elements of what they had to go through.” The display of masked men in 1918 evoked a similar reaction, being described as “quite frightening”, because “the masks are sort of quite dehumanising.” Amanda also said that “It’s quite confronting. And I think as a younger kid I’d probably find it really scary.”

Fiona also said she found the 1915 gas masks “really scary” as they made her “think of death.” When asked why she found them scarier than the guns, Fiona supposed that “with gas you’re just gonna die anyway but with a gun you can get shot ‘at’.” Her response to the 1918 display was, like Amanda, that in terms of the emotional affect “it is good. But it is quite scary. Like I’m thinking about little kids.” Nadia, when noticing the display in 1915, similarly declared: “that’s kind of scary.” When asked why, she replied that it was “probably because you don’t see them today. Like guns, you hear about guns all the time in the news”, and that “just the two holes for eyes is...that already freaks me out.” The display in 1916 then got a quick — “Yep this is creepy”, and the models in 1918 were described as “a little bit scary”

Emily went further, actively ignored the displays. When talking about medical advances in 1915, she added that “we also have advances in death because the case behind me talks about gas masks. But that looks a little creepy and is the thing of my nightmares, so I’m not gonna look at that anymore.” The models in 1918 got a little more attention: “more dolls in gas masks! Woah. That’s not eerily creepy.”

Andrew found them to be, not necessarily “scarier but creepier. Because they’re like such a

weird...like you see guns. Like that's a thing that's featured in media and just like, around, you see them." However, he found the 1916 display "less creepy" because "they're smaller. And because they look like, I guess like modern gas masks do. Rather than just being a big spooky black bag over your head." Keith and Richard only commented upon the apparent inefficiency of the masks in 1915, and the remaining participants did not comment on (or notice) them.

### **Confusion**

Expressions of confusion in the exhibition signify moments when participants are most likely not getting the exhibition's intended messages, or are focusing on something other than the issue of war.

Diane was the only participant who did not express confusion, and the only participant who paid for a tour guide. The correlation is not coincidental. Most information is available only when a tour or booklet are purchased. Michael pointed out that there were "displays with no documentation so it's important that people buy the book, so they can actually *read* about what's going on." Fiona, also, would have preferred more descriptions, but was aware "there's a handbook".

Initial confusion was evident amongst various participants in the Belgian Village. Amanda was confused over the intended location being depicted, three times asking if we were supposed to be "in France somewhere." Emily expressed similar confusion. "So wait, we have a...Germanic...flag of some sort, in what's dressed to be a French town. I'm very confused as to what the story here is supposed to be". Nadia specifically wondered "why in a cheese shop they have children's toys" and Keith was "curious as to why there's a shoe display" at the entrance. Andrew also found the Belgian Village, and its shop display of wine, cheese and toys, confusing. "I don't know about interior design in nineteen...teens...France. I think we're in France, right? Oh, Belgium I guess."

Often, more context was needed by participants for greater affect. Most facts that Jieun did not know, such as where Siam was, were answered by her friend rather than the exhibition space. Amanda, upon entering 1914, felt "we need a little more information", stating: "I'm confused." Generally, she felt there was a lack of information. "Is it...that goes with that? I think it's...someone's had a lovely time putting it together, and in its own way it's pretty amazing...but we need a little bit more story as to what it is, where we are and what's going on." Nadia also left the Belgian Village stating: "I'm kind of confused. Not sure what I

walked into.” Nadia, Amanda, Andrew, Fiona and Richard all pondered over the context surrounding the first diorama in 1914, with Richard commenting that it would benefit from “a brief description.” Keith also noted lacking information, though tended to supply his own. For example, he did not express confusion over the 1914 diorama, instead “assuming it’s the Belgian defences.” In 1918, Fiona wasn’t sure why the injured soldier was placed at the end, past the fighting, and at the graveyard scene was “confused about the age of that child.” Andrew by this point admitted that concerning his “place in time and space”, he “was confused for like, most of it.” Overall, Nadia felt that “the labels are interesting, making them look old, but they don’t really tell you anything.”

Of objects, Nadia wanted to know “whether they were owned by certain people who have...whether they gave them to the exhibition, whether they were in Peter Jackson’s collection”. The issue of undetailed labels was continually mentioned, particularly with the medical equipment in 1915, as she wanted to know “why there’s so many different things in the same cabinet”. Like Nadia, Emily found the medical and souvenir display confusing, feeling “there really isn’t enough information”. Andrew, too, found himself, “kind of speculating what the instruments would have been used for”.

Propaganda posters weren’t always understood by participants, again taking away from their potential affect. Emily and Richard wanted to know more about the Marines propaganda poster in 1917, depicting a female soldier. Richard specifically wanted to know if it was “aimed at women”, despite having heard they weren’t allowed to fight. Nadia, Emily and Andrew were all confused about the term “Britishers” being used in a 1914 propaganda poster. Furthermore, an Italian poster behind the uniforms in 1914 perplexed Nadia, as it looked “a bit mythical and I’m not sure why it’s in here”.

These unlabelled uniforms also caused some confusion. Andrew wished he “knew which country these uniforms were representing” and Nadia admitted she had to guess that the uniforms were “different types of attire for the soldiers” because “it doesn’t seem to tell you.” Nadia also thought the room itself felt “a bit confused” as “there’s a lot going on.” Andrew and Richard also expressed initial confusion over the horses, planes and manikins in this section of 1914.

Other common causes of confusion included the smell-boxes, dazzle camouflage and pigeons. Amanda liked the idea of the smell boxes but was “not sure where this is going” as the smell

was faint and there were no explanations. As Fiona couldn't smell anything in the chlorine gas smell-box, she concluded that she "thought that might have been interactive but it wasn't." Richard, too, wondered if he was "supposed to smell the gas" as "it doesn't smell like chlorine gas at all". Nadia found the dazzle camouflage and encased American soldier in 1917 confusing as felt both were "kind of out of place." Fiona found the dazzle camouflage "too happy" and couldn't tell whether related images were "a painting or a photograph." Andrew wondered if the bright colours was "just them like, dicking around or if it's...like there's an actual reason for the colours that they're using." Similarly, Richard initially thought the 1917 camouflage was a joke on behalf of the soldiers, who were "just doing it for the lols" because he supposed "if you're at war you have to get your entertainment somehow." His friend, Keith, explained it to him. Additionally, Jieun, Amanda and Andrew all wondered over the role of pigeons included in displays.

Some participants found the space itself confusing. Amanda found the space "confusing" with "lots of corners". In 1915 and 1916 Fiona "lost all sense of direction, like I'm really confused" due to "winding, like a maze". Keith also got spatially confused in 1915.

Others were unsure about the primary topic focus. Amanda did not know whether the exhibition was "supposed to be focusing on New Zealand's part in the Great War or are we doing the whole thing or a bit of both or...". Nadia also found the exhibition as a whole "a bit confusing because I didn't actually realise they were going to focus on everyone I thought it was just New Zealand in the World War." Fiona's ending comment was: "I thought the whole thing was on Anzacs so I was a bit confused."

### **Real vs. Replica**

It did seem that artefacts from the time held more value to the participants than replicas, perhaps signifying the potential for greater affect when original artefacts are used to make points and/or tell stories.

Participants often commented on and/or questioned the authenticity of artefacts. Jieun, for example, assumed that encased objects were "probably like...genuinely old" and finding "real soil from the battlefield" prompted a "look, this is real soil." Amanda asked of pistols in 1914, "Are they real?" She also wanted to know if the uniforms were "original outfits", or "made for the exhibition? Twice more she asked if encased objects were "all copied? Or are they

originals?” Nadia by the first room wanted “to know if that pistol is real or not”. Like Amanda, she often wondered aloud if objects were fake, eventually explaining that “I think they mean more if they’re real” as “it would mean a bit more than if they said we made this for an exhibition.” She also felt that “actual real soil from the Western Front” meant “a lot more than soil from your back yard.” Michael also approved of “the actual ground from the battlefield.” Emily wondered how they got the soil through customs and thought although it “might be what men were walking over, it probably wasn’t.” Fiona twice wondered if something was “actually a real model?” She assumed that all posters were “just copies”, but added “I don’t think it matters though, too much.” Fiona alone remarked that the smell throughout the exhibition was “authentic”, elaborating that this meant “old.”

Elements that did not seem ‘real’ were sometimes pointed out, even criticised. For Nadia, the unexplained dazzle camouflage in 1917 seemed “too colourful for war” because “war is brown. Doesn’t seem real...the colours.” Andrew disliked the contrast seen in the recruitment office, as noticed that an “art piece is from the era but the frame is clearly not and that like immediately jumped out at me.”, Likewise, the final, graveyard scene made Emily feel as though “It’s all quite staged. It’s really hard to get through, isn’t it? If everything’s a stage. How much do you believe?”

The issue of authenticity sometimes extended to the colourisation of photographs in the exhibition. Fiona expressed a preference for the pictures to be kept in black and white “to like go with the time”, as colourisation “makes it look a lot more fake. And then you’re like, is that a photograph or a painting?” Nadia began saying that the photographs would be better in their original black and white form, as colourisation implies “the viewer doesn’t have their own imagination” and “if it’s coming from that era then it really shouldn’t be coloured in that sort of way”. Towards the end she concluded that “it makes it more interesting but I don’t think it was necessary.”

Andrew declared himself a “fan of colourising photographs” as it “brings it kind of in the modern era”. Michael also felt that colourised photographs were a “good touch” as “most museums, just black and white.” Keith reiterated this declaration that colourised photographs were preferable as “you’re more connected to it. Whereas black and white you just think of like some olden-times thing that happened.” He later added that “that’s how they fought, in colour.” “The Somme wasn’t fought in black and white. We’re seeing it as they saw it.”

Richard thought colourisation worked “as long as it’s done properly”, but had asked if there was “controversy around having the pictures in colour” because “it’s not the original.”

Neither Keith nor Richard seemed concerned about the authenticity of objects displayed.

### **The Great War Exhibition: Questionnaire Responses**

The questionnaire responses tabled below, along with the participant transcripts, will provide the basis for an analysis of visitor responses to the GWE. The questionnaire questions relevant to this section of the research were:

- Do you think the exhibition has impacted your views on war in any way? What are/were your views on war?
- Is there anything you would like to see changed in the exhibition?
- *Final question: Is there anything else about your experience today or during a past visit which you think is important but which we haven’t touched on?*

<b>Visitor</b>	<b>Views Influenced?</b>	<b>Change Anything?</b>	<i>Anything else?</i>
<b>Jieun</b>	No, I think they're the same as when I started.	Maybe a little concise info, there were a lot of words/paragraphs for some things.	X
<b>Amanda</b>	It makes me feel sad. And more against war and its brutality.	More of a thread of storytelling. Less 'stuff' on display.	It does feel like a collection of Peter Jackson's <u>stuff</u> .
<b>Diane</b>	Definitely! Fantastic detail.	More places to sit and contemplate.	X



<b>Nadia</b>	No. Most of it I knew already.	Better labelling for exhibition items. More personal stories. -> saying whether something is a model or not.	N/A
<b>Emily</b>	I'm more bitter, specifically reflecting on my country's recent election outcome. I find this a stupidly absurd romanticization of what it is.	Yes it should be a science museum instead.	I think it's absurd to take photos in this museum...old fucker taking photos of tanks and gunners. Really? What are you remembering? What is it you're romanticizing? Big powerful death machines? Suppose...
<b>Andrew</b>	Scale is something that I didn't really have a good perception of coming into the exhibition.	More focus on women. Clearer where/who the people in dioramas were. Text on signs comes in giant, imposing blocks, and then disappears for minutes at a time.	X
<b>Fiona</b>	No it didn't. My view on war is that it's a horrible thing!	I think having more descriptions by the displays would be helpful for those people who don't want to purchase a book or the tour.	I've also been to the current Te Papa exhibition and I preferred that one to this one. The Te Papa

			one seemed to flow more.
<b>Michael</b>	Good representation of many aspects did not change views but confirmed.	Perhaps more NZ influence?	Excellent exhibition!
<b>Keith</b>	No. It is sometimes warranted and necessary, but not in all cases, e.g. WW1.	More explanation on the underpinnings of certain aspects, e.g. US entry, Russian withdrawal, Belgian neutrality.	Some displays have no plaque or explanation of what is being presented.
<b>Richard</b>	No. Pointless. The loss of life does not justify the outcome.	More focus on the loss of life. It seemed like the end was quite abrupt.	There should not be a donation box inside the exhibition, it should be at the main entrance or included in the entry price.

Table 2. GWE Questionnaire Responses

### The Great War Exhibition: Overall Response Analysis

Using the responses from Table 2 in conjunction with the thematically analysed transcripts, an overall analysis to visitor responses can be provided here. The GWE's representation angle was perceived by visitors in a variety of ways. Regardless of some criticisms in their transcripts and/or questionnaires, Diane, Michael and Keith all expressed favour towards the

exhibition's representation. They praised the way certain facts that were made known and found the lack of emphasis on one country to give the exhibition an overall emphasis on neutrality and 'facts'. While absolute 'neutrality' is an arguably impossible state of representation, participants did not mention finding the exhibition glorifying or particularly anti-war, so found it reasonably unbiased. However, Michael did want more included on New Zealand's involvement; Keith on the loss of life. Andrew similarly approved of numerous country-perspectives, but also found this to be confusing.

Emily, however, found certain aspects to be somewhat morally offensive and glorifying. She was evidently more "bitter" by the end of her visit, often repeating her view that the exhibition had romanticized war. Representation techniques contributing to this included the emphasis on weaponry, manikins and the inclusion of propaganda posters void of interpretation panels, as can be seen in her transcribed criticisms. Attempts to show the reality of war, such as the trench diorama in 1915, were regarded as "a romanticised version of bleakness", due to limited emphasis on the worst aspects of trench life. To her, the representation method aligned with that described by Scott (2015, 490) as celebratory, a documentation of strength and brotherhood.

The remaining five participants then commented on the representation being somewhat sanitised. While both Keith and Michael commented that certain dioramas did not show the true extent of the dirt and smell, they excused this as being unfeasible in a public space. However, others found the lack of stories and emphasis on objects, weapons in particular, detached and uninteresting. This emphasis on technology in war exhibitions has been labelled 'sanitised' by Scott (2015, 490), and is reminiscent of the sanitised representation approach used to avoid controversy surrounding Enola Gay in 1995 (Luke 2002, 19). Although Richard was unopposed to the emphasis on objects, finding the exhibition to be "not biased towards one side", he was the most vocal in his wish for a "bigger focus on the loss of life." Richard felt that to shy away from the death toll gave "a skewed view of war", almost "censoring it."

None found the exhibition to be an active promoter of peace and/or anti-war moral sentiments. It should also be noted that confusion may have taken away from any intended messages in the exhibition, as explained earlier in the conversation category: confusion.

Most participants seemed drawn to elements, or took ideas from the exhibition, that aligned with their already-formed viewpoint regarding war and its moralities. These viewpoints

seemed more similar across the participants than their opinions regarding the exhibition's representation were. Table 2 above shows words and phrases used by the participants in their questionnaire answers regarding views on war, and if these were influenced. The frequency of words like pointless, horrible, sad, brutality and loss help to indicate the most common perception of war voiced by participants. They did not describe soldiers, on either side, as being immoral, but rather voiced disdain over WWI as a whole and sympathy for those who had to endure it. Many participants leaned towards opinions similar to those of the criminologists who class war itself as a legitimate yet immoral act against human rights (Klein 2011, 86). None went as far as to call war criminal, though most saw WWI as a tragic event inflicted upon soldiers from all participating countries, as opposed to, for example, a justified battle between 'good and evil'. Furthermore, it is evident that many participants entered with a prior knowledge of the worst aspects of war. If these aspects were not made evident in the exhibition due to the emphasis on objects, that would perhaps explain why some found the representation to be quite sanitised.

There were, of course, exceptions. Emily was the only participant who seemed to regard soldiers as both victims and killers. This view is explained in criminological literature as one encompassing the "paradox of soldiering" (Mcgarry and Walklate 2011, 908). In this case, she viewed the exhibition's topic as one in which individuals are victims to both each other and their State's hegemonic pressures, but who are also themselves perpetrators. She often expressed distaste over soldier's actions depicted in the exhibition, regardless of their country of origin. "This is what you do to each other?" However, she also spoke against both contemporary and Great War era governmental decisions, and expressed sympathy for soldiers wounded in WWI. To Emily, therefore, the act of killing in war is seen as immoral, regardless of its legality. This helps us to understand why she viewed the display of weaponry and soldiers in battle as romanticized and celebratory.

In contrast, only Keith expressed the view that war can be necessary in some cases, though this does not mean others would not agree. His perception of war morality is therefore context dependant, where ends can sometimes justify the means, e.g. in World War Two. His view is opposed to Emily's, as for him the moral code is dependent on the situation, not the act. Again, this moral viewpoint helps to explain his perception of the exhibition as being relatively unbiased and factual.

What can also be seen in Table 2 is the frequency of “no” used by participants, regarding whether their views were influenced. Five of the ten participants felt that their view of war had not been influenced by the GWE. Another three participants had their views confirmed and/or reinforced, two of these explaining that they left feeling more anti-war. The remaining two felt the exhibition influenced their perceptions, though not necessarily relating to morals. This emphasis on confirmation rather than a change of mind emphasises the role of visitors as being active, not passive. Numerous contemporary authors have promoted the idea of audiences as ‘active’, as detailed in the ‘Meaning Making’ section of the literature review. Therefore, the strong influence of prior knowledge and/or moral perceptions in participant experiences is hardly surprising. This is seen most evidently through the conversational themes here of ‘Own Fact’ and ‘Comparisons’, which played just as large a part as the theme ‘New Fact’. However, many participants skipped larger text panels and could not find information for other elements, which may also have contributed to this apparent lack of moral influence.

## **Te Papa Visitor Responses**

Repeating the methodology used at the GWE, ten TP visitors partook in an audio recorded visit around the exhibition, followed by a questionnaire. Their responses, again, show variety amongst individual interpretations. However, when compared to the GWE data, their thoughts also emphasise the importance of representation methods. This is most obvious in participant responses to the apparent object-focus in the GWE and story-focus at TP. Again, demographic data from the questionnaires is presented first, to give an overview of all participants. Next, transcripts from their accompanied visits are thematically analysed, followed by an overview of their answers to the questionnaire’s topic-focused questions. Finally, an overall analysis of responses is provided.

### **Who were they?**

There was an even split between male and female participants, with five of each. As with GWE participants, only five of the ten were raised in New Zealand. However, six now reside here. The most common age group again was 22-30, encompassing four participants. Two were 17-21 and there was one participant each for the age groups 31-40, 41-50, 51-60 and over 70. Overall, these demographics are more varied than those for the GWE. The table below outlines all demographic questionnaire data gathered for each participant.

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Region Live In</b>	<b>Region Raised in</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
<b>Rebecca</b>	F	22-30	UK	England	White British	Admin manager
<b>Jessica</b>	F	22-30	Wellington	NZ	NZ European	Camera operator
<b>John</b>	M	Over 70	Southland	NZ	NZ Pakeha	Retired
<b>Owen</b>	M	22-30	Wellington	Taranaki	NZ European	Rope Access
<b>Lisa</b>	F	41-50	Wellington	Southern Africa	European	Podiatrist
<b>Erik</b>	M	51-60	South Africa	Rhodesia/Zimbabwe	European	Pilot/Air Traffic Controller
<b>Chris</b>	M	31-40	Upper Hutt	NZ/USA	Pakeha	Construction Manager
<b>Esmee</b>	F	17-21	Groningen	The Netherlands	White British	Graduated high school this year. Now having a gap year.
<b>Vici</b>	F	17-21	Germany (Anglo- Saxony)	Germany	White British	Student (English and Geography)
<b>Thomas</b>	M	22-30	Wellington	New Zealand	NZ Euro	Consultant - Public Policy

Table 3. TP Participant Demographics

Five of the ten participants were visiting due to recommendations and/or advertisements. Two more visited to ‘learn’. John explained that it was “on my bucket list” and Erik had hoped to “become more acquainted with the events and sacrifice of many.” Chris visited “Cause Santa wanted to! (Uncle Nick!)”

Figure 53, shown below, records times taken for each participant to view the exhibition. Times were taken from the recordings of accompanied visits, so do not include questionnaire time. John took the least amount of time, at 19 minutes and 58 seconds, while Lisa and Erik (father and daughter) took the longest at 1 hour, 24 minutes and 48 seconds. Participants with equal visiting times signify those who went round together with both wishing to participate.

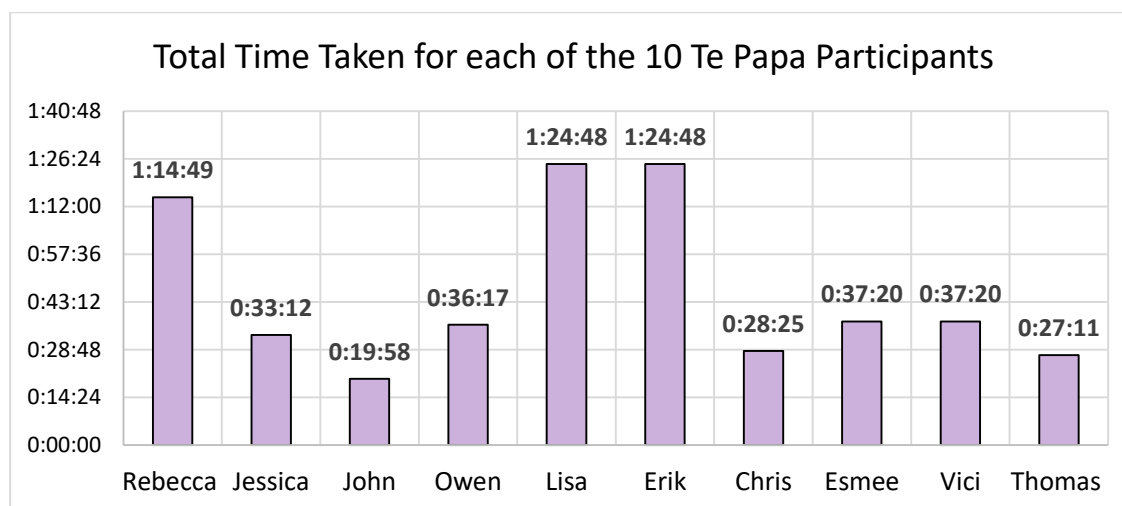


Figure 53. Time Taken for TP Participants

### Themes

The nine conversational themes identified in the transcripts have been kept the same as those used for the GWE participants, as were also noticeably frequent. However, a tenth category was identified amongst TP participants: hypothetically placing themselves in the situations exhibited. Also, ‘creepy/scary’ has been here altered to ‘gross/scary’. Approval, again, was one of the most common conversational themes, with all ten participants expressing approval for the exhibition methods at some point. This time, however, all ten also supplied their own facts and/or stories. The least common conversation here was that of ‘real’ artefacts versus replicas, touched on by only three participants at TP as opposed to nine at the GWE. These

are displayed below in Figure 54.

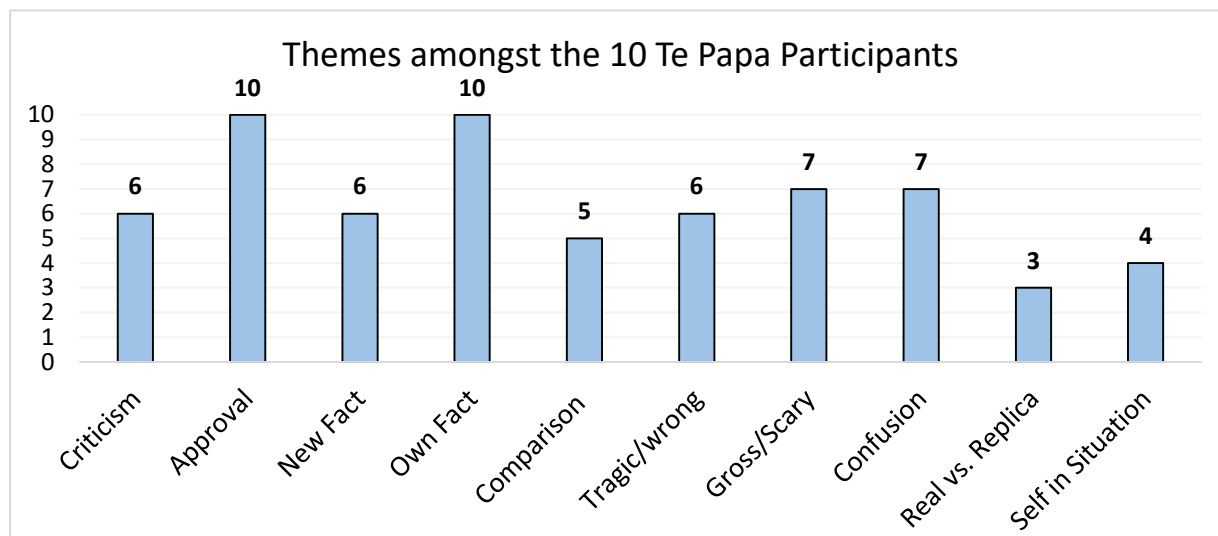


Figure 54. TP Themes

The number of these themes used by each individual TP participant can then be seen in Figure 55. For example, Jessica touched upon all ten conversational themes, while John and Erik only touched upon three each.

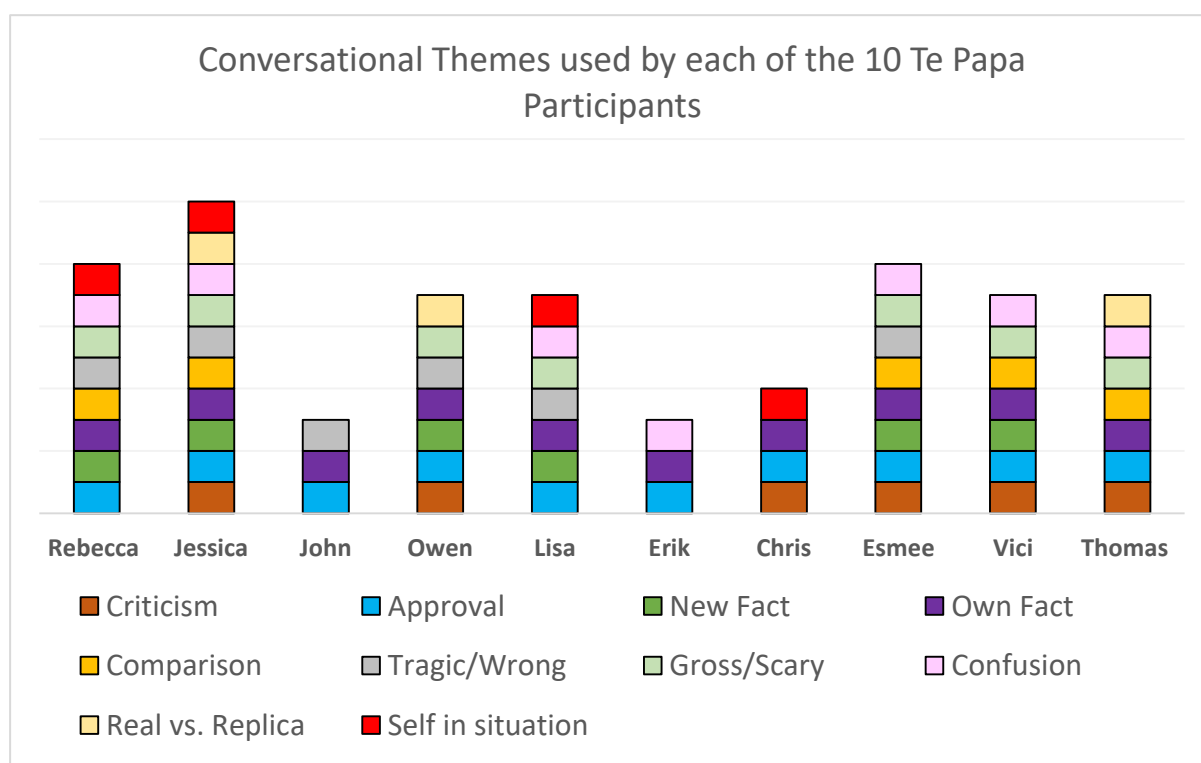


Figure 55. TP Themes per Participant



## Criticisms

As with the GWE responses, criticisms relating to the exhibition's representation of war, moral issues and its overall ability to influence visitor perceptions are outlined here.

Both Jessica and Owen immediately commented on the “dramatic” music in the first room. Thomas found the entrance in general to be “a bit over the top.” Owen also commented that the audio aspects in ‘Chunuk Bair’ were “too dramatic”, which to him seemed “sort of glorified”, “Especially with, you know, having the haka in the background. It’s trying to trigger people’s emotions to be like – yes, I’m proud of what we are”. Seeing Nurse Lottie, he added “I don’t think museums should be so emotionally driven” as “they should present the facts and not try to, ah, not try to push peoples’ emotions towards one side or the other.” When entering the first room in ‘Order from Chaos’, Thomas stated: “It just feels more like infotainment, in a way. Like it’s a kind of cathartic exercise.” He also used the word infotainment to describe the interactive screen of ‘exposed wounds’.

Owen expressed awareness of representation methods used, early commenting “it’s already sort of going ‘we’ instead of ‘they’”. Trying to draw the audience in.” Thomas also commented on the representation, finding the section on Nurse Lottie to be “Quite gendered. Like the music becomes more solemn and slow, the pace changes. It’s more about nurturing. It’s a bit...a bit of a trope.” He found the section to be “a bit manipulative”, particularly the music, “because you understand the sense of loss through the camaraderie of men but through women you understand loss through the actual sort of relationships. It’s like there are two different kinds of loss, but they’re quite gendered in this exhibit.” Thomas didn’t “want people to think that everything that they read here is fact. Because a lot of it seems to be reconstructed stories.” He added: “how do you know that narrative is actually representative? I just think it’s dangerous to do that.” Contrary to criticisms made in the GWE, Thomas noted that he’d prefer an artefact-focus, rather than the exhibition “trying to slap on a story to everything” and “this feels like there’s definitely a set agenda with what they’re trying to portray.”

In ‘The Great Adventure’, Owen commented on “a terrible quote. ‘Sniping...it’s a great game, and the Turks are a worthy enemy! One of my group’s bagged two’”. “He felt it gave “a glorified image of war. Because they didn’t have to choose that particular quote.” Owen thought that, although all viewpoints should be shown “to a degree”, he hadn’t really seen the

other side yet and thought it “sort of a bad thing to portray the enemy as game.” Similarly, he thought the periscope sniper experience in ‘Order from Chaos’ didn’t “seem quite right”, as “comes back to making it kind of like a game.” Owen made similar comments throughout, ending his visit with the statements: “I think a lot of my opinion was formed from the way they portrayed the other side. Or didn’t portray them.” “They definitely made out in this exhibition that it was very much – they are just the faceless enemy. And I think the enemy definitely deserves to have a face. Because like I said, there’s always two sides to a story.” Thomas in ‘The Great Adventure’ also stated that “highlighting words like ‘glorious’ and things like that is a bit sensationalist”, and that “if everything’s portrayed as being glorious then I’m gonna assume everything here is like a victory for New Zealand even though we lost.”

As at the GWE, too much text was met with some disapproval. Jessica had been to TP’s Gallipoli exhibition four times already, so tended to “go to her favourite bits”, finding that she would “get bored of reading little bits all over the place.” She added: “Majority of the time I literally read the name, look at the picture and then move on.” The same went for videos, with Jessica stating “if it takes too long I’m not gonna do it.” Thomas also wanted to “skip the movie, I don’t like sitting down for movies.” Owen was only “half watching” the film in ‘Stalemate’, stating it “doesn’t really catch my eye”. Vici was confused by Gallipoli exhibition’s topic, but didn’t “read it all because I don’t like if you have to read so much.”

Esmee and Vici, both from Europe, found that too much prior knowledge was assumed in the exhibition. Esmee stated: “I really need to read just a short story about New Zealand history”. She admitted, “I don’t get it”, as she did “know about the Turkish people and...but I didn’t know that this war wasn’t in New Zealand but in Turkey and the New Zealand people went there.” Vici had similarly asked upon entering the exhibition: “So it was a war between the Turkey people and the British people...in New Zealand?” It seems, therefore, that more general information would benefit those visitors not taught the history of the Anzacs.

The only TP participant to express disinterest in objects, a common criticism amongst GWE participants, was Jessica. She was “not really interested in the guns” as “they just kind of sit there.” Also reminiscent of problems expressed in the GWE was Owen’s declaration that he “probably won’t go back” to the 3D map as “there were too many people standing by it” and that once visitor traffic decreases, “my attention will have been taken by something else.”

Differing interpretations of the coloured mural in Chunuk Bair were interesting from an ‘active-audience’ point of view. Owen found the mural to portray an image “of glory”, with “Colonel Malone standing there in a very prominent sort of place.” He added that generations growing up with war-based video games “could sort of relate to it and see it as quite a cool thing.” Jessica, however, thought it to be “quite a good depiction of the chaos”, made quite scary through the differing facial expressions. “Like he looks quite scared, he’s obviously in pain and just been shot. And this guy’s like ‘yes, I’m going in to war.’” Thomas, on another note, thought that such murals should not be commissioned especially for an exhibition, concluding that “it feels like they’re creating the narrative rather than putting it together.”

Chris was mainly at the exhibition to spend time with his uncle, his only criticism being a joke that the “bloody lavender” wasn’t to scale.

### **Approval**

Compliments, or favourite aspects of the exhibition, varied between participants. These comments of approval can be useful in showing what visitors actually want out of their museum experience, and which representation methods aligned with individual preferences and preconceptions. These are most telling when read in conjunction with criticisms. For instance, Jessica, unlike Owen and Thomas, really liked the mural in ‘Chunuk Bair’ due to its “depiction of the chaos.”

Perceived realism and attention to detail was often complimented. Jessica found “walking in with a big gun pointing at you” to be “quite cool”. She enjoyed visual aspects of the exhibition, such as “the manikin thing where it shows you all the inside of the, um, pack”, as in “movies and stuff you never see, like, inside the pack.” The 3D map to her gave “a better picture of like, where everything is, rather than it just being flat” and she liked that in the rooms of models “they write the words up too. Because sometimes my hearing’s not the best”. She often pointed out the replicated badges shown alongside the biographies as had an interest in “symbols and things. So it’s quite nice to see the difference between each one.”

Lisa specifically complimented the high attention to detail on models: “You can see the hairs moving in the breeze. It’s amazing, isn’t it?” She later stated that “you feel like they can see you. Look at the hair on his chin, the veins, everything.” Erik also approved of the models being “so lifelike”, “so realistic”, and felt that the periscope sniper interacting in ‘Order from Chaos’ was “very well done.” Chris was another participant largely impressed with the detail,

noting in 'The Great Adventure' that "he's even got plaque on his teeth!" In 'Chunuk Bair' he commented that "it's pretty awesome. They've got ear hair and nose hair even." Esmee expressed similar views, saying in the first room that "I feel like he will move now." She later added the models were "really beautiful makes." Seeing Jack Dunn's model she said it was "so real. It really looks like real skin." Thomas also thought the "harsh realism" of Jack Dunn's model was a good thing, and Rebecca liked the fact "it's all free" and approved of the models being "so life-like." In 'Stalemate', she commented that "They've made it quite fun to understand it."

Interactive elements did seem popular. Vici thought the first 3D map was "a good animation" and that the models "just look so real", "you really get the feeling that they are just like, sitting there and it could get up." Vici also approved of the drawers which could be pulled open in 'Stalemate', finding it "so cool". She said the same of the display allowing visitors to try on hats. Thomas, too, enjoyed the interactive drawers which felt "like a side game or something. It's fun." Lisa and Jessica approved of the 'exposed wounds' screen, with Lisa deciding that "that'll be interesting". Lisa also thought the display of water-activated rifles was "clever." Esmee was the only visitor to comment on the Morse code section in 'Chunuk Bair', saying she could hear a noise "like d-d-d-d". Additionally, Owen approved of the use of #Gallipoli at the hats in 'Stalemate': "It's good to see them try to connect with people via social media. It's good for a museum to do" to avoid the "preconceived idea of museums being boring and for old people." Owen found the vibrating tunnel with the screens "really good. Very immersive. I like the effect on the ground as well." He added that "it's good feeling like you're there because you connect with it better."

In terms of connecting through stories, Jessica liked that "you see someone's story all the way through" and admitted "I always get chills" reading about Nurse Lottie, "Because like, a lot of the time you kind of, you just hear about the men in war and fighting overseas." Reading about Jack Dunn's death sentence, she explained that "it's more interesting having like a specific story as opposed to just like a battle". She also pointed out the prayer book in 'Stalemate' as a favourite, as "the bullet hit just under 'take courage, it is I, don't be afraid', just there. Which I think is quite cool." Owen also liked the inclusion of information on the lesser known facts, like Dunn being "sentenced to death. Because he was found asleep." He felt this "gives more depth".

Thomas preferred artefacts, noting he “would prefer to look at the artefacts than just quote stuff on a wall.” He added that “you expect to see artefacts in a museum, not like, stories on walls.” He was the only participant to comment that he liked “how there’s translations for all the text.” Jessica liked the inclusion of dioramas, explaining that “any model-type thing is cool. Makes it more interesting to read.” Owen also approved of dioramas “because you get a sense of scale” and often commented on objects of interest to him. For example: “Oh that’s a cool spyglass”, “That’s a cool mirror”, “Ooh hats” “I’m going to try one with the sort of plus sign” because “I like hats”. He also stated: “I quite like the timeline along the floor” as “you know what’s happening and when”.

John approved of the exhibition as a whole, stating that “this whole lot just takes my breath away.”

### **New Fact**

The acquisition of new facts throughout the exhibition displays at least some level of engagement and influence. Although many visitors may be using the museum for reasons other than learning, like a space for socialising, it is interesting to see what, if anything, they do take from the experience.

Rebecca often read and commented on facts and stories new to her. She spent nearly five minutes reading about Lieutenant Westmacott, finding it “amazing” that he painted “with his left hand, after he lost his right.” She asked her friend – “Have you read the bit about the Māori?” explaining that “At first they didn’t want them, they wouldn’t let them volunteer. They were nervous about it. How bad is that?” She also referred to how “they used to bat the grenades”, the “guy who brought the tortoise home” and, of soldiers at Chunuk Bair, “it said in that video like, the greatest thing was to die in battle.” Lisa also seemed to use the experience as one to learn through. She often commented on what she heard or read, for example: “Gosh, they were so close.” And “See that bottom paragraph there? They used the machine guns on everybody, Tommy’s and Turks.” She, like Rebecca, enjoyed the fact that the tortoise, “Torti is still alive and eating apricots in sunny Hawkes Bay.” She also asked numerous questions throughout, such as whether they had “people on the ground” to provide “maps prior to arriving.”

Jessica found that “it’s not so much new information” as she “knew it happened, but it’s more detailed information as opposed to new information.” For example, she was surprised to see in ‘Order from Chaos’ that “you literally got two small things of gauze for the entry and exit wounds.” However, she added – “not that I really thought about it beforehand, like before reading it.” Vici did not comment on whether she learnt any new facts from the exhibition itself, but hearing her confusion about the exhibition’s topic, a friend explained it to her and she told him: “now I get it.”

Some participants gained new facts primarily from visual elements. Owen used dioramas to obtain facts, stating in ‘Order from Chaos’ that he didn’t “realise they dug so deep into the landscape, just looking at this diorama.” He elaborated, “I knew they dug trenches and some tunnels but that’s quite an intricate, sort of, tunnel system.” He also “didn’t realise they fought so close to each other.” Similarly, Esmee became less confused about what historical event was being depicted when examined the 3D map in ‘The Great Adventure’, concluding: “Oh, journey to Gallipoli. So they went that way.”

### **Own Fact**

The moments in which participants showed their own prior knowledge and/or experiences provide convenient examples in support of active audience theories. This conversational theme shows that visitor backgrounds can influence their interpretation of exhibitions. As aforementioned, visitors are *not* entering as blank canvases. Any new information will have to fit in with whatever they have previously come across. This, obviously, will alter the type and level of influence the exhibition will have on individuals.

Owen often linked facts from the exhibition to facts he had acquired elsewhere. In ‘Order from Chaos’ he stated: “Oh, William Malone. He’s from Stratford. There’s a bronze statue of him there” and that “there’s a pub named after him in Taranaki.” At the model of Jack Dunn he explained awareness of “war being a very unpleasant place, especially in the trenches”, but “more through my own research rather than being told.” Esmee also used the exhibition’s content to talk about what she had previously learnt about WWI, explaining; “I learnt a lot about the First World War and the Second World War but there was never New Zealand in it.” Likewise, Vici stated that in school “we always have the...the history of Australia. Like the Aboriginal. We never learnt anything about New Zealand. Not even in my English studies.” She did add that at Lake Aniwhenua “we have a Maori guide telling us something

about the different tribes, they just killed each other and ate their brains, and their eyes, everything.”

Lisa occasionally made references to prior knowledge, such as: “my understanding is that Weta Workshop and Peter Jackson, have done all of the actual models and figures.” She also expanded on facts she came across with informed assumptions, adding to a comment on the various medals for each district that “they must have had a whole unit dedicated to that.” Erik often provided his own facts, prompted by exhibition elements he came across. Looking at a map in ‘The Great Adventure’ he said that “in 1915 they would have had special divisions. They would have had intelligence to help them improve it.” He also commented that the smaller revolvers “were only fired at close range.” In ‘Saying Goodbye’, he explained that “what they would do is have a rain-check shot which they would have further than they needed to ensure that they hit the Turks.” Rebecca was reminded by the mention of ceasefire that “They had, during one of the wars, they had a ceasefire on Christmas day and they played football.”

Jessica, who had visited four times previously, tended to express knowledge about the exhibition itself, rather than any elsewhere-acquired facts. For example, in ‘Order from Chaos’ she stated: “There was something interesting over here. I remember...” and before entering the vibrating tunnel: “It gave me a fright the first time I came through. Especially like, the vibrating floor.” Coming up to the model of Nurse Lottie, she announced “I always think this one’s the saddest one” and pointed out further along that “I never really read this because I always go round that way for some reason.” Thomas, like Jessica, added facts relating to his previous visits, noting that “it’s always been quite crowded” and deciding not to view the first 3D map as “I’ve already seen it, it’s quite full. But seems like it’s more infotainment than like, an exhibit.” He also asked of the ‘exposed wounds’ screen: “What’s the real value of this? We know that ammunitions hurt.”

Chris’ comments were more personal, made in conversation to his uncle. In the first room he recounted: “When I came with the girls’ school and that, even the fingernails had splits on them, you know? That’s how hard out they’ve gone.” He added that “that dude said there’s another one up the road and that’s all by Weta as well.” Chris also made a personal joke about his uncle at the hats in ‘Stalemate’ referring to “last night”. John spoke the least throughout the exhibition, but seemed to undergo the most emotional response. He mentioned that he had

previously been part of the military in Australia and cautioned in ‘The Great Adventure’ to “Never trust anything that was planned by Poms.”

### **Comparison**

Most comparisons made within the Gallipoli exhibition were related to movies and/or the media. Such comparisons show the concept of an active audience ‘in action’ – exemplifying how the lives of museum visitors can influence their perceptions and interpretations within a museum space.

Three participants referenced specific movies. Rebecca referenced “Mushu” from *Mulan* when seeing a dragon image in ‘Stalemate’, while Esmee said in the entrance room that “this music reminds me of the Hunger Games.” Additionally, Vici commented that the life-like figures made her think of the “movie with Ben Stiller” where “he has to take care of the museum in the night”.

Thomas said that the text was “all the same sort of stuff as every other Gallipoli exhibit”, but that “it is definitely more exciting than the other war exhibits I’ve been to.” However, he also made media related references. Thomas felt in the first room “like I’m watching one of those sort of period dramas on TV1”, thought the ‘exposed wounds’ interactive was “like an episode of *Bones*”, a drawing in ‘Chunuk Bair’ was “like an anime version of what’s happening” and that the final room felt “like the final scene in a show.” Finally, Jessica joked that the dissected pack in ‘The Great Adventure’ made it seem “like they’re very good at Tetris.”

### **Tragic/Wrong**

The use of words such as ‘tragic’ and ‘wrong’ by participants is a useful indicator of moral contemplation throughout the exhibition. Such remarks show moments where participants are using the exhibition space as a catalyst for thought, and indicate which aspects of the topic they find morally questionable.

John, for example, found the exhibition to be of a great emotional influence. He found ‘The Great Adventure’ section a “perfect example of the futility of war.” He later repeated that it was “a war of utter futility”, and noted: “...I feel so sad.” Rebecca, reading about ceasefire in ‘Order from Chaos’, commented that “it’s awful like, the only break they had, and then it’s



just...non-stop.” Lisa spoke specifically of death in war, finding it “a very high price to pay”. Esmee expressed similar sentiments. She commented at the model of Fenwick: “Oh, I really hate war. Always watching films, movies about it, it is so...so terrible.” She repeated twice more, at the vibrating tunnel and the hospital ship diorama, that the war was “terrible”.

Two participants felt that it was important not to sanitise the representation of war, or ignore certain aspects. Jessica explained in the final room, ‘Western Front’, that she felt a need to take a poppy because “after hearing all those horrible stories” you feel “you have to acknowledge it somehow.” Leaving a poppy, to her, was a “very, very small acknowledgement that you know all the pain they went through and all the stuff they did.” While Owen did feel there was “a lot of focus on death and suffering” throughout the exhibition, he thought this useful as it “opens people up to the realities of war.”

### **Gross/Scary**

As with words like ‘tragic’, those such as ‘gross’ and ‘scary’ imply some sort of emotive affect amongst participants. However, remarks of disgust or fear are less concerned with morality; more concerned with perceived realism in exhibition representation. TP participants mainly used this conversational theme when learning about trench conditions and wounds.

In the entrance, Owen commented that “it would be a bit intimidating coming in and seeing a man waving a gun at you and shouting.” Esmee had found the diorama of Quinn’s post to be “very scary”, while Lisa more generally stated that the close fighting-quarters “would have been really frightening.” Jessica found the ‘exposed wounds’ interactive in ‘Order from Chaos’ to be “quite cool”, but also “quite morbid”, that “obviously you’ve never seen anyone get shot in real life, so it’s quite...to see what happens inside is quite scary really.” In the same room Jessica remarked: “Do you know, I’ve never done the sniper thing? It freaks me out.” She found the vibrating, makeshift-trench tunnel to be quite frightening due to the fake explosives, exclaiming “Ooh, see, I do still jump.” Of the same tunnel, Vici said that “for small children, it might be really, really scary.”

Disgust was then usually related to food. Seeing the food eaten by Dunn in ‘Stalemate’, Rebecca said: “Eww. That’s gross. The flies.” She also commented that the food depicted in the next room was “gross”. Owen also found Dunn’s food to look “thoroughly unenjoyable”, and Esmee joked about how disgusting the food and latrine were in ‘Stalemate’. Vici

similarly joked that she and her friend “are too scared” to touch the interactive food boxes in ‘Stalemate’.

### **Confusion**

As explained in the responses from GWE participants, comments of confusion show moments where visitors are unable to comprehend the museum’s intended messages. This is a very useful way to see moments of distraction and, consequentially, limited influence.

A common area of confusion was the section in ‘Stalemate’ that allows visitors to try on hats and examine themselves in dog-tag mirrors. Rebecca spent time wondering: “where do you look?” Jessica got similarly confused about the mirrors. Upon finding out their use she said “It was last time I came in here when I went – oh, actually they might be mirrors. I never actually read the thing.” Esmee wondered about the hats: “Can you really put it on?” Thomas similarly asked “What are these hats for?” and “Are they meant to be dog tags or a mirror?”

Some other elements also left participants wondering how they were supposed to engage with or interpret them. Thomas found a pull-out map of Gallipoli (1915) in ‘The Great Adventure’ “hard to interpret” as he didn’t “know what is land and what’s the water.” Jessica wasn’t sure whether or not the diorama in ‘Order from Chaos’ was to scale, or what the individuals symbols on the Field Ambulance badge represented – and Esmee was unsure if all the models were depicting “a New Zealand guy” as they were “wearing different clothes.” Rebecca found the paper poppies at the end quite confusing, remarking: “I don’t understand how to fold it up”. Both Lisa and Erik also had had questions, with Erik noting that he didn’t know if the soldiers initially arrived at Chunuk Bair or not, though this did not seem to cause too much confusion.

Moments of confusion also arose when participants lost their place, both physically and in regards to audio tracks. Jessica noted that all the text meant she would “get confused where I’m going sometimes”, and also “lost where we were up to” while listening to the audio track in the Quinn’s Post dugout. Lisa “got lost” around the model of Jack Dunn in ‘Stalemate’, asking “Do I need to...do I go round that way?”

As elaborated upon in ‘criticisms’, Esmee and Vici both found the lack of a background story for tourists confusing, as were both confused about the Anzacs role in WWI. Esmee asked if “this is their, their war or something?” Vici said “I don’t get wars and stuff” and initially

asked: “so they all wanted to have New Zealand?” Obviously, such confusion would have taken away from any potential emotional or ideological influence.

### **Real vs. Replica**

The TP participants did not seem too concerned with the authenticity of artefacts in the exhibition. This is most likely because most objects were accompanied with detailed labels. However, three participants did indicate that ‘authentic artefacts’ had more of an affect on visitors than replicas.

Jessica liked the realism of the badges “because they’re like metal” but was “pretty sure they wouldn’t have been that big.” She also assumed the letter in Quinn’s Post was “the actual letter”. In ‘Saying Goodbye’, Jessica explained why she loved seeing artefacts linked to the people described, such as Nurse Lottie “as opposed to just seeing a picture and text”, as she is “able to see this and be like, ok this person actually – lived.” She thought “that makes it way more real”. Thomas similarly expressed interest in objects “actually from Gallipoli. I just think artefacts are more interesting.” He noted that such artefacts gave him “a sense of what was going on there.” Owen was the only participant from TP who queried the origin of some tools, noting in ‘Stalemate’ that “the pick was from 1914-18, the shovel was from 1916. It doesn’t say that it’s from the actual place.”

### **Self-Reflection**

The conversational theme of ‘self-reflection’ emerged in the TP participant transcripts, despite not occurring amongst participants in the GWE. One theory behind this is quite simply the emphasis on first-person narratives at TP. The GWE did not focus on individual narratives, in contrast to TP’s ‘Gallipoli’. Consequentially, visitors TP were more likely to compare their own attributes to those possessed by individuals they were reading about. This tendency to engage with TP’s exhibition by empathetically put themselves in the situation of others does indicate some level of affect on visitors.

For example, Rebecca and her companion tended to put each other in the situation, with Rebecca asking him: “You wouldn’t last a day, would you, without chocolate?” They also spoke of how “there’s no way I would join in the war” as “you’d just die” and, of walking “25 miles a day. Phew. I would not be up to that.”

Jessica was perhaps the most openly empathetic. When Jessica saw Jack Dunn depicted eating she said: “I would not be able to eat that, with that many flies on it.” She also commented: “I couldn’t imagine going to war at this age, ay? That’s insane.” In the final room, Jessica explained that she always left a poppy as “I could never do that myself.”

Lisa, in response to the audio relating to Fenwick stated: “I just can’t imagine having to make war out of that chaos” while Chris joked in ‘Order from Chaos’: “I’ve just been killed”, playing off the interactive nature of the exhibition.

### **Te Papa: Questionnaire Responses**

Below is an outline of the final questionnaire responses amongst TP participants. Along with the transcripts from accompanied visits, these responses allow analysis of the overall views of participants regarding representation, war and the museum’s ability to influence moral perceptions. The relevant questionnaire questions include in this section are the same as those used with the GWE participants:

- Do you think the exhibition has impacted your views on war in any way? What are/were your views on war?
- Is there anything you would like to see changed in the exhibition?
- *Final question: Is there anything else about your experience today or during a past visit which you think is important but which we haven’t touched on?*

<b>Visitor</b>	<b>Views Influenced?</b>	<b>Change Anything?</b>	<i>Anything else?</i>
<b>Rebecca</b>	No. War is tragic and wrong. I did learn more about NZ.	No.	No.
<b>Jessica</b>	Definitely made me think it was way worse than I previously thought.	No. I think it's pretty good. Lots of things to look at. Good amount of interactive vs. reading.	X

<b>John</b>	Yes. Confirmed my views of its utter stupidity and futility.	No - the whole experience is brilliant.	I've never felt so sad and such a sense of loss.
<b>Owen</b>	No my views remain largely unchanged and that war is quite a pointless endeavour.	Present both sides equally.	Nope.
<b>Lisa</b>	Increased my feeling that war/s is/are futile.	No - it's fantastic!	X
<b>Erik</b>	How senseless wars are! How poor decision making by leaders often leads to conflict.	No - it has been wonderfully presented.	You have triggered a desire for me to read more about Gallipoli.
<b>Chris</b>	Yes...thank god I was born in '76 and didn't have to go.	All good.	X
<b>Esmee</b>	That it is way more horrible than shooting and fighting and what you read in the history books.	No, it is pretty good. Maybe a short video with a summary about the WW1. 'Cause it is so much.	X
<b>Vici</b>	YES: it was really intense and we got quite emotional. The music	Less texts, more things that you can actually discover.	No.

	made us all think about what happened.		
<b>Thomas</b>	Not really. They're messy, and interpreted in many different ways - you should always be careful with any/every depiction.	Make it less emotionally charged - it's almost manipulative.	X

Table 4. TP Questionnaire Responses

### The Great War Exhibition: Overall Response Analysis

The questionnaire responses in Table 4 can here be used alongside the thematically analysed transcripts to discuss participant responses overall. The consensus voiced by most TP participants was favourable towards the angle of representation. Six of the ten participants found the representation to be fair and made no comment on it being in any way sanitised or celebratory. Their comments of approval match best with Scott's representation category: Violence and 'Realism'. Displayed weapons are given context through "textual interpretation", showing "what their place in war really is" (Scott 2015, 496-497). For instance, the interactive periscope sniper in 'Order from Chaos' does little to hide the reality of gun usage. The display of brutality and harsh conditions left many participants feeling that war was, in reality, even worse than they had previously thought. Two international participants enjoyed the exhibition, but were very confused about the topic of Gallipoli. Their comments do, however, tend to describe the representation as being a seemingly realistic portrayal of war in general. Such an approach is often associated with anti-war museums, although no participants felt the exhibition had a specific peace-promoting, activist agenda.

Alternatively, Owen and Thomas found TP's representation to be somewhat celebratory. They saw elements as potentially creating "a distorted and one-sided representation of war" which "enobled war and its soldiers to some degree" (Scott 2015, 491). Owen often criticised the lack of focus on Turkish individuals, or even simply those not classed as Anzacs. He felt this led to representation of a "faceless enemy" in the exhibition, especially as quotes on 'successfully' killing Turkish soldiers were included throughout. Criminological literature

describes the dehumanising and/or ideological distancing of individuals to be a method of justifying acts against them, commonly labelled ‘othering’ (Hinchmann and Hinchmann 1994, 61). This is often evident in warfare, seen particularly clearly in propaganda posters. To Owen, therefore, the representation came across as a means of moral justification for Anzac actions.

Thomas was most vocal over his perception of emotional manipulation. As described earlier, he found the emotive music, focus on only a handful of Anzac narratives and “highlighting words like ‘glorious’” to be “a bit sensationalist”. To him this seemed to portray the Anzacs as “victorious” and in places emphasised “the camaraderie of men”. Much recent literature in museum studies describes, even promotes, the use of affect in museums to achieve empathetic reflections amongst visitors – rather than simply displaying objects with little context in the manner of ‘old museology’ (Witcomb 2015, 322). However, the fact that Thomas was so aware of ‘meaning making’ strategies described in both museological and criminological texts, meant that he was critically analysing exactly *what* the exhibition’s representation methods were trying to do. He would perhaps have been more at ease with the representation if its intentions were made transparent from the outset. Others did comment on aspects that seemed ‘dramatic’, though to a lesser extent.

The TP participants were much more unified than the GWE participants in terms of their perceptions of war and morality. Table 4, shown above, allows the reader to see any words and phrases used by participants to describe their views of war, and whether the exhibition influenced them. Words such as futile, senseless, tragic and pointless, rather than any indicating justifications or an anti-Turkish atmosphere, are frequent and telling. Five of the ten participants emphasised the ‘horrible’ and/or ‘tragic’ nature of war and another four of the ten emphasised the futility of war. One participant, Thomas, did not express that war itself was necessarily immoral, though did acknowledge it to be a messy topic that was difficult to analyse.

Besides Owen, who often pointed out Anzac quotes portraying “the enemy as game”, it seems that on the whole most participants viewed war as an immoral act carried out by higher powers, with soldiers from both sides as victims. This sidesteps McGarry and Walklate’s (2011, 908) criminological research into soldiers as both victims and criminals in war. Here, visitors rarely referred to either the Anzacs or Turks as ‘killers’. Instead, most participants

seemed to reiterate the view of Kauzlarich, Matthews and Miller (2011, 175), where soldiers from both sides are seen as victims of a broader immoral situation. In this way, it seems people are leaning towards a ‘state crime’ way of thinking. For example, Erik noted in his questionnaire answer that “poor decision making by leaders often leads to conflict” and John’s remark that you should “never trust anything that was planned by Poms.”

Such views of war amongst participants helps to explain the wish, particularly amongst Owen and Thomas, to see more from our ‘enemies’ perspectives. It also explains the common response of sympathy and/or respect for soldiers, and the conversational theme of ‘self in situation’ in which participants express thanks for not being in the place of Anzacs. This is vastly different to potential responses of glory, and wishes to follow in the footsteps of individuals exhibited – despite the fact that the representation method focuses largely on ‘our’ side, the Anzacs. This in itself may indicate the power of audience backgrounds in shaping their interpretations. Despite criticisms over the potentially celebratory nature of quotes and interactive elements like the periscope sniper, no participants confirmed these worries by leaving anti-Turk or considerably more pro-war. The facts they took with them were those that tended to align with their prior viewpoints.

To elaborate on the issue of influence, most TP participants stated that the exhibition *did* influence their preconceptions of war, but through reinforcement rather than a total change of opinion. Seven out of ten indicated that the museum left them more aware of the negative aspects of war. The remaining three participants all touched upon the ‘futility’ of war, but did not feel the exhibition had affected their views in any way. Such comments were made despite criticisms over potential emotional manipulation, perhaps indicating an increased public awareness and suspicion of media and exhibition ‘tactics’. Such responses support contemporary literature in museum and criminological media studies, as they dispute passive audience models in which ideals from ‘above’ are instilled in civilians through hegemony. Such research is elaborated upon in the literature review of this research.

## **Summary**

The data and analyses included in this chapter make clear the complexity of museum visitor interpretations. Using transcripts from accompanied visits and questionnaires, the responses of twenty visitors (ten to the GWE; ten to TP) have been presented and explained, using



literature from both museum studies and criminology. The research has been used specifically to discuss, first:

- *Do visitors perceive the World War One exhibitions as neutral, anti-war, glorifying or as a means of justification? Do such representations align with their own viewpoints?*

Half the GWE participants viewed the exhibition as being somewhat sanitised in its representation of war, largely due to a perceived lack of context surrounding artefacts. Of the remaining five participants, one found the representation to be a romanticized glorification, while the rest found the approach to be relatively unbiased and well done.

Comparatively, eight of the ten participants at TP's Gallipoli exhibition approved of the perceived realism (though two of these admitted confusion over the topic). The remaining two participants found TP's approach to be somewhat celebratory and biased. Most of these opinions tended to stem from what participants saw as emotive and narrative-heavy elements. Unlike the GWE visitors, none from TP commented on the exhibition as presenting a sanitised version of war. This is most likely due to the constant addition of context to artefacts at TP, something visitors to the GWE without a tour guide or booklet found lacking. No participants from either museum felt that an anti-war or activist message was being actively presented.

Overall, Sixteen out of the twenty participants commented on war itself as being along the lines of tragic, immoral and/or futile, despite its legality. WWI and the higher powers that instigated it have had their morals questioned, though the general attitude towards soldiers themselves is sympathy and respect. Such views do tend to align with how representation is interpreted, as mentions of, for example, death counts and individuals from opposing sides were seen as either factual or sanitised. Had these elements been seen as points of activism against war, as with the original Enola Gay exhibition, it is likely that the participants would have been much more approving of state actions. Only one participant from each exhibition applied the idea of morality to the soldiers themselves, calling on the idea of a 'paradox of soldiering' where individuals are both victims and perpetrators, and both saw the exhibitions as being celebratory. Keith from the GWE commented that war can be necessary, though was not in World War One. He viewed the representation as relatively fair and unbiased. Finally,

Thomas from TP thought the subject of war to be a messy one, and so disapproved of what he saw as emotional manipulation in the exhibition.

The second sub-question addressed in this chapter is:

- *Did the method of representation influence visitor preconceptions?*

Five GWE participants and three TP participants felt that they had not undergone any ideological shifts. Their views on morality, therefore, were perceived as unchanged. One potential reason behind less impact felt amongst GWE visitors, could be that visitors entered with greater background knowledge or interest regarding WWI. The GWE visitors had often chosen to visit, and pay for, an exhibition very specific to WWI. TP visitors, however, may have been visiting the Gallipoli exhibition along with various others at TP. Additionally, GWE participants may have felt less impact due to fewer personal narratives than at TP.

Another three GWE participants and seven TP participants explained that, while their views on war had not been entirely changed, they had certainly been confirmed and reinforced. For most, they left feeling that war was a worse experience than previously thought. Such views directly go against the idea of sanitised representation. Again, that more TP participants than GWE participants thought this, could have something to do with the emphasis at TP on emotive personal narratives. The final two participants from the GWE also found the exhibition to have some influence, but through the acquisition of facts unrelated to morality.

Overall, therefore, participants support research into active, not passive, visitors, whose prior knowledge and ideologies strongly influence interpretation. Interestingly, this is at odds with worries voiced by numerous participants over potentially biased or manipulative representation methods.

## Chapter Four: Discussion

Findings from the previous two chapters, along with additional questionnaire data, will be discussed here to address the questions:

*Should museums seek to remain neutral? Or do such institutions have a duty to teach more than just 'facts'? If so, to what extent do they possess this ability?*

As explained throughout, literature from both museum studies and criminology will be used in this discussion, allowing for a broader understanding of the data obtained. The answers to these questions, in conjunction with those addressed in the previous chapters, will then allow the primary question of this research to later be contemplated:

*What impact, if any, do New Zealand's WWI Exhibitions have on visitor perceptions of the moralities of war?*

### Questionnaire Answers: Activism

At the conclusion of their visit, participants were asked in a questionnaire:

“Do you think museums should remain neutral? Or do you think it is important for museums to practise activism?”

As displayed in the table below, six of the ten GWE participants answered strongly in favour of attempted neutrality, preferring avoidance of activism. The remaining four participants felt that activism could in some cases be beneficial, if done transparently and ‘truthfully’. No participants expressed the opinion that activism would be a preferable method of representation to attempted ‘neutrality’.

GWE Visitor	Neutrality vs. Activism
Jieun	Neutral
Amanda	Not necessarily. It's ok to have some moral lessons - especially for children. I don't really like extreme views either way - some perspective is important.

<b>Diane</b>	I think neutral giving information from all sides.
<b>Nadia</b>	I think both. Museums should be a place of neutrality so different people can come together to talk about past topics. But activism also sparks change and change is good, it just needs to be done right.
<b>Emily</b>	It's important for museums to provide information that is truthful so that audiences can make enlightened decisions. NOT EVERYONE GETS OUT OF WAR ALIVE.
<b>Andrew</b>	Depends on the topic of the exhibition. Any specific activism needs to be stated up front.
<b>Fiona</b>	Yes they should. (Remain neutral)
<b>Michael</b>	Museums should present all sides especially public museums. We cannot ignore any viewpoint - good or bad, in order to overcome.
<b>Keith</b>	Yes, they should just present the facts and not try to sway public opinion.
<b>Richard</b>	Very important they remain neutral. Being bias towards one side gives a skewed view. Museums should be there just to tell a story.

Table 5. GWE Questionnaire: Activism

The TP participants followed a similar pattern, with seven of the ten favouring attempted neutrality over activism in museums. One felt that activism could be beneficial in some cases, and another was the sole participant to favour activism in exhibitions.

More consideration should have been given to participants using English as a second language, such as Esmee, who upon reflection appears to have misunderstood activism to mean interactive elements. This answer will not be included in quantitative analyses.

<b>TP Visitor</b>	<b>Attempted Neutrality vs. Activism</b>
<b>Rebecca</b>	Neutral.
<b>Jessica</b>	For events that have already happened I think they should be more on the neutral side of things but for events and situations happening currently i.e. global warming, equality etc. they can be more activist.
<b>John</b>	Remain neutral!!! Activism = thought guidance.
<b>Owen</b>	Museums are simply facilitators of peoples' views. They should present both sides and allow people to form their own opinions.
<b>Lisa</b>	Yes (neutral)
<b>Erik</b>	Museums should present facts from both sides of conflict.
<b>Chris</b>	Facts are best. You can only learn from the true past!
<b>Esmee</b>	Activism. Then you learn so much more and it is more touching.
<b>Vici</b>	<i>(practise activism - misunderstood)</i> Because you can participate in the events. So you can learn more about the exhibitions.
<b>Thomas</b>	Museums should remain neutral. People see them as educational, scientific and "correct". Any views expressed have a lot of power, and should be as scientific as possible.

Table 6. TP Questionnaire: Activism

It is evident from the answers given that participants tended to assume that activism was associated with an ‘untrue’ representation, whereas attempts to remain neutral, no-matter how difficult this is in reality, seemed considerably less manipulative. The chart below, Figure 56, outlines the total number of participants who were pro-activism (1) as opposed to those favouring attempted neutrality (13). Those seeing the advantages of both, depending on certain conditions, (5) have been counted under the title ‘Context-Dependant’.

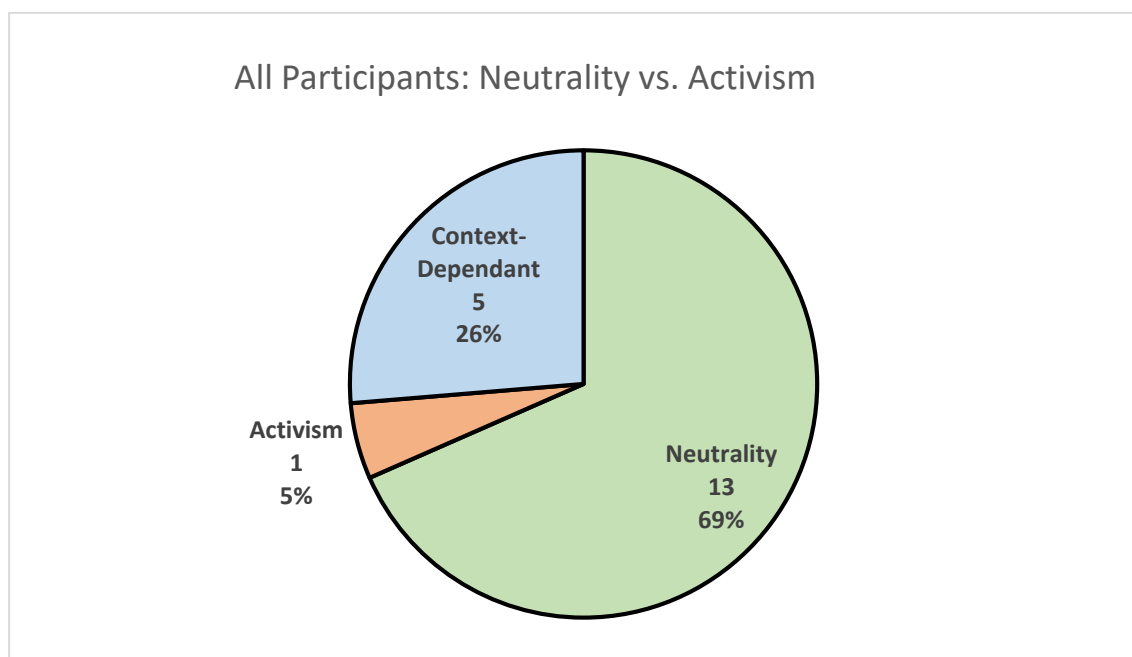


Figure 56. All Participants: Neutral Stance vs. Activism

### Analysis of Data

The data gathered from twenty participants in this research is at odds with current trends in museological literature. The literature review refers to such work, exemplifying human rights issues in contemporary museums. For instance, Chile’s Museo de la Memoria y Los Derechos Humanos, a self-identified human rights museum that exposes truth as a form of prevention and reparation (Carter 2013, 330). Sandell and Message are both authors who have written of such moral agendas in museums, with Sandell noting an increase in museum engagement with “controversial and morally charged topics” (Sandell and Nightingale 2012, 195). This research intended to discover whether such engagement was desired, or possible, in New Zealand exhibitions – using centennial WWI exhibitions as a means of generating relevant

conversation. Researchers Fromm, Golding and Rekdal (2014, xxi) have similarly asked: “Should museums try to define and make explicit a moral basis?” Of the twenty visitors from two Great War exhibitions in New Zealand’s capital, most have here answered: no. This is not to say that all participants were necessarily ‘anti-activism’, but it does show some discrepancies between theorists and visitors. Participants tended to understand activism as being synonymous with *filtered* narratives, while contemporary literature emphasises, rather, the uncovering of *more* narratives as a means of activism.

Reflexively, answers given by participants were not what I as a researcher would have expected or, indeed, personally given. As a strong supporter of activism in museums, I anticipated that this research would bring forward similar views amongst New Zealanders, exhibiting a ready audience for museums wishing to bring about social change in the form of, for example, peace and/or civil rights exhibitions. Such data would have easily slotted in amongst the museum studies literature just mentioned. However, the vast majority of participants in this research expressed a preference for museums to steer away from activism, feeling that visitors should be able to decide for themselves what moral messages and/or social actions they may take after learning about an issue or event. There was, in this context, a common wish for exhibitions to present information from all ‘sides’/viewpoints, leaving visitors to decide for themselves what to make of the topic. Although avoiding some level of bias is near impossible, due to the multitude of varying interpretations surrounding a single issue, participants tended to prefer that museums seek to remain as transparent and unbiased as possible, avoiding the over-emphasis of any one viewpoint. This indicates a general prioritisation for freedom of thought and self-determined moral standards – rather than my admittedly narrower view that issues such as peace, climate change and civil rights should overrule individual preferences.

So what did participants see and want in relation to the Great War exhibitions? Of course, each participant brought forward their own opinions and interpretations, as seen in the previous chapter. However, some overarching themes can be seen. Common criticisms amongst visitors to the GWE included: confusion over object contexts, a lack of stories, scarce focus on the Anzacs and some perceived sterilization of the war experience. Such views tie in with new museology, in which the inclusion of context and multi-sensory experiences are favoured over the older encased-objects techniques (Corsane 2005, 57). This is not to say such elements were not present in the GWE. Rather, many participants simply

voiced wanting *more* in terms of context, for a more cohesive exhibition assemblage (Waterton and Dittmer 2014, 124). Similarly, many wanted more context in order to avoid what participants such as Emily saw as biased elements that could sway visitor perceptions of war.

Counter-wise, TP's Gallipoli exhibition was commented upon as being very story/context focused and extremely centralised to the Anzac experience. So much so, that participants such as Owen and Thomas questioned the exhibition's potential glorification of WWI. As explained in the previous chapter, Owen found aspects of the museum to exemplify what criminologists label 'othering', where Anzac actions against the Turkish seemed to be justified by lack of emphasis and humanisation of the 'enemy' Turks. Thomas spoke more of "infotainment" and multi-sensory elements that came across as emotionally manipulating, such as the slow music and focus on sadness in Nurse Lottie's section. Such criticisms actually oppose the promoted understanding and use of affect within museums, where difficult histories can be understood through a connecting and emotive "internal phenomenon" (Matthews 2013, 274). However, this approach was on the whole viewed favourably by participants.

Overall, therefore, it seems that participants mainly want the opportunity to see multiple sides of exhibition topics, ultimately allowing them the freedom to shape their own moral standards. The varying, even polarised criticisms of both museums can be largely stripped down to this desire for self-determination and individual selection of presented facts. Conversational themes from accompanied visits also support this idea, such as the predominance of comparisons and 'own facts'. People are not simply going to exhibitions to learn, but rather to spark conversation and contemplation of their prior knowledge. Henceforth, the predominance of participants opposing activism in museums is hardly surprising.

These findings tie in with contemporary literature on active audiences, which are elaborated upon in the literature review. As expressed by Schorch (2014, 14), the lives of visitors are strongly influential to how they interpret exhibition elements. Visitors will not, as early works by authors such as Bennett suggest, take from exhibitions exactly what those in charge of representation want them to. In other words, they are not a passive audience. Contemporary literature in criminology also regards audiences as being active. Media is no longer widely



regarded as a simplistic means of spreading hegemonic views in a top-down manner, as its public is not a homogeneous one without agency (Doyle 2006, 871).

Of course, as with all research, any data presented here should not be read without some caution. Despite the fact that accompanied visits were intended to record visitor's natural thought processes throughout the entire exhibition, rather than just at the start and/or end, it still relies on the spoken word. Some participants, such as Diane who had a tour guide at the GWE, could not speak at all points due to other speaking individuals and visitor traffic. Furthermore, even when participants were speaking, they sometimes admitted thinking more critically due to participating in a study. For example, Richard at the GWE began by explaining: "I just want to say things that are poignant", and Thomas at TP admitted that "if I was going through I'd be like – oh, that's interesting, but this is a more critical situation." Although the research intended to extract naturally occurring thoughts, this is obviously easier said than done. Sitting to complete a questionnaire would then expectedly have a similarly distorting effect on visitor thinking, due to awareness of being in a study. It should also be kept in mind that only twenty participants were involved in this study due to its time consuming nature – hardly a vast population sample.

## Summary

Despite limitations, such data can be used to give indicative answers to the questions of this research, including:

*Should museums seek to remain neutral? Or do such institutions have a duty to teach more than just 'facts'? If so, to what extent do they possess this ability?*

As reiterated throughout the chapter, this research has found that most participants from both The GWE and TP would prefer museums to seek neutrality in their exhibitions, rather than activism. In many cases, participants here understood activism as being a filtered presentation of issues, which is slightly at odds to the definitions given by theorists. It is interesting that many contemporary theorists regard activism as the uncovering of hidden facts, while some participants instead understand activism as being biased. One quarter did see the benefit of some activism in museums, as long as this intent was made clear. However, only one participant felt that activism in museums was preferable to the simple presentation of 'facts'. The primary reason given against activism in museums was the wish amongst participants to

see ‘all sides of a story’ and be free of any purposeful thought guidance or, put more strongly, manipulation. Many indicated that museums *had* the ability to influence public perceptions of certain issues, but thought use of this ability should be avoided.

Interestingly, while participants did feel that museums had the ability to sway public opinion and moral standards, very few felt that either centennial WWI exhibition actually influenced their own preconceptions. Altogether, eight participants stated no influence, ten felt their views had simply been reinforced and/or confirmed and two felt they had been influenced, though not in terms of morality. No participants had a full change of opinion regarding war. Rather, they seemed to feel museums had the hegemonic ability to ideologically influence others; not themselves.

## Conclusion

Using the sub-questions answered throughout, which have been informed by both my own research and that of others in relevant literature, the primary question of this research can now be directly addressed:

*What impact, if any, do New Zealand's WWI Exhibitions have on visitor perceptions of the moralities of war?*

Bluntly, Wellington's centennial Great War exhibitions seemed to have little influence on visitor preconceptions of war moralities. As aforementioned, participants who did comment on their preconceptions being altered by centennial exhibitions tended to explain that this was more in the form of reinforcements and confirmations, as opposed to a full ideological shift. As exemplified in transcripts from the accompanied visits, participants tended to use the exhibition space as a catalyst for conversation and/or comparisons with their own prior knowledge and interests – rather than a chance to learn from scratch and without question. This is perhaps most evident when participants at both The GWE and TP's *Gallipoli* supplied their own facts, even criticising the fact that some of their prior knowledge was not included in the exhibitions.

The moral standards of participants were varied, indicating the presence of moral relativism amongst visitors, though most did tend to view WWI in itself as somewhat immoral and 'futile'; the soldiers from both sides as victims of circumstance. It was rare for visitors to view the soldiers themselves as immoral, although this did emerge in some cases where participants criticised the fact that soldiers killed each other, regardless of legality in war. Worth noting, however, is the fact that it is unlikely that large numbers of individuals with extremely strong moral oppositions to war and all involved in it would actually visit Great War exhibitions, especially those such as the GWE that require an entry fee. Therefore it was always unlikely that individuals would leave feeling less morally opposed to, for instance, the men of war. Although Keith from the GWE did deem the act of war necessary in some cases, he did not feel that WWI fell into this category. No participants voiced traditional views of, for example, the Anzacs as good and the opposing sides as 'bad', or indeed of the war as being justified.

This may, in part, be because the museums were not viewed by most participants as being particularly glorifying or anti-war. True, some participants perceived glorification of war in both exhibitions, largely because their moralities leaned more towards the idea of soldier-actions as being unjustified, despite legality in war. Overall, however, neither exhibition were perceived as being polarising enough to cause a full moral re-think amongst participants. Nevertheless, most participants thought that museums *could* influence public opinion and moral standards, despite not being largely influenced themselves in this instance.

Taking into account the views of these twenty participants, the following recommendations can be made:

First, clarity and context. As reiterated in much contemporary literature, the role of museums today is widely seen as reaching beyond the simple display of artefacts. The accompanied visits and questionnaires used in this research unearthed a frequent call for exhibitions to make very clear their topic, representational intent, and the context of artefacts and/or elements included. This would hopefully help mitigate the frequency of confused conversational themes (i.e. distractions) amongst exhibition visitors.

Second, multi-sensory approaches. The interpretations of each participant in this research made clear the vast diversity of interests and learning-styles amongst museum visitors. In both museums, polarising views often emerged. For some (particularly the female participants from the GWE), artefacts held little meaning without associated ‘stories’. Others, particularly the male participants, expressed the direct opposite, feeling that artefacts held more meaning than words. To some, TP’s use of emotive representation and interactives aided their connection to, and understanding of, the topic. Others, however, saw such techniques as being somewhat manipulative and trivialising. There is, obviously, no one-size-fits-all solution to museum representation. Consequentially, it seems that exhibitions manage to have more of an impact when they do not act as though there is.

Third, transparency. There seemed to be a strong desire amongst many participants to know, for example, museum intentions and the authenticity of artefacts. Questions surrounding object authenticity were most common at the GWE; while some TP participants questioned the motives behind certain uses of language and music. The few participants who saw value in museum activism tended to add ‘transparency-in-intention’ as a prerequisite. Counter-wise, attempts to present a neutral stance may benefit from transparent and reflexive narrative

interpretations, in order to come across as more ‘trustworthy’ and honest rather than manipulative.

Finally, it seems that overall, most participants would prefer museums to provide a multi-narrative pool of information; not an opinion. The predominant desire amongst participants regarding representation was *not* for museums to act as an outspoken catalyst for social debates and/or change. Rather, many participants felt that more credit should be given to visiting populations regarding their wish and ability to form and control their own moral perspectives.

This is not to say that activism is directly opposed by all participants. Indeed, six of the twenty expressed at least some level of approval towards museum activism. Rather, it seems that activism in the form of restorative justice through narrative-inclusion would be preferable to any direct focus on a particular moral viewpoint. For example, applying this idea directly to WWI, it may be that New Zealand visitors would prefer greater inclusion of narratives from the ‘enemy’, pacifists and/or dissenters. However, it seems unlikely that visitors would respond as well to a self-professed peace museum speaking against WWI. Overall, however, it is evident that museums most likely cannot please everyone due to the strength of personal factors and active interpretation.

In addition to discussing the above questions and consequential recommendations, it was hoped that this research would help to fill certain literature gaps. Predominantly, that of museum studies’ activism research relating specifically to New Zealand. In doing so, this research provides New Zealand museums with highly applicable and up-to-date information regarding their visitors’ wants and interpretations. This research also intended to fill the literature gap regarding interdisciplinary studies in general, specifically literature using theories from both criminology and museum studies. Our segregated academic fields have much to offer each other. In this case, criminology has enabled more informed explanations of the reasons *behind* visitor interpretations. Consequentially, it is hoped that this research will inspire others to continue building such academic bridges.

Besides calling for more inter-disciplinary studies, this research also makes known specific areas that would benefit from further examination. Due to word limits and time restrictions, the thoughts and intentions of museum staff at the two exhibitions were not considered. Such research would allow for an intriguing comparison between museum intentions and visitor

interpretations. Furthermore, it is recommended that those with the required time and resources investigate a greater number of visitors, from a wider range of New Zealand museums. This variety would increase the credibility of any representational conclusions.

While much is left to be desired in terms of the population sample in this research, it is hoped that this thesis will provide a rough guideline and starting point for New Zealand museums and researchers hoping to understand more about the moral interpretations and desires of visitors. Without visitors, in what way would we distinguish museums from a multitude of dusty, forgotten storehouses? It is vital that museums continually take into account both current and coveted representation methods. Here, both have been discussed in relation to New Zealand's centennial exhibitions, in order to unearth visitor perceptions regarding museums, morals and the First World War.

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