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Memorialisation and Memory as an ANZAC Descendant: The Auckland War Memorial Cenotaph



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degree of Master of Arts in Geography, The University of
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Abstract

This thesis explores the concepts of emotion, embodiment, and place-based experience through encounters with the ceremonial and non-ceremonial World War One (WW1) memorial cenotaph. The thesis addresses a gap in the memorial studies literature by using the Auckland Domain WW1 Memorial Cenotaph as an empirical case study of how emotion and embodiment are experienced on ceremonial and non-ceremonial field visits. This gap in memorial studies extends to geographic inquiry where a general sensory poverty exists in terms of how everyday encounters with place impact processes of self- and group identification, belonging, and exclusion. The thesis uses a combination of narrative and visual autoethnography and participant interviews to construct a written account of how, as an ANZAC descendant and Anzac Day participant, I experienced place on ceremonial and non-ceremonial field visits to the cenotaph square. The findings show that autoethnography provides opportunities to develop new understandings of the emotional geographies of memorial landscapes. In writing an autoethnography, I recorded my thoughts, emotions, memories, and place-based experiences to attempt to address the sensory poverty in memorial studies and geographic inquiry, revealing the significance of mundane day-to-day encounters with place in understanding processes of belonging and exclusion overtime. The inclusion of three participant interviews added to my narrative account, extending my story to include the experiences of others. Participant interviews within narrative and visual autoethnography facilitated deeper reflection upon my positionality as an ANZAC descendant and Anzac Day commemorative participant, and how this implicated the research findings. I conclude that the combination of autoethnography and participant interviews serves to bring more reflective and emotionally engaged research approaches into memorial studies and to geographies of memorial landscapes.

World War One Memorial—Auckland Domain Cenotaph---Ceremonial and Non-Ceremonial--Emotion and Embodiment---Autoethnography

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Where I come from: What happens at the memorial cenotaph on Anzac Day?

“As long as I have been an adult living in Auckland, I participated in the commemorative rituals of Anzac¹ Day. Even if I could not make it to the dawn service I woke an hour before dawn and would feel guilty that I was not at the Domain memorial cenotaph. The years I did go to the dawn service, I made a ritual of putting on my warm clothes, wiping the gritty yellow bits from the corners of my bleary eyes and pinning on my red Anzac poppy. I would then set off for the Auckland Domain where I stood alone or sometimes with a friend at the foot of the Domain Memorial Cenotaph. I stood, I listened to the speeches, I prayed, I sang the hymns and waited for the Last Post. Sometimes in the quiet of the morning, I would think about my poppa Reginald (Wireless Operator WW2) and my great-grandfather Frank and his brothers (Privates Land Army WW1). In remembering them, sometimes I cried, sometimes I suppressed a laugh, and sometimes I just felt cold in the dawn light.”

The quotation, extracted from my 2016 research diary signals the start of my research journey seeking to examine my personal experiences of Anzac Day commemorations and everyday encounters with place at the Auckland Domain cenotaph. This research emerged out of my own personal connections to Anzac Day - as an Anzac descendant and Pakeha New Zealand citizen whose ancestors served in the first and second world wars. This thesis is concerned with the ceremonial and everyday, role and function of the memorial landscape in how people experience place.

The thesis engages the Domain memorial cenotaph and landscape as an empirical example of place-based experience, being the site of Auckland’s annual Anzac dawn and civil

¹ Note, the lower-case Anzac is used when reference is made to the acronym outside of direct reference to ANZAC servicemen (New Zealand History, 2016).

services on April 25. The research findings then address the lacuna within the memorial studies literature around the everyday role and function of memorial structures in the New Zealand context in terms of how individuals and groups identify with, or feel excluded from, place.

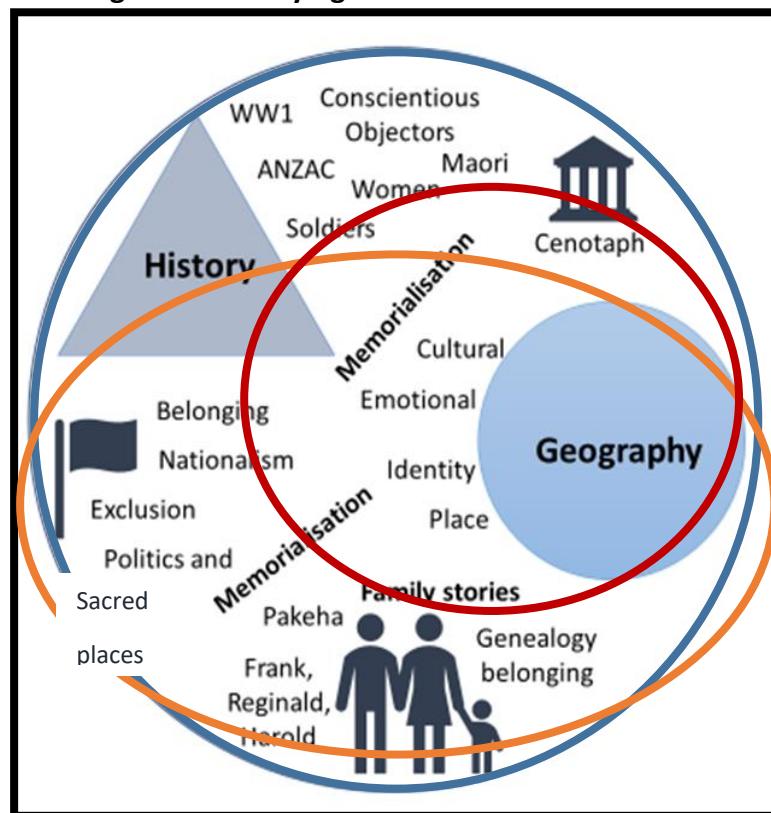
This thesis drew from the multiple disciplines engaged in memorial studies, which are seen in the blue circle within Figure 1. Firstly, the thesis drew upon the extensive historical and geographic literatures on memorial studies which used World War One as an empirical example of memorialisation in action. I drew from the memorial studies literature that included research on the Anzac military service, biographic experiences of conflict and military commemoration practices, and the growing literature on wartime from women's, indigenous populations', and conscientious objectors' experiences as servicemen, women, and civilians (Gough 2004 & 2007; Worthy, 2004; Illes, 2008; Hucker, 2010; Davidson, 2016). These literatures have focused upon the traditional ceremonial role and function of the WW1 memorial cenotaph and Anzac commemoration.

To move beyond these traditional approaches to memorial studies, I also drew upon the more critical work of McDonald (2010), McConville et al., (2017) and Sumartojo (2016) who reinforce the limitations of fixating upon the ceremonial role and function of the memorial structure (seen in the orange sphere in Figure 1). The thesis explores both the memorial cenotaph's ceremonial and everyday presence to contribute to the scholarship around the potential exclusionary politics mobilised through New Zealand and Australian memorialisation structures and practices. I address a gap in terms of how these politics of exclusion manifest from both ceremonial and everyday encounters with place.

As seen in the red circle within Figure 1, the intersection between the everyday and ceremonial literatures presents several scholarly silences- which this thesis seeks to address. The silences centre on how emotion, culture, identity, and the positionality of the researcher manifest in place. In particular, the memorial studies literature overlooks

the non-ceremonial function and role of memorial structures in everyday life. This research speaks to this silence or gap in the academic literature.

Figure 1.Identifying the areas of research



The research findings address the gap within memorial studies surrounding the ceremonial as well as the everyday role and function of the memorial cenotaph, engaging autoethnography as the primary research method.

The thesis using a mixed-method autoethnographic approach includes narrative diary keeping and photographs to examine my own experiences of place and the experiences of three research participants at the Auckland Domain WW1 memorial cenotaph. In this thesis I refer to the Auckland Memorial cenotaph, which in contemporary commemorative events is used to memorialise all wars, as the WW1 cenotaph based on its erection date in the post WW1 period. The cenotaph is used as an empirical case

study which, explores facets of emotion, constructs of identity, belonging, and exclusion in day-to-day, and ceremonial encounters with the memorial landscape.

1.2 Rationale, research and objectives

To guide my research, I sought to address the following question:

How do people experience the Auckland Domain WW1 cenotaph both inside and outside commemorative events?

To guide addressing this question, my objectives were to:

1. examine how embodiment and emotion are part of people's everyday experiences of the memorial cenotaph and landscape.
2. understand how a memorial structure is part of my own as well as wider personal, cultural, and material landscapes.
3. explore the usefulness of autoethnography as a potential research methodology within memorial studies.

1.3 Thesis Structure

This thesis is organised in a series of chapters which identify the research context, literatures, methodology, and discussion points. The chapters are set out as follows:

The second chapter provides a contextual summary. Chapter two starts by providing a brief history of the Anzac campaign and my family ties to the Gallipoli landings. Each subsection then explores the catalyst for military memorialization projects in New Zealand, the various groups excluded from military memorialisation on Anzac Day, and the complexities of the Anzac myth in constructs of Pakeha identity and indigeneity.

Chapter three reviews the relevant literatures identified in Figure 1. The chapter starts by identifying the key areas of memorial studies and the emotional lacuna in studying the memorial landscape. As a point of transition from traditional memorial studies, the chapter goes on to discuss the importance of everyday spaces in geographic inquiry to identity, belonging, and exclusion. The chapter then critically reflects upon materiality and affect through Duff's (2010) enabling places concept to engage the intersection of place, emotion, and embodiment in processes of self and group identification. After exploring the enabling places concept, I engage with the literature around embodiment and exclusion through human, material, and landscape encounters with the memorial structure. In the final two subsections of the chapter, I outline the emotionless tendencies of past memorial studies whereby both the researchers' and participants' embodied emotions in and through what they remember - and forget - are overlooked. The chapter ends with a brief introduction to autoethnography in memorial studies, leading into the methodology chapter.

In chapter four, I outline the methodological approach (autoethnography) engaged in this thesis. The chapter starts with a section introducing autoethnography generally and then specifically within geographic inquiry. In this chapter, I outline the use of mixed-method autoethnography, including a research diary, participant interviews, and visual materials. The chapter ends with a brief overview of why I engaged autoethnography as my primary research method.

Chapter five begins the discussion component of my thesis. Chapter five outlines the ceremonial experiences I had at the Domain memorial cenotaph on Anzac Day and the day before. The chapter explores embodiment of emotions at the national commemorative ceremony held on ANZAC Day. It focuses on the ritualisation of the Anzac myth and the implications of this on senses of place, identity, belonging, and - exclusion. In this chapter, I also reflect upon the limitations of autobiographic mind mapping as an analytical framework within autoethnography.

Chapter six considers the memorial as a hybrid space where multiple emotions and sensations can come forth through everyday encounters with place. The chapter uses my non-ceremonial visits as a lens into the complexity of place-based experience. Recognition of this complexity reinforces as well as challenges memorial studies' traditional focus on the ceremonial role and function of the cenotaph.

Chapter seven outlines the experiences articulated by three participants who I interviewed at the Domain memorial cenotaph. I explore Mary, Alice, and Helen's experiences alongside my own autoethnography to communicate the diverse emotions and silences encountered in the memorial landscape and then retrospectively through reflecting upon my narrative account.

Chapter eight rounds off my discussion chapters by articulating the different degrees of engagement I had with the Auckland memorial landscape in the lead-up to Anzac Day and during a second memorial cenotaph visit to the National Memorial Cenotaph at Pukeahu in Wellington. Each case study considers how different material encounters inspired and quashed connective emotions, feelings, and memories of the memorial cenotaph at the Auckland Domain.

Chapter nine concludes the thesis. The chapter focuses on the strengths and limitations of autoethnography and potential areas for more research work in memorial studies in geography.

Chapter 2. Context

2.1 The birth of nation: The blood of the ANZAC's

On 25th of April 1915, New Zealand and Australian servicemen- as part of the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force - landed on the beaches of Gaba Tepe Turkey, later to be named Anzac Cove (Mahuika, 2012). Australian, New Zealand, West African, and British forces were sent by Britain in WW1 to fight Germany's authoritarian ally, the Turkish, as the war in Europe had stalled (Smith, 2015). The Gallipoli campaign represented a series of bloody battles, and- although weakened by the allied assault, the Turks did not capitulate (Mahuika, 2012). My own great-grandfather Frank Shirley landed on Anzac Cove on April 25, 1915 -a day many historians in the past have claimed to represent the birth of New Zealand's national identity (Phillips, 1980; Worthy, 2002; Smith, 2015).

My great-grandfather Frank Shirley, as part of the Wellington Infantry Battalion, served as a private at Gallipoli. At the end of the first day of the Gallipoli Offensive, stretcher-bearer Wilfred Murray (who died one month later in France) found Frank lying on the beach with half his shoulder missing. Frank went by hospital ship to the Birmingham General Hospital in London to recover. After reconstructive surgery on his right shoulder, Frank remained in London working in a munitions factory until the end of the war. In London, Frank met my English-born great-grandmother Ethel whom he married in 1920. I know these parts of Frank's war story through his letters to his mother, which were published in the Taranaki Daily News.

In 1915 a Taranaki Daily News article communicated how Frank experienced a mix of emotions following his injury due to his inability to fight, and the loss of his friends. Emotions varied from regret and loss to imperialistic pride and duty as well as admiration for his comrades and the Turks (parts of the extract below with a 't' indicate where the censor removed parts of the text):

"There are many sad homes in New Zealand t now, and it seems terrible to think so many fine strapping lads have fallen, but it's a great thing to die fighting for your country, and I am proud to know that one of your sons fought t side by side with such fine brave lads, eight who have made such a great name for New Zealand. Fight! My god they did fight!"

(Taranaki Daily News, 13th October 1915).

While recuperating in hospital, Frank, met the King George and Queen Mary and had other aristocratic visitors such as Lord and Lady Plunket and Lord and Lady Ranfurly. King George even talked to Frank about his shoulder injury, fascinated by the metal wires that were his new shoulder muscles (Taranaki Daily News, 13th October 1915). These extracts from my great-grandfather's letters are by no means unique to my family. Such letters were often printed in local newspapers during wartime to boost morale (McConville et al., 2017).

Frank's letters provided windows into my family's past and prompted reflection upon why such artefacts were so important to broader processes of Anzac commemoration in contemporary society. My great-grandfather's letters revealed the complex mix of emotions he felt in losing friends, while feeling ashamed that he could not fight on for his homeland and for empire. As I read the letters, I had multiple questions around the emotive themes raised and how these emotive themes sat within national Anzac commemoration rituals held at the memorial cenotaph - where every year I had participated in the dawn or civic service.

The Anzac dawn and civic services are annual events in New Zealand. The dawn and civic service have been annual events since 1915 where commemorative services took place in local town halls or churches (Phillips and Maclean, 1990; Phillips, 2017). The dawn and civic service, by 1920, took place outdoors at localised memorial structures made of stone or concrete (Phillips and Maclean, 1990). Situated in local focal points, memorial structures sat within town squares, local parks, or on the waterfronts across New Zealand's small towns and larger cities (Phillips and Maclean, 1990' Pawson, 1991; Phillips, 2017). Constructed to commemorate the Gallipoli landing (and later all New

Zealand servicemen), these memorials were built to honour and remember the men who fought in WW1 for all time.

The commemorative focus of the memorial structure remained strictly on New Zealand's participation in international conflicts, with no reference to local conflicts (O'Malley, 2016). O'Malley (2016) reminds New Zealand citizens that WW1 was by no means New Zealand's first military offensive. The New Zealand Land Wars 60 years prior to WW1 had seen military death and destruction (although not on the same scale) on the home front. Anzac military service, somehow, was something where commemoration,

"was a source of patriotic pride for us – we stand together united as a nation to remember our fallen. Whereas the New Zealand Wars, being a series of internal conflicts, I think creates an uncomfortable silence. We don't really know how to deal with these issues (O'Malley, 2016)."

The anniversary of the Gallipoli landings (not the New Zealand Land Wars) remained New Zealand's only national day dedicated to the commemoration of military conflict and promoted themes of patriotic pride to international military service (O'Malley, 2016). In 2016, a national day of remembrance (but not a public holiday) for the New Zealand Land Wars was confirmed on October 28 by the National government (Smallman, 2016). Therefore, despite civilian and military deaths in New Zealand and in other colonial conflicts such as the South African Boer war, those who fought and died in these conflicts just decades before WW1 sat outside the commemorative ambit of the WW1 cenotaph (O'Malley, 2016).

The marginalisation of these conflicts in terms of memorialisation in New Zealand, particularly the New Zealand land wars, emphasises that the cenotaph, obelisk, and soldier statue were unique memorial structures in New Zealand's history. Projects of commemoration were established to commemorate deceased servicemen and to sponsor unity during wartime (Gough, 2007). After the Gallipoli landings, news of the

significant casualty lists saw enlistment levels drop at local, regional, and national levels (Worthy, 2002; Gough, 2004; Crawley, 2015).

From 1916, many communities across the nation began projects to remember those who had lost their lives in military service, to honour the dead, and to encourage the living to fight on (Worthy, 2002 & 2004; Hucker, 2010). These projects of memorialisation and commemoration were significant in the 20th century, as - for the first time - the ordinary soldier who died (or served in the Australian memorialisation project) in military service was publicly commemorated (Gough, 2010). All servicemen, regardless of their military rank - not just military generals or battlefield heroes - were honoured at national level (Worthy, 2002; Gough, 2010).

Communities of remembrance, a phrase coined by Worthy (2002 & 2004) describes the diverse community groups who gathered to commemorate WW1 at these new memorial structures. Worthy (2002 & 2004) identified how each local community of remembrance represented collectives of diverse people (by religion, class, race, and gender) who actively sponsored military service and sanctified military death with deep public respect and gratitude (Standish, 2016).

Communities of remembrance centred their respect and gratitude for those who died in WW1 at the memorial cenotaph and publicly normalised the Anzac commemorative ritual. The design of the memorial cenotaph and the commemorative ceremony performed there instigated the ritualised commemoration process that exists today on Anzac Day (Smith, 2015). Based on the memorialisation structures built to commemorate military service in western society, New Zealand copied the memorial cenotaph, obelisk, or soldier statue designs from Britain and France (Phillips and Maclean, 1990). Local memorials added some unique features seen at structures like Lion Rock at Piha, where a natural landmark became the local memorial (Gough, 2010; McConville et al., 2017).

Despite indigenous men serving alongside the allies in WW1, the inclusion of these groups in the memorial landscape and Anzac commemorative ritual has remained partial and at times non-existent (Kerwin et al., 2016). In the First and Second World Wars, New Zealand Maori, Australian Torre Strait Islander and Aboriginal, African, Indian, and Pacific Island men volunteered or were conscripted for military service as colonial soldiers. At the time of the First and Second World Wars, contemporaries articulated that military service was indigenous groups' price of citizenship and another step forward to achieve civil rights, basic equality, and independence (Ngata, 1945; Soutar, 2009; Syron, 2015; Crawley, 2015). Expectations of equal citizenship resulting from military service, however, were dashed when indigenous groups returned home and found their access to basic civil rights and liberties remained non-existent (Crawley, 2015, Kerwin et al., 2016).

By way of example in WW1, some Aboriginal men volunteered to serve under their colonial counterparts (Scarlett, 2015). Described as useful front-line soldiers, Aboriginal servicemen received little recognition for their service at the end of the war or in any contemporary Anzac commemorations. Aboriginal service - if recognised - continued to be homogenised within the dominant white Australian Anzac ritual. Aboriginal and Torre Strait Islander individuals did serve in WW1 for complex reasons in the context of significant racism and social inequality for indigenous groups in Australia's history (Scarlett, 2015; Kerwin et al., 2016). Thus analogised, indigenous and white experiences of military and post-war life continue to be problematic as it overlooks the lived experiences of racism and exclusion these groups lived through for generations during and post-military service.

Maori servicemen, like Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, were homogenised into dominant white narratives of military service. In the New Zealand context, Maori service within WW1 hinged upon their tribal relationship with the British crown. Waikato and Taranaki tribes boycotted service due to the New Zealand Land wars of the 1860s and 1870s and the subsequent confiscations of large tracts of land (Wetherell, 2014). Maori leaders such as Te Puea Herangi also publicly resisted the war (Wetherell, 2014).

In the context of WW2, Apirana Ngata transitioned the construction of war as a European affair to incorporate Maori as loyal and invaluable citizens. Apirana constructed the Maori soldier in terms of their physical and tribal prowess having “*great physical strength and endurance, and with a knowledge of nature in all its moods*” (Ngata, 1943: 14), being natural sportsmen over “*prominent students*” (Ngata, 1943: 16). Ngata sought to carve out a place for Maori in mainstream society during and after military service in WW2 and for veterans of WW1 (Wetherell, 2014). Ngata emphasised the value of Maori service to ensure that they could access basic citizenship rights and civil benefits achieved by white servicemen, such as housing loans, ballot farms, educational endorsements, and full military pensions (Wetherell, 2014).

The constructions of Maori men, established by Ngata as fierce and natural warriors persisted into contemporary military remembrance and commemoration. During the 2015 centenary year, newspapers such as the *New Zealand Herald* used Ngata- inspired terms from over 70 years ago to describe Maori servicemen (Bayer, 2015). These descriptions stereotyped Maori service within discourses of reckless violence, fierceness, and hyper-masculinity to differentiate Maori and Pakeha military service and character (Bayer, 2015). At times, these mythologies substantiate mainstream understandings of Maori as violent men, seeming to justify understandings of Maori within negative statistics such as violent crime (Hokowhitu, 2004). Hokowhitu (2004), Bell (2009), and Scarlett (2015) warn that the danger of these discursive constructs is that dominant and indigenous groups can internalise them and then perform such narratives to substantiate sentiments of belonging and self-worth as well as exclusion based on imagined otherness (Bell, 2009).

Critical scholars across academic disciplines have responded to these essentializing discourses at a personal, familial or tribal level and have described the plethora of Maori and Pacific experiences in the Great War (Dwight, 2010; Scarlett, 2015; McConville et al., 2017). These experiences include authors like Ickes et al (2002) and her work on Niue Islanders, Pugsley’s (1995) text on the Maori Pioneer Battalion and Scarlett’s (2015) work

on Aboriginal and Torre Strait Islanders' homogenisation as Aboriginal ANZACs. Such texts outline alternative experiences military service, recognising the limits of Western and Pakeha centric remembrance of WW1 as well as commemorative practices at the cenotaph (Pugsley, 1995; Scarlett, 2015).

The practice of commemorating particular servicemen over others is not limited to indigenous groups. In Ireland, religious divisions between Catholic and Protestant communities (Robinson, 2010) complicated commemoration and remembrance of WW1. Catholic communities often struggled to participate in the commemorative events due to legal restrictions upon Catholic priests being able to provide sermons at these events (Robinson, 2010). As each of the memorial services were conducted by non-Catholic preachers, Irish Catholic flocks were unable to attend (Robinson, 2010). In Ireland, Protestant groups also actively used memorial days to augment sentiments of loyalism to the Protestant Unionist identity over a nationally and religiously inclusive Irish identity (Robinson, 2010).

Like the Catholic Irish, conscientious objectors were also subject to exclusion from Anzac Day commemoration rituals. Throughout WW1, conscientious objection remained a criminal offence (Burk, 1995). Men who refused conscription or denounced the war were imprisoned and were themselves publicly denounced. As punishment for their dissent and to dissuade others from doing the same, conscientious objectors also lost all citizenry rights including the right to vote (Burk, 1995; Standish, 2016). Conscientious objectors' experiences in wartime (seen in the image below) and post-war as prisoners, servicemen, and military prisoners have only very recently been publicly recognised (Standish, 2016).

Figure 2. Conscientious Objectors at Hautau prison camp 1943



Source: (Te Ara, 2015): "As long as New Zealand has been involved in wars, people have objected to fighting in them for political, religious or philosophical reasons. And they have often been punished for it."

Only recently, the 286 New Zealand men (of 600 who objected to serve in WW1) who were imprisoned and lost their basic civil liberties such voting rights for ten years following the war's end) were acknowledged (King, 200; Smallman, 2017). One objector, Archibald Baxter, was one of 14 conscientious objectors sent to France to fight at the Western Front. Archibald - despite being beaten, tortured, declared mentally insane, and institutionalised - held out and returned home in 1918 as one of the two who survived the Western Front (Archibald Trust, 2016). These 14 men represented political pawns, and they were used to show the pain, humiliation, and social exclusion which awaited any man who refused to serve and resisted military service (Burk, 1995; Standish, 2016).

Despite the severity of their treatment, many of these men went on to become key political figures within New Zealand's Labour government, including Peter Fraser (later Labour Prime Minister Peter Fraser) who in his early career strongly and publicly opposed New Zealand's involvement in WW1 (King, 2001; Belich, 2001). The New Zealand government also imprisoned religious and political objectors, Irish republicans, and Maori pacifists (like the Parihaka community) if they refused to serve (Belich, 2001).

Who won and lost the world wars also defined who could access and build commemorative

spaces. Germany, as the central axis nation of the First and Second World Wars, received the full blame for instigating the conflicts. Germany's punishment included monetary and austerity measures as well as material exclusion from French memorial landscapes where German gravesites sat alone and isolated from allied spaces (Pickford, 2005). Days of mourning such as Volkstrauertag (national day of mourning) and Totensonntag (Sunday of the Dead, established 1922) provided some national days to remember the war dead of WW1 and WW2. These days of national mourning, however, do not commemorate the dead but treat the dead as victims of the totalitarian regimes of the First and Second World Wars (Pickford, 2005; Cooke et al., 2014).

German national memorials, therefore, speak to Germany's military history in terms of the horrors of war and totalitarianism. A large literature covers the role and importance of Holocaust commemoration from the national memorial in Berlin (Harjes, 2005) to the small Jewish Holocaust plaques found on German streets (Cook et al., 2014). In contrast to Russian totalitarianism, Cohen (1985) maintains Germany needed to remember the past through public debate and prosecution of German citizens who committed crimes in wartime. Cohen (1993) describes German military remembrance as a process of commemorating the evils of war and the preservation of sites of violence - such as the Dachau concentration camp - as acts of redemption. The preservation of these violent sites atones for the sins of the Nazi regime as well as warning future generations about the devastation of militarism (Young, 2016).

Based on the above paragraphs, discussion of WW1 memorialisation and commemoration is noticeably absent in the German context. In the historical and geographic literatures, the focus of German memorialisation prior the Second World War focused on imperial memorials prior to 1917 (Forest et al., 2004; Pickford, 2005; Herwig, 2014; Keegan, 2014). Germany's memorialization practices and structures go beyond the scope of this thesis. However, as one of the research participants was German, I do reflect in chapter seven section 7.4 (page 99) on how memorialization and military remembrance remains divided in Germany - unlike allied nations - despite Germany losing over two million men from 1914 to 1918 (Keegan, 2014).

As I discuss in the next section, despite the various acts of exclusion, the commemoration of Anzac Day and military service continues to form the bedrock of an allied Pakeha, nationalist identity in the 20th and 21st centuries. The Anzac ritual at the cenotaph, alongside other commemorative tools such as the RSA poppy, influence what people choose to remember - and forget - on Anzac Day.

2.2 The RSA and poppy -keeping the memory alive: Whose memory and why?

As the First World War continued on the Western Front after the devastation of the Gallipoli campaign, wounded veterans formed localised Returned Servicemen Associations. These organisations were community based, and sought to provide care, comradeship, and support to returning soldiers (RSA, 2016). At the end of WW1, the RSA began efforts to fundraise to provide financial support to injured veterans. A principal component of fundraising was the roll out of international Poppy Day.

The RSA poppy, like the WW1 memorial, sought to create a ubiquitous marker of Anzac remembrance which all allied nations could wear on memorial days. Selected by the British allied commission for war memorialisation, the poppy emblem became the official emblem of WW1 in 1921 (Standish, 2016). The poppy came from the Flanders poppy and John McCrea's poem "In Flanders Fields" which represented the fighting and large casualty rates in Flanders France. The red Flanders poppy symbolised not only blood and death but also the cycle of renewal that followed conflict (Standish, 2016).

The depth of emotion, cultural attachment, and nationalist sentiments invested in the poppy is captured by Illes (2008) who commented,

"Wear your poppy with pride...honour the dead and serve the living." (206)

"The red poppy is the debt we owe to veterans and a way of saying thank you." (208)

The national pride and emotion invested in the poppy were by no means limited to the flower pin but also extended to multiple commemorative practices around Anzac Day. One of the core motivations for studying the WW1 memorial was the 2015 Anzac centenary commemorations of the Gallipoli campaign. The World War 100 commemorative event series starting in 2014 and included a series of newspaper articles about key battles, trench warfare re-enactments, community projects such as the world's largest poppy constructed in the Auckland Domain WW1 memorial park, and the Auckland Museum's online cenotaph (see <http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/war-memorial/online-cenotaph>).

Not all commemorative events or spaces are new or limited to one allied nation's commemorative campaign. Online memorialisation as Muzaini and Yeoh (2014) described in the context of Japan's WW2 memorialisation project sought to create more democratic memorial spaces which people can choose to access. The organisations that use online memorials describe them as more democratic commemorative spaces (Muzaini and Yeoh, 2014). Democratic in the sense that people can choose to visit these sites online versus being confronted by a physical memorial structure situated within everyday spaces -such as the main street or central city park (Muzaini and Yeoh, 2014). Although beyond the scope of this thesis, web memorials are prevalent in the digital age, with New Zealand having its own online memorial cenotaph since 2015. Web memorials, rather than being democratic and all-inclusive, mobilise specific projects of commemoration, marking out new kinds of ritualisation (such as e-ritual), remembrance, and exclusion (Muzaini and Yeoh, 2014).

I witnessed and read about many of these real and virtual commemorative activities in 2015, and it felt like memorial mania. These activities, to some degree, were nationally publicised in the mainstream media as well as in primary and secondary school's curriculums (Leask, 2015). My own awareness of the increased Anzac commemorative activity came from increased public participation in the dawn and civil services at the Auckland Domain. I

realised that how I viewed the pre-Anzac Day events centred around my ritual attendance of the dawn or civic service at the Domain memorial cenotaph. The cenotaph on Anzac Day was a place where I actively reflected upon my familial ties to military service in WW1 and WW2.

As I explore in the next section, I realised that these reflections at the cenotaph and during the Anzac services fixated on events I was immersed in, and that I had limited understanding of what the cenotaph's potential role was outside Anzac Day.

2.3 The Domain memorial cenotaph and the Anzac ritual

Completed in 1929 and used for commemorative events from 1930, the Auckland Domain cenotaph stands in front of the Auckland War Memorial Museum, which had been completed the previous year. The Domain's large parkland hosts multiple activities and ceremonies throughout the year.

The Domain cenotaph has been the site of the Anzac commemorative ceremony since 1930 (see Figure 3). With a large paved concrete surround, called the Court of Honour, the site hosts a large commemorative gathering on Anzac Day, and in 2015, 20-25,000 people attended the WW100 centenary dawn service here (TVNZ News Now, 2017). Many Anzac Day participants at the Domain may be unaware, though, that the memorial cenotaph, courtyard, museum facade, and hall of memories inside the museum may never have been constructed, due to the conflicting agendas of the Auckland museum committee and the public (Sharpe, 1983; Hooper et al., 2003; Worthy, 2004; Hucker, 2010).

From 1920, through community fundraising and donations, Auckland residents had accumulated sufficient funds to contribute to the construction of the Auckland museum. The Museum Council in 1920 secured 25,000 pounds from the New Zealand government, and 25,000 pounds of public funds (Worthy, 2004). At the end of WW1, all cities within the Empire were planning to erect memorials to the fallen, with Auckland requiring a memorial

to represent itself as a true city of the Empire (Worthy, 2004; Wetherell, 2014). The Auckland memorial cenotaph was the star of the museum's opening ceremony. Its centrality, however, was due to local fundraisers and donors threatening to withdraw their 25,000 pounds if the museum committee did not endorse the memorial cenotaph as the star of the memorial museum landscape (Worthy, 2002 & 2004).

Figure 3. Auckland War Memorial Cenotaph's First Anzac Day Ceremony April 25 1930



*The Auckland War Memorial Cenotaph first ceremony 1930. Source
http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11438168.*

Figure 4.Auckland War Memorial Cenotaph, Auckland Domain 2013.



The construction of the memorial cenotaph in the post-WW1 era felt like both a civic and civil responsibility to commemorate those who died in military service - without glorifying the horrors of war (Gough, 2004). The cenotaph at the Auckland Domain marked a local Auckland space for public mourning and to facilitate senses of community remembrance, loss, and mutual understanding (Worthy, 2002 & 2004).

Local communities raised funds to construct 900 physical memorials across New Zealand to reinforce a mutual sense of loss, pride, and connection in the post-WW1 period (New Zealand History Memorial Register, 2016). Many New Zealand households lost loved ones during WW1, and local and central government authorities saw New Zealand's role in the conflict as worth remembering (Hucker, 2010). Over 98,950 New Zealand men served overseas in WW1, and of these, 41,317 suffered injury or illness, and 18,058 lost their lives. From a population of one million in 1915, the casualty rate for New Zealand soldiers sat at 58%, being one of the highest of all allied nations (Phillips and Maclean, 1990). In the immediate post-war period - and ideally, for all time - the memorial cenotaph sought to mythologize the casualties of war as honourable sacrifices for the allied and national interests (Stephens, 2007; Standish 2015 & 2016).

In the preceding paragraphs, I have focused my contextual writing upon the WW1 memorial and traditional approaches to memorialization. There are alternatives to traditional memorialization structures and services, which are designed to counter war and the role of violence, military service, and death in forming a national sense of belonging and connectedness (Standish, 2016). Alternative structures to the traditional cenotaph, obelisk, or soldier statue rather than sanitising the violence of war seek to promote unity through peace (Standish, 2016).

Peaceful commemoration acknowledges that war contains brutality between opposing sides and within allies. Conflict within allied groups speaks to the experiences of conscientious objection and men who deserted (Standish, 2016). In 2016 and 2017, the Peace Action

Wellington group actively protested military memorialization at the national cenotaph and were criticised for “*trying to hijack the Anzac service at the Cenotaph to make a political point*” (Burrows, 2017). Such accusations of politicization stem from the image seen in Figure 5 where peace protestors set up an Archibald Baxter counter memorial to communicate conscientious objection and the violent abuse the objectors experienced in wartime (Hunt, 2016).

As seen in the Peace Action Wellington protest military memorialization can never be non-political as tradition becomes subject to non-conformist challenge overtime (Burrows, 2017). Peace-led memorialization reveals the embeddedness, yet partiality, of the Anzac memorialisation ritual towards remembrance of military conflict over peaceful resolution. The Anzac Day services, therefore, are political, as they seek - but do not always achieve - complete homogenization of how New Zealand remembers its military involvement.

Figure 5. Archibald Baxter Peace Memorial Wellington Harbour 2016



Source: <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/last-post-first-light/79299545/Conscientious-objector-Archie-Baxter-remembered-in-guerrilla-sculpture>.

By no means is protest at memorial events new. In Philip and Maclean's (1990) catalogue of New Zealand memorials, they briefly covered the feminist protests of rape and murder of women in wartime, against the backdrop of the traditional Anzac Day service.

As I will discuss in the literature review (page 25), no war memorials' designed role has been wholly successful - despite each community of remembrance's aspirations to sponsor absolute inclusiveness, belonging, and national unity. Tensions, protests, and even conflicts became common features as memorialization structures and ritualized practices of remembrance unfolded (Maclean and Phillips, 1990; Worthy, 2002; McConville et al., 2017; Standish, 2016).

The memorial cenotaph's place in the landscape (in terms of its location, size or meaning) is therefore, never accidental or trivial. The design and erection of memorials always extends from calculated plans to remind future generations of others' sacrifices for the nation, state or region, and Empire (Marshall, 2004; Gough, 2007). As I discuss in the next section memorial's, including the Domain cenotaph assist processes of cultural constitution, directing (not always successfully) how each New Zealand community publicly remembers and commemorates military service.

2.4 Military Memorialisation: Remembering at the Auckland Domain Cenotaph

As McConville et al., (2017) articulated in their work on the WW1 war memorial, memories in place construct and reinforce individual and group experiences of identification. The limits of human memory, however, mean that what the memorial means over time to an individual or societal group is fraught with processes of selective forgetting, recall, and contingency (Jones, 2014, as cited in Davidson, 2016). These processes of remembering

and forgetting guide how different individuals and groups identify with the memorial landscape, as well as shed light on how wider societal constructs of nationalism, belonging, and exclusion come to life.

If I overlooked the ceremonial and everyday role of the memorial cenotaph from my processes of self-identification, I would be bypassing a foundational pillar in how I understand my national identity and personal identity as a self-identified Pakeha New Zealander (Bell, 2009; Standish, 2016). As Davidson (2016) articulated in his work on the Canadian WW1 memorial cenotaph, national war memorials in former colonial nations represent structures where imperial nostalgia, whiteness, and national myth are constructed, reinforced and destroyed.

The identities sponsored through the WW1 memorials in colonial nations are distinct from native identities and the imperial homeland. Military service and remembrance are one tool through which unique white experiences of colonial - and later post-colonial - nationalism is reinforced (Worthy, 2002; Bell, 2009; Davidson, 2016). Memories of war are thus discursive constructs, which, through the ritualised commemoration of past conflict at the memorial structure, are actively reinforced. Multiple groups such as the RSA, media, and local and national governments augment collective sensations of loss, pride, and connection through public memorial structures and commemorative events (McConville et al., 2017). The collective tensions manifest from the memorial cenotaph and commemorative ritual, however, overlook the memorials' everyday existence in constructions of self- and group identification.

Despite most towns and cities in New Zealand having a WW1 memorial structure, the everyday role of the memorial in how people experience place has remained silent within memorial studies. The silences intensified through the events of the WW100 Anzac centenary. It was striking how, in the media in the weeks before Anzac Day 2015, 2016 and 2017, there were:

- whole press release series (such as the Letters from Hell series in the New Zealand Herald),
- television dramas (such as Anzac Girls, and Crimsons Fields), films (Testament of Youth, 25th April, and The Poppy),
- Local exhibitions (the Auckland Memorial Museum online cenotaph, the Peter Jackson Anzac Gallipoli: The Scale of War exhibition at Te Papa, roll of honour call, and memorial exhibition at the National WW1 Memorial in Wellington) and,
- events (staged trench battles in Auckland central building sites, public lectures and planting white crosses in public squares), all happening in commemoration of the WW100 event series.

All the above were dedicated to the memorialisation of Anzac Day. The representation of Anzac Day in the print media, as McConville et al., (2017) described, seemed to support a unified and uncontested meaning of the commemorative event and its cultural significance. I agree with McConville et al.'s (2017) recent scholarship on the mainstream media coverage of Anzac Day; the media has continued to represent a normative tool to construct and mediate the commemoration of WW1 memorial.

The significance of the memorial in, as well as outside commemorative role and function will be discussed in the following literature review. The review starts by providing a summary of the memorial studies literature and goes on to explore the scholarship engaged in the importance of everyday and seemingly mundane spaces in processes of self and group identification. After summarising the relevant literatures, I discuss the oversights of previous memorial studies and introduce autoethnography as a methodology to explore everyday experiences of the Domain WW1 memorial cenotaph and landscape (see page 44).

Chapter 3. Literature

3.1 Memorial studies: A limited endorsement

By the end of the First World War, the memorial cenotaph was represented as a significant cultural structure to honour the servicemen (and later Maori, women, animals and, later still, conscientious observers) who died in military service (Phillips and Maclean; Gough 2004; Phillips, 2017). In New Zealand, the WW1 memorial cenotaph, obelisk, or soldier statue remains a physical structure situated in the landscapes of most New Zealand towns and cities. The memorial structure not only represents a physical space within the landscape but also signifies a series of cultural constructs that articulate New Zealand's historical ties to British colonialism and imperialism (Phillips, 1980; McConville et al., 2017). Additional to these colonial and imperial ties to the past, the memorial cenotaph continues to serve as the national stage to perform military memorialisation services such as Anzac Day.

The Anzac memorialisation service commemorates, as well as articulates, the distinctiveness of New Zealand's military service in WW1 (Illes, 2008; Standish, 2016). The construction of the New Zealand experience of WW1 as something distinctive from other allied nations' experiences - and from any other past or present military engagements - persisted through the annualised commemoration of the Gallipoli campaign at the start of Dawn Service at memorial cenotaph (Belich, 2001; Standish, 2016). The Gallipoli campaign being commemorated at the start of the ANZAC Day service and maintained as the central theme in New Zealand to mark the nations large military force and casualty rates (Phillips and Maclean, 1990).

Despite the memorial cenotaph being a space designed to commemorate the casualties of WW1, public displays of grief and loss remained codified and highly regulated. Activity in

the memorial landscape has continued to be limited to strict behaviours such as silent prayer, reflection, and mourning, so as not to compromise the sacredness of men whose names are inscribed on the memorial façade (Phillips and Maclean, 1990; Illes, 2008; Standish, 2016). As Standish (2016) describes in her work on counter-memorialisation projects, commemoration days at the cenotaph have always been highly regulated performances of remembrance. The prayers, hymns, wreath laying, and speeches within the Anzac ceremony have endured from the memorial structures conception despite the persistence of counter-memorialisation projects like the Wellington Peace Pole (Standish, 2015 & 2016) and public protests of rape in wartime (Weaver, 2012). Therefore, the cenotaph facilitates processes of national myth making around the Anzac campaign as well as military service more generally, as it provides a physical backdrop for commemorative practices for all time (Illes, 2008; Standish, 2016).

These Anzac mythologies glorify war in terms of servicemen's honour, sacrifice and valour war, excluding the bloodshed, destruction, and death that occur in wartime to avoid memories of war in terms of anger, despair, or hate (Standish, 2016). On days of national memorialization, the horrors of war are sanitized through selective accounts of past military service and death (McConville et al., 2017). Sanitized accounts of war overlook the violent acts committed, such as murder (Standish, 2016), rape (Phillips and Maclean, 1990; Weaver, 2012), and physical destruction. The process of sanitization is powerful, as it situates the memorial cenotaph as unproblematic and beyond reproach (Foote, 2007; Dwyer, 2004; Kerwin et al., 2016).

Despite extensive coverage of the memorial cenotaph's ceremonial role and the myth-making process behind Anzac Day, the everyday functionality (meaning activities outside of ANZAC Day at the memorial) of the memorial has remained overlooked across the disciplines that contribute to memorial studies. Across the disciplines that engage in memorial studies, little is known about how people feel, remember, and behave at the cenotaph outside of national memorial days (Sumartojo, 2016; Kerwin et al., 2016). The everyday role of the memorial cenotaph has, therefore, not yet been subject to critical reflection.

Critical reflection upon the memorial cenotaph's everyday role and functionality is important, as individuals and groups experience the memorial landscape in different ways over time. The Auckland WW1 Memorial cenotaph, as one example of the memorial structures that exist in the New Zealand landscape, received broad academic interest and reflection across academic disciplines. Academic interest, however, has continued to respond to mainstream contextual events such as World War 100 (WW100) commemorative series starting in 2014.

The WW100 series was a western commemoration series dedicated to WW1 remembrance. Each allied nation constructed a series of commemorative events around various WW1 military campaigns. During the WW100 series, acts of counter memorialization and exclusion from the memorial landscape challenged its naturalness due to past and present experiences of marginalization (Standish, 2016). Counter-memorialization projects and the subsequent exclusion of certain activities from the cenotaph on Anzac Day in the past have been based upon diverse factors such as ethnic difference (including Maori), gender (women), and beliefs (conscientious objectors), who, at various points in history, have been excluded from the performance of the Anzac myth (Weaver, 2012; McConville et al., 2017; Standish, 2016).

The memorial cenotaph as a space of both ritual and counter ritual, therefore, provides one example of how specific processes and projects of exclusion manifest overtime (Sumartojo, 2016). Everyday processes and projects of exclusion in national identity making at the memorial cenotaph remain under-researched or completely overlooked within memorial studies. Sumartojo (2016) described how encounters with, and experiences of, the memorial structures such as the cenotaph are influenced by complex sets of human and landscape encounters over time.

Experiences of and encounters with place vary due to both micro changes, such as the arrival of a new season, and macro events, such as the Anzac dawn service. Alongside Sumartojo's (2016) work, Kerwin et al., (2016) argued that macro processes of exclusion at the memorial cenotaph in Australia were ethnically distinct due to national projects of racial exclusion. Both Kerwin et al., (2016) and Sumartojo (2016) explore how the memorial landscape and Anzac commemoration services homogenized Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders' military experiences as part of mainstream narratives which construct an idealised image of a united Australia.

The mainstreaming of these experiences masks the racial discrimination and exclusion of indigenous groups at the battlefield and from mainstream civil resources such as public housing in post-WW1 Australia. Exclusion of Aboriginal servicemen from the Australian memorialization process therefore provides another forum to explore how racial discrimination persists as the bedrock of indigenous Australians' existence. Despite Sumartojo's (2016) work, most academic inquiry around the memorial landscape and the cenotaph continues to fixate on the memorial cenotaph's ceremonial role (Sumartojo, 2016). The fixation on the ceremonial cenotaph overlooks the subtler processes of exclusion that unfold at the memorial cenotaph through its everyday existence.

Recent studies of the WW1 memorial cenotaph and memorial landscape continue to focus on the ceremonial, ritualized, and spectacular role of the cenotaph. These types of reflective studies recognize that traditions are never monolithic (Edensor, 2002); however, each continues to fixate on the spectacular rather than the everyday significance of place. Traditions are the dynamic, contested, and claimed aspects of culture constructed by different societal group's over time (Edensor, 2002; Sumartojo, 2016). By fixating on the memorial cenotaph's ceremonial role, the potential malleability of the memorial as a cultural construct in everyday life, however, remains lost.

As I discuss in the next section, critical reflection on the memorial cenotaph's everyday role is vital to move memorial studies away from their fixation on the memorials spectacular and ceremonial function. More nuanced approaches to studying place mean scholars engaged within memorial studies can access more nuanced frameworks to reflect upon the everyday complexities of self and group identification in place.

3.2 From catalogues and tradition to everyday memorial studies

The seeming mundanity or banality of what people encounter as they go about their daily lives is foundational in how geographers study place (Duff, 2008 & 2010). Only through reflection upon the taken-for-granted spaces, such as the local park, shopping mall, hospital, or memorial square, can place be appreciated for its formative role in human experience (Gesler, 1992; Duff, 2008). Duff's conceptualization of places as enabling offers a nuanced approach to studying the WW1 memorial and memorial landscape in that it is a space where everyday landscape interactions and relations occur (Duff, 2010 & 2014).

The enabling places concept borrows from Gesler's (1992) construct of the therapeutic landscape. Gesler's (1992) conceptualization of the therapeutic landscape provided a more holistic view of what contributed to people's physical and mental wellbeing. A more holistic understanding of health included how encounters with place could improve or diminish a person's wellbeing. Gesler (1992), and later other geographers such as Kearns (1997), Williams (2002) and Wendt (2012), explored the complex ways cultural, social, and environmental factors weave together in the facilitation of healing processes and lived experience generally. As described earlier in this thesis, the WW1 memorial cenotaph design and function sought to provide servicemen's families a space of public mourning and closure, as the deceased's graves lay overseas (Phillips and Maclean, 1990; Worthy, 2002 & 2004; Phillips, 2017).

Duff's (2008) enabling places concept is not entirely new within geographies of memorial studies, as many theorists have scrutinized human and landscape encounters as a part of lived experience (Duncan, 1980: Duncan and Duncan, 1988: Cosgrove, 1987: Gesler, 1992: Steinfield and Danford, 1999). What Duff's enabling places concept provides is a useful framework to conceptually broaden how - as well as what places - geographers study. Therefore, the enabling places framework challenges the researcher to reflect more deeply upon the everyday significance of place. Everyday places and their seeming mundanity, through the enabling places concept, move scholarship away from its traditional reification of certain spaces, such as the memorial cenotaph. Through an enabling lens, reified spaces and their associated rituals require deeper reflection, as the qualities of experience that make the memorial structure so mundane in everyday life vanish on days of national significance, like Anzac Day.

Places are enabled in different ways overtime through the work of actor networks. Actor networks are empowered or silenced through their ability to access political, financial, social, and cultural resources (Latour, 2005; Duff, 2010). The actor networks can then choose to support or deny specific activities, performances, and bodies from the memorial landscape and cenotaph (Latour, 2005). Understanding place as enabling augments the view that places are always relationally organized to constitute not just material but cultural experiences (Duff, 2010). As such, through being in place at any moment, people engage (consciously and unconsciously) in assemblages of individual and group experiences of emotion, memory, and affect (Duff, 2014).

The WW1 memorial is located within almost all New Zealand towns and cities, regardless of the size of their resident community (Phillips and Maclean, 1990; Phillips, 2017). As an enabling place, the memorial structure has a material and culturally constituted role to play in the contextualization of reality, myth, spirituality, and history (Rainbird, 2003; Gough, 2010). The war memorial through its physical size, location and position in landscapes such as a main street and local park enables individuals and communities to access tangible

reference points to the past and provides metaphors for knowledge, belonging, or exclusion that extend beyond the communities who built them (Gough, 2004; Smith, 2006).

Such references to knowledge, belonging, and exclusion are always partial, fuzzy and incomplete, as personal and collective memories fade, and the needs of society change over time (Rainbird, 2003; Curti, 2008). Understanding places as enabling reflects how constructs of self, other, belonging, inclusion, and exclusion come from everyday life and are by no means accidental. As I discuss in chapter five (from page 29-35) the memorial cenotaph as an enabling place facilitates both public and collective mourning, remembrance, and respect for New Zealanders whose loved ones were buried where they fell on foreign soil, as well as gratitude from families like my own whose loved ones returned.

As I discuss in the next section, various cultural constructs, such as the red RSA poppy, Anzac memorial service, and Anzac Day articles in mainstream newspapers, are purposed to sanitize and silence parts of the past to make history fit for public consumption (McConville et al., 2017). Through reflection, these cultural constructs reveal the nuanced ways that different individuals and groups over time challenge discursive constructs of and physical artefacts within the landscape.

3.4 How researcher's has explored how people have experienced the memorial landscape

McConville et al.'s (2017) work on the portrayal of Anzac Day in the mainstream media during the centenary year 2015-2016 recognized the monolithic ways that military and national history are recounted in New Zealand. The analysis of six articles on the poppy (amongst other article themes) found that wearing the red flower persists as an essential requirement

to be a part of the Anzac commemorative community who remember the ANZAC's military service.

The significance of McConville et al.'s (2017) work is that it highlights the positive language, themes, and stereotypes attached to military service in WW1 and the media's ability to legitimise veterans as New Zealand's national heroes. Mainstream media coverage of the Anzac service promotes respectful remembrance of WW1, while any counter narratives to military service are situated as disrespectful and out of place on Anzac Day (McConville et al., 2017). Anti-war sentiments during the centenary and at the Anzac commemorative services were constructed within discourses of deviant military remembrance (Murray et al., 2008). In 2016, the mainstream media provided unfavourable coverage of anti-war sentiments or protests at the Anzac Day services (McConville et al., 2017).

As discussed in the context section of thesis (see page 16 -22), in 2016 and 2017 media coverage of the Anzac Day services openly demonized those who protested at commemorative events. In 2016 and 2017, the Peace Action Wellington group actively protested Anzac remembrance and military memorialization at the national cenotaph in Wellington (Burrows, 2017). Counter memorialization projects are by no means limited to the WW1 cenotaph. As Weaver (2012) and Twomey (2013) articulated, protests and unrest at the memorial have occurred for many years. Feminist activists for many years have stood up to attempts to silence the atrocities, such as rape, committed in wartime, countering resistance from male veterans who sought to reassert the importance of the ANZAC's march and ceremony at the cenotaph (Twomey, 2013). As Phillips and Maclean (1990) described in the context of the Auckland WW1 memorial in 1980, feminist protestors at the memorial cenotaph were forcibly removed by police and excluded from the ceremony taking place there.

The RSA red poppy grew out of the destruction of the Western Front in Europe. A full description of the poppy as an allied symbol of WW1 remembrance is found in chapter two. The red poppy, chosen for its symbolism of the flower growing from the ruins of Flanders Fields and, became the official emblem of the war for Commonwealth nations in 1921 (Iles, 2008). The redness of the poppy being a symbol of regeneration from the blood, death, and sacrifice of the fallen soldiers (Iles, 2008: 212).

Wearing the Returned Service Association's red poppy became the symbol of national remembrance for Commonwealth nations like New Zealand to honour the dead and warn the living about the devastation of mechanized warfare (Iles, 2008; Reynolds, 2010). Not wearing the red poppy to the Anzac services equated to treason in the inter WW1/WW2 years (Thorsteinsson; 2009). Any alternative commemorative symbols, such as the white Peace Poppy, were regarded as deviant symbols of counter commemoration in the context of WW1 commemorative events (Standish, 2016).

The RSA poppy, despite its persistent role on Anzac Day, is not the only symbol of national remembrance that exists. The white Peace Poppy exists as an alternative commemorative symbol that speaks to non-combatant, non-violent, and peaceful conflict resolution (Standish, 2016). There is a long tradition of such peaceful counter action in New Zealand. These counter actions extend back to WW1 itself, where only one in three men volunteered to serve, leading to the introduction of first Pakeha and then Māori conscription in 1916 (Phillips, 1980; McConville et al., 2017). Among the men who refused to serve, 286 were conscientious objectors who were imprisoned during WW1 - with 14 men forcibly sent to the Western Front (Phillips, 1980; McConville et al., 2017). The white poppy, whose origin dates to the 1800s and the Cooperative Women's Guild campaigns for equal pay, was used since 1914 as a demand for universal peace and the end of war (Standish, 2015: 230).

The wearer of a white poppy, remembers military service but makes a pledge to continue into the future peacefully (Standish, 2016). Different individuals and groups within the same memorial landscape use these counter memorialization symbols to posit alternative ways of remembering war to construct futures based on non-violence (Standish, 2015 & 2016). Commemoration and memorialization at the cenotaph polarizes the Anzac myth and peace depending on what an individual or group chooses to remember and forget concerning violent conflict.

Each process of remembering and forgetting are augmented through power lobbies such as the mainstream media (McConville et al., 2017), political bodies such as local and central governments (Hucker, 2010), and community-based organizations like the Retired Servicemen Association. Counter memorialization symbols in New Zealand include International Conscientious Objectors Day on May 15, and the Archibald Baxter conscientious objector memorial in Dunedin (to be completed in late 2017).. These events illustrate that counter memorialization on and outside of Anzac Day exist in New Zealand despite limited coverage in public forums such as the mainstream newspapers, RSA website, or during the Anzac service (Standish, 2015 & 2016).

Counter memorialization projects therefore provide avenues to reflect more deeply upon what, how, and why war is remembered so militantly in New Zealand (Standish, 2015). These alternative memorial spaces explicate that there are other types of memorialization occurring in New Zealand and have done so for some time (Phillips and Maclean, 1990; Standish, 2016; McConville et al., 2017). These silences are important to memorial studies as they illustrate how particular memories of the past remain secondary to others in terms of what is presented to the public (McConville et al., 2017), and what is researched within academia, promoting deeper reflection upon why this oversight has persisted within memorial studies.

Attempts to address some of the oversights found in alternative memorialization studies can provide valuable insights into the everyday role and function of the memorial cenotaph. As I discuss in more detail in chapter three, MacDonald (2010) explored how everyday encounters with mining disaster memorials made him think more critically upon the memorial spaces he once took for granted. The researcher engaged autoethnography to position his own upbringing within a coal mining community in Nova Scotia.

In Nova Scotia, mine disasters and the memorials dedicated to them created community cultures around the memorialisation of coal miners (2010: 39). In studying the miner memorial, MacDonald (2010) came to understand his positionality as a researcher but, in turn, how his own memories of what the memorial landscape meant changed over time and depended upon which memorial he visited. In observing different mining memorial landscapes, MacDonald (2010: 42) discovered the layered configurations of miners' cultures within the memorial structure as well as through how other people behaved within the landscape. As I discuss in chapter six (page 65), the non-ceremonial field visits to the Domain memorial cenotaph raised similar questions around my identity as an individual and as an ANZAC Day participant, and left me feeling a sense of both belonging and exclusion over the course of my visits.

Taking my discussion forward, the next section looks at understandings of self- and group identity through constructs of nationalism. I discuss nationalism in terms of its substantiation of identity, belonging, and exclusion. Nationalism, as Anderson (1991) describes, stems from constructs of place, with structures like the memorial cenotaph being engaged to direct who belongs and who is excluded from place over time.

3.5 Geography and Embodiment: Imagined communities and geographies of exclusion

In geographic research, the interconnections between the body, emotion, and physical sensations in everyday experiences of place have remained largely absent (Wunderlich, 2008). In geography, the absence of embodiment, emotion, and physical sensations in how people experience material-human worlds is significant as experiences of everyday spaces are integral to constructs of belonging and exclusion in place (Duff, 2010). Despite materiality, emotion, and embodiment informing lived experience, a lacuna persists within geographic inquiry around how emotion and embodiment intersect in everyday life (Bondi, 2005; Macdonald, 2010).

As Bondi, (2005) articulated, geographers like many other social scientists, have not been very good at talking about their embodied experiences and feelings. The absence of feeling and emotion has led some geographers such as Bondi (2005) to argue that there has been a sensory poverty in contemporary theory. The reason feelings, emotions, and bodily knowledge are largely excluded surrounds the outlawing of “feelings” as too subjective to contribute to how theorists do geographic research and generate knowledge (Hayes-Conroy et al., 2010). Taking up Bondi’s (2005) challenge, this research experimented with emotionally engaged inquiry to address the lacuna around bodily sensation, emotion, and experiences of the memorial cenotaph and landscape. I followed other geographers in addressing the interconnection of physical sensations such as touch (Paterson, 2005), smell, and taste (Bell and Valentine, 1997; Wunderlich, 2008; Hayes-Conroy et al., 2010), and emotion (Bondi, 2005; Davidson et al., 2012) in the research process.

Geographic studies that engage with embodiment in how people experience place have also struggled to grasp bodily feeling beyond surface level descriptions (Paterson, 2005 Davidson et al., 2010). The role of the body as the first point of lived experience and as the primary mode of sensing the world continues to be under-theorized within geography and the wider social sciences in attempts to disembody research (Bondi, 2005; Hayes-Conroy et al., 2010). Disembodied research persists as researchers attempt to situate their findings as rational, detached, and neutral over irrational, embodied, or emotional (Bondi, 2005; Davidson et al., 2012).

By overlooking how the sensual, emotional, and bodily experiences together shape experiences of place, the researcher cannot fully comprehend the politics of power and change that manifest in everyday places (Hayes-Conroy et al., 2010; Longhurst, 2016). The physical and sensory encounters of the body, mind, feeling, and emotion play central roles in social life (Howes, 2005; Bondi, 2005; Hayes-Conroy et al., 2010).

In agreement with Bondi, (2005) and Davidson et al., (2012), researchers benefit from deeper emotional experimentation and reflection in research. Embodiment in social life requires careful self-reflection as well as reflection upon the research outputs (Bondi, 2005; Longhurst, 2016). What a person feels and thinks and how they behave in certain places provides insights into how oppressive regimes, ideologies, and everyday socio-cultural and political practices are embodied, internalized (Hayes-Conroy et al., 2010), rejected, or remobilized to affect progressive change (Gibson-Graham, 2003) or simply to go about everyday life.

By way of example, Merleau-Ponty, (1992) researched the everyday embodied experiences of mobility through observing and asking about people's experiences of walking through the city. Merleau-Ponty (1992) focused on pedestrian experiences of walking in and through everyday spaces, navigating seemingly normal phenomena. What Merleau-Ponty's, (1992) study found was that everyday encounters with place involved multiple interrelations of the body, senses, and emotions as different places were navigated. The kinaesthetic performance of the mundane and the feelings documented in everyday place troubled traditional assumptions around spatial relations. Merleau-Ponty's (1992) work 'troubled' traditional assumptions as it maintained representational approaches to research alone were not enough to capture the intricate makeup of how people embodied and sensed out their own identities in place (Merleau-Ponty, 1992; Paterson, 2009). The entanglement of thoughts, feelings, bodily sensations, and emotion is central in appreciating how people anticipate, encounter, and remember their experiences of different spaces over time (Bondi, 2005). In researching how people experience place, it is possible to reflect upon how collective and individual senses of belonging and exclusion manifest from human, spatial, and material relations (Anderson, 1991; Curti, 2008; Tamm, 2013).

Anderson (1991) states that an individual or group's sense of nationhood and belonging is as much an ideological construct as it is a physical place on a map or a set of spatial coordinates. Subjects, human meanings, or interactions, are not fixed relations to objects and the landscape but transform over time (Bondi, 2005). Structures such as the WW1 memorial and the national ceremonies, stories, and commemorative rituals which surround them are as much ideological as physical structures, used to construct imagined senses of community (and individual identity) and relational connection over time and in place (Anderson, 1991). As a physical and ideological structure, the memorial landscape bolsters imagined senses of community and shared identity through mutual senses of shared history, genealogy, and loss (Tamm, 2013).

Although imagined communities perpetuate an inherent sense of belonging, imagined communities such as ANZAC communities of remembrance (Worthy, 2002) also demarcate otherness and exclusion (Sibley, 1998; Dwyer, 2004; Tamm, 2013). The power of the imagined community is that it does not only rely upon physical or violent forms of exclusion (Tamm, 2013). Imagined senses of community allow negative imaginaries of difference to demarcate who belongs and who does not belong in place (Sibley, 1995). In Sibley's work on geographies of exclusion, it has been well documented how imagined senses of community can be extremely volatile and manifest in lived forms of economic, social, and cultural inequality (Sibley, 1998).

Structures like the war memorial cenotaph, therefore, are physical, psychological, and discursive constructs used to reinforce otherness. Sibley's works (1995; 1998) provided multiple examples of how imagined senses of community exclude undesirable bodies from certain public and private places. Sibley (1995) discusses how New Age Travellers (often called gypsies) remained actively excluded from multiple places such as the Bristol Sea Festival and were actively pushed to the margins of mainstream society. The construction of the New Age Traveller as vagrants derives from both the stereotyping of their physical characteristics (such as how they live and dress) and dialectically through negative descriptions as criminals or loiterers (Sibley, 1995; Sibley, 1998). These physical and dialect

constructs of difference actively excluded the travellers from mainstream society, including access to monetary, political, and social agency.

Although written nearly twenty years ago, Sibley's understandings of exclusion based on perceived and imagined difference resonates today. Curti (2008) articulated in his study of the West Bank Wall (built in 2004) that landscapes of exclusion are derived from politics of exclusion and imagined senses of community and identity. Places are invested with specific memories to fortify real and imagined absences, anxieties, fears, and desires that torment society (Curti, 2008: 106). Since 2004, the West Bank wall has separated Abi Dis and East Jerusalem. Curti (2008) described how the wall, through concrete and steel but more importantly through ideology and religion, has reinforced the impossibility of reconciliation between Israelis and Palestinians (Curti, 2008).

To address the lacuna of feeling in geography, I saw the WW1 memorial cenotaph as an everyday landmark in New Zealand, and I sought to challenge my assumptions around the ceremonial and everyday experiences of place manifest from being and reflecting on, encounters with the memorial landscape. I asked myself and my research participants what sensations, memories, and bodily feelings were aroused (and were not) in the memorial landscape (See my Methodology chapter for a full discussion of these research components page 44).

Section 3.6 below, outlines how and why emotions have consistently been overlooked in geographic inquiry and memorial studies. The literature on emotion in everyday experiences of place, although growing, still possesses several key limitations in terms of how emotions are understood, analysed, and reflected upon in conducting research.

3.6 Geographies of emotion and memory

Emotions are deeply intertwined in everyday experience of place. Emotional work in geographic research has developed from feminist geographies of place, with emotions understood as inseparable from engagements, encounters, and relations with both the

material and the cultural world (Duff, 2010; Fisher, 2015, Longhurst, 2012 & 2016). Feminist geographers articulated how emotions, although subjective to each person's experiences of place, are formative in terms of how space is given meaning and how people understand themselves (Mills and Kraftl, 2016). As Cresswell (2004) articulated, places are mere points on a map until they are expressed through processes of naming, memory, and emotional attachment.

Despite the apparent centrality of emotion in geographic studies, even as recently as 2012, Davidson et al observed that emotions tended to be side-lined in geographic research; such observations are not new. Since the 1970s, feminist scholars maintained that the male-dominated academic establishment stigmatized emotions in research (Rose, 1993; Longhurst, 1995; Valentine, 2003 & 2007; Longhurst, 2016). A key part of removing stigma from emotion in geographic studies of place was the acknowledgment that research could never be fully detached and impersonal from feelings (Longhurst, 2015; Mills and Kraftl 2016). As Mills and Kraftl, (2016) stated,

"Emotion is central to everyday experiences of exclusion and marginalisation that, fundamentally, constitute the meanings attached to places." (153).

More nuanced research within geography ensures that emotion is central in understanding place. Emotions and what emotional experiences are derived from place are thus not natural but learned and relearned throughout the life course (Massumi, 2002; Horton and Kraftl, 2014). Thus, the process of coming to know and experience things emotionally is dependent on the spatial, social, and temporal moment, with ongoing dips and turns in how the place come to affect lived experience (Kuhn, 2007 & 2010).

In geography, there has also been ongoing debate regarding whether emotional experiences alone can fully comprehend material and the cultural experience (Curti, 2008). Identity as a hybrid construct relies on both material and human relations. People experience the material world and are affected by it which recreates senses of place, belonging, selfhood, and otherness that are put forward to carve out personal and group identities (Curti, 2008). In this way, material and bodily encounters affect and are affected by one another in

mutual reconstructions of memory, emotion, and place. Material objects such as the memorial cenotaph can affect humanity, including choices to preserve, remember, and forget (Curti, 2008).

A fundamental part of how people experience place therefore revolves around what they can remember and draw from their memories (Kuhn, 2010). Memory studies has a long history within qualitative research but memory research has often been overlooked along with emotion and embodiment within mainstream academic inquiry (Morgan and Pritchard, 2005). This is attributed to memory, like emotion, being traditionally understood as too subjective and too deeply personal to be legitimate within research (Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004; Curti, 2008). Memory studies - like studies of emotion and affect - assumes that there is never an objective starting point or outcome in research (Doss, 2008). Memory studies acknowledges that recollections of the past are never accurate and instead values people's memories as starting points in piecing together particular understandings and imaginaries of place (Morgan and Pritchard, 2005; Doss, 2008).

Memories - like emotions - are evoked in multiple ways. People remember things as they view, feel (smell, touch, and hear) and encounter material objects or places (Doss, 2008). Material objects, such as souvenirs (Morgan and Pritchard, 2005), photographs (Kuhn, 2010), and memorials (MacDonald, 2010), provide excellent tools for conducting memory work. Objects through memory work are not artefacts but instead represent stores of personalized information. Our memories are information reservoirs of emotion, smell, sound, and feeling stimulated both consciously and unconsciously through encounters with different people and places (Kuhn, 2007 & 2010).

Objects and cultural rituals provide insights into how meaning becomes invested into physical objects and places by different individuals or groups overtime (DeLyser, 2014). The war memorial, through the memories attached to its physical structure and the memories it can stimulate, has biographies through the social and physical lives of the communities which surround them (Stephens, 2007). The WW1 memorial cenotaph, as a physical structure, has, for the most part, outlived those who constructed and funded it in the post-WW1 period. In this sense, the memorial carries memories, information, and meanings which

surpass lived experience (Holtorf, 1998; Holtorf and Williams, 2006; DeLyser, 2014). Thus, Memory is a form of cross-temporal experience, bringing past and contemporary experiences together in place (Holtorf and Williams, 2006).

Memory and the process of remembering, however, never produce an accurate recall of the past (Kuhn, 2010; Drozdzewski et al., 2016). Memory work acknowledges that looking back to the past does not provide objective detail, but details half-truths as our conscience allows (Holtorf and Williams, 2006). Memory studies reflects and records memories as meaningful statements about the past in the cultural moment of our present, while invoking aspirations for a desired future (Holtorf and Williams, 2006; DeLyser, 2014). In this way memory studies and landscape studies cogitate how the material is socially and culturally affective and has the potential to evoke, silence, and preserve the past within the present (Stephens, 2007; DeLyser, 2014).

In memorial studies, memory is therefore a core research component in studying everyday identification at an individual and collective level (DeLyser, 2014). Memory transcends the material world, the structures within it, and lived experience, but it cannot exist without real or imagined encounters with place and the material world. These encounters are not always monumental but can also be mundane, such as collecting souvenirs while on holiday (Morgan and Pritchard, 2005), viewing a photograph from another era, or watching a film set in a faraway place you've never been (Kuhn, 2010).

As I discuss in more detail within my methodology chapter, autoethnography has significant potential to expand memory work and to provide more reflective spaces to tease out some of the complexity of human existent at a psychological, physical, emotional, and spatial level.

3.7 Memorialisation and Autoethnography: The embodied and emotional researcher

How people interact with the cenotaph not only includes commemorative behaviours but also everyday behaviours (MacDonald, 2010). MacDonald (2010), in his autoethnography of Welsh mining disaster memorials, described everyday behaviours around the memorial statues. These activities included simple and seemingly mundane action around the memorial such as children playing, people stopping (as he did himself) to eat their lunch, or walking through the memorial landscape. I extend MacDonald's (2010) performance ethnography work within this research to record and reflect upon my non-ceremonial and seemingly mundane encounters with the memorial cenotaph. As I discuss in my methodology in section 4.1 (page 44), my autoethnography revealed the taken-for-granted experiences I had at the memorial cenotaph as part of the wider socio-spatial and cultural context.

Aligned with the preceding discussion of memorial studies and the significance of embodiment, emotion, affect, and memory in studying place, I go on to discuss my research methodologies. The methodologies chapter takes forward the significance of the above literary themes and ideologies, and outlines how I studied the memorial cenotaph's everyday and ceremonial function role in Auckland landscape.

Chapter 4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction: Autoethnography and Geography

I engaged autoethnography as my primary research method in examining the everyday role and function of the WW1 memorial cenotaph. There are many definitions and interpretations of autoethnography across the social sciences. In geography, autoethnography provides a conceptual framework to reflect upon how researchers conduct research and generate knowledge (Butz and Besio, 2009). Autoethnography - instead of removing the researcher's voice and lived experiences from written research - actively includes and gives voice to the researcher's experiences of place (Butz and Besio, 2009). The purpose of including the researcher's voice and experiences recognises that partiality, positionality, and subjectivity are always part of the research process and need to be transparent (Butz and Besio, 2009; Ellis, 2004). Unlike the ethnographer, the autoethnographer's experiences are valued as one link in a chain of wider cultural and spatial experience (Ellis, 2004; Scarles, 2010) instead of a weak link in theoretical understanding (Butz and Besio, 2009).

Autoethnography as a research methodology asks for transparency and personal reflection in all things (Ellis, 2004; Butz and Besio, 2008; 2010; Scarles, 2010). A transparent approach to research acknowledges that the researcher's thoughts, feelings, and emotions influence how they do research and generate knowledge (Kroger and Green, 1996; Bondi, 2005; Scarles, 2010; Davidson et al., 2012). I engaged autoethnography, as have other geographers through using narrative writing (Lorimer, 2003), diary entries (Butz and Besio, 2009), and storytelling (Cameron, 2014) to reflect upon everyday experiences of place.

In autoethnography, reflection on how and why research is conducted sits at the apex of the research process (Butz and Besio, 2009). Krieger (1996) articulates how, within geographies of tourism, ethnographic research removes the researcher's voice and experiences of place and abrogates opportunities for more meaningful reflection on what places are researched, and how and why places are researched. How researchers come to understand and write about others stems from their own positionalities and biases. If the self remains unexamined, how researchers come to understand others and the world around them endures in silence, devoid of personal or scholarly challenge (Ellis and Bochner, 1996; Liggins et al., 2013).

Transparency, and personal and scholarly challenge were crucial in studying the WW1 memorial. I needed to acknowledge my positionality as an ANZAC descendant, dawn and civic service participant, and commemorative agent who bought into the ritualisation of the Anzac myth. Identifying these personal positionalities is essential, as at no point could I step outside these positionalities. The deep pride and love I have for my forebears who served, and whom I remembered at the memorial cenotaph, were inseparable from how I understood myself in the present as a Pakeha New Zealand citizen. Anzac and military ties were further inseparable from how I understood my past as a loved granddaughter of a WW2 veteran, carrying always my memories of affection and respect for my Poppa Reginald.

Through recognising my positionalities, I used narrative diary entries to reflect upon the ceremonial and mundane activities that unfolded in the memorial landscape and how I experienced them. Narrative writing and diary entries were imperative to reflect upon the seeming mundanity of place, which Lorimer (2003) states matters most in studying place. Although Lorimer (2003) focused on biographical work and what he termed telling 'small stories', these were in exploring ordinary social lives and places in geography. In taking a narrative approach like Lorimer (2003), I responded to the seeming mundanity of the memorial landscape through using autoethnography and a research diary to capture the everyday activities and feelings I experienced in the memorial

landscape. Through valuing narrative writing, autoethnography incorporates emotion in how place is experienced -a domain of human experience geography has not analysed well or closely in the past (Lorimer, 2003; Butz and Besio, 2009; Longhurst, 2015).

Autoethnography challenges the researcher to gauge in deeper exploration of everyday life, respecting the insights of the researcher (Longhurst, 2015). As an ANZAC descendant and Anzac ceremonial participant, I believe that the WW1 memorial cenotaph represents a space of deep meaning through everyday encounters with place.

Like many other members of the Anzac community of remembrance, I felt, - as did Worthy (2002 & 2004) - that the WW1 memorial cenotaph represented something deeply personal and collective. I felt deep collective feelings at the memorial cenotaph on days such as Anzac Day (April 25), and significant personal feeling when I sat alone and reflected upon my ancestors and wider understandings of the horrors of WW1. If these ceremonial and non-ceremonial encounters are overlooked, the cenotaph's role in remembering WW1 on Anzac Day and as an everyday material object in the towns and cities of New Zealand remains silent.

In the next section, I explore how autoethnography facilitates deeper reflection upon the role of memory, politics, and emotion in the memorial landscape.

4.2 Memory Politics and Memory Places

Autoethnography, the use of narrative writing to conceptualise place, is by no means new to geographic inquiry. Geographers have read and attempted to narrate landscape experiences since the 1980s, seeking to conceptualise experiences of place as always representative of one reading and interpretation of the world (Duncan, 1980; Duncan and Duncan, 1988; Duncan, 2004; Kearns et al., 2010). Kearns et al., (2010) articulated in

their work on psychiatric hospitals being repurposed post closure, that memorialisation is not always public but can be more personal based on what different individuals or groups choose to remember and forget about the past. Such scholarship recognises that what people remember and forget depends on the stigma attached to physical structures and what memories a structure may trigger for survivors and wider society (Kearns et al., 2013).

Memory work extends early geographers' past textual readings of the landscape and traditional ethnographic accounts of place to reveal how individual and community readings of the landscape are always personal but are also politically, culturally, and contextually distinct (Duncan and Duncan, 1988; Kuhn, 2010). Research that engages in memory work recognises that the researcher's ability to recount and forget what they see and experience in the field - and then outside it - are always situated and partial readings of place (Kuhn, 2010). These partial readings are informed by the contextual moment as well as specific readings of the landscape, which are informed by wider constructs of what should be remembered and what should be silenced (Curti, 2008; Kearns et al., 2010; Kuhn, 2010).

Within memory studies, how an individual or group reads and recounts their encounters of place provides insights into specific imaginaries place (Cosgrove and Jackson, 1987; Davies, 2014). Imaginaries of place referring to how specific communities construct and reinforce specific ways of understanding the landscape, physical structures (Kuhn, 2007). These imaginaries over time then transform as memories and evolve, evaporate, or perish (Kuhn, 2007). In the field of cultural history, Tamm (2013) engaged memory work to extend traditional readings of the landscape as text. Tamm (2013) saw the potential of the landscape as text and memory studies to gauge the politics behind cultural structures and ceremonies, including the memorial landscape.

Although not autoethnography driven, Tamm's (2013) work explained the significance of memorials in the process of reflecting upon how memories are situated and unsettled by communities of remembrance, with each community of remembrance actively installing (or dismantling) a particular status quo. In using autoethnography, I extended Tamm's

(2013) work to reflect upon how my memories (as recorded in my research diary) were contextually specific examples of how I read and then wrote about the cenotaph and memorial landscape. Retrospectively, outside the field, I reflected upon how my readings of the landscape were informed by wider societal and politicised understandings of memorialisation, commemoration, and remembrance. I used my autoethnographic narrative to pull apart how I justified (or questioned) specific themes, ideologies, and social norms at - and then away from - the memorial cenotaph.

Therefore, memory work, when engaged within autoethnography, allows the researcher to cogitate upon how the landscape was read in the past and how these constructions morph into the contemporary moment (Tamm, 2013). To explore the WW1 memorial landscape, memory work was an essential reflective instrument to understand how I read the memorial landscape over time. Memory work extends traditional geographic readings of place, valuing everyday encounters alongside commemorative events, which have been the focus of geographies of the memorial landscape in the past (McDonald, 2010; Sumatojo, 2016).

Some geographers using autoethnography and narrative writing methodologies have explored the everyday role and function of the memorial landscape. MacDonald (2010) engaged autoethnography to explore his everyday encounters with memorials dedicated to mining disasters. His work, however, continued to rely on performance ethnography (McDonald, 2010). Performance ethnography puts the researcher's descriptive observations of others as the primary research output instead of reflecting more deeply upon personal emotions and senses of place (Adams and Ellis, 2012). As part of my autoethnography, I snapped photos and sat in the memorial space writing notes, following McDonald's (2010) approach. Rather than scribbling participant observations, however, I wrote deeper, more personal reflections upon how I felt on different visits.

What I found useful about MacDonald's approach to memorial studies was his recognition of his positionalities as a researcher. McDonald (2010) openly stated the influence of his childhood experiences in coalmining commemorations in Nova Scotia. These experiences led him to research the coal mining memorial landscape. I saw the

recognition of MacDonald's (2010) past as key to understanding his positionalities in researching the memorial landscape, inspiring through autoethnography my own self-reflections upon being an ANZAC descendant and memorial researcher.

As I discuss in the next section, my diary entries and reflections drew out how and why I studied the Anzac memorial cenotaph and its everyday existence to deeply reflect upon why I felt such strong cultural connections to Anzac Day commemorations, and what implications this had on my experiences of place.

4.3 Diary Keeping

To engage in autoethnography, I used a diary to record my experiences of the memorial landscape during field visits and afterwards. The importance of diary keeping is its ability to record the traces that substantiate lived experience, including the memories, emotions, and experiences of place - both in the past and present, real and imagined (Ellis, 2004; Kuhn, 2010; Liggins et al, 2013).

Keeping a research diary and writing an autoethnography provides a conceptual tool to situate the researcher's experiences of place within their wider social context (Pini, 2004). Through the process of writing, and at times struggling to write, I began to explore how the memorial landscape affected (and at times did not affect) upon my lived experience. Like Liggins' autoethnographic account of being a mental health patient and later psychologist (Liggins et al 2013), only by writing about my experiences could I challenge and more openly discuss emotional and personal experiences of the memorial cenotaph.

In keeping a research diary, I used a B5 workbook to write my experiences at the Domain cenotaph during each field visit (Appendix 4 on page 162). I made each field visit 30-60 minutes in duration, depending on the weather. On each visit, I walked around, touched, photographed, listened, and explored the memorial square and cenotaph at the

Domain. After each field visit, I retired to a nearby cafe or my apartment where I reflected upon my experiences away from the cenotaph. I dated each diary entry and attached a museum visitation stub to mark that I had been at the memorial cenotaph. In terms of my earlier discussion of memory work, (Section 3.6 page 39) the stubs alongside my photographs provided touchstones to aid my exploration of my experiences retrospectively.

To explore my diary entries further, I also reread my diary and looked over my photographs both on the day of, and up to 10 days after, each visit. I did this retrospective memory work to gauge whether my experiences ‘in the moment’ changed from when I had last visited the cenotaph. I undertook these exercises of discursive reflection to contextualise my diary entries, extracting key quotes, passages, and questions raised from being in the Domain’s memorial square in one moment and as my memory constructed my experiences at a later stage. The out-of-field reflection process was crucial as it allowed mediation between what I experienced, felt, and sensed in comparison to how I later understood what happened.

My autoethnography also raised questions about what I may have omitted from my written experiences at the WW1 cenotaph. Memory work documents how a researcher or research participant’s memories represent a series of partial and incomplete thoughts (Kuhn, 2010). Despite the partiality of what a researcher can recall, memory remains invaluable in the social sciences to reflect upon how people remember the past in the present moment (Muzaini, 2006; Kuhn, 2010, Muzaini, 2015). Muzaini (2015) has emphasised that research into memory’s role in experiencing place is central to ruminate upon what and why one forgets certain things over other (Kuhn, 2010; Snelgrave and Havitz, 2010; DeLyser and Hawkins, 2014). In producing an autoethnography, it is possible to engage more deeply with the memories, emotions, sensations, and encounters to narrate one story within a wider set of cultural experiences. Through keeping a research diary, I could narrate my autoethnography covering my ANZAC

ancestry, Anzac Day participation, and everyday encounters with the memorial cenotaph as one story of memorialisation, commemorative ritual and place-based experience.

Narrative based research and storytelling research are by no means unique to this thesis. In geography, Lorimer (2003), Cameron (2012), and Maratje et al., (2014) articulate that seemingly small or innocent, stories implicate who and what belongs in place. Marartje et al., (2014) identifies how stories inform the process of urban planning in Wageeninge Eng in the Netherlands, with stories being engaged to speak for a local collective of knowledge to mobilise construction and other urban projects. Local stories put forward by individuals or groups, if unchallenged, reinforce specific readings, memories, and accounts of place despite alternative viewpoints and practices that may inform how memorial spaces are experienced (Maratje et al., 2014)

Memory work and diary keeping used in writing my autoethnography sought to address the importance but under-theorisation of narrative and storytelling in geographic research. Diary keeping and autoethnography thus extend traditional ethnography to embrace more nuanced understandings of how material and embodied systems facilitate selective memories of place and the past (Muzaini, 2015: 102-103). In keeping a research diary and memory work, I reflect upon how and why I wrote instances of body-landscape encounters ‘in the moment’ and retrospectively.

In geography, Non-Representational Theory (NRT) guided research in these in the moment and everyday encounters. NRT explores the embodied, practiced, and habitual domains as they unfold in the moment in everyday life. NRT broadly aligns with autoethnography and the use of narrative approaches to recording research findings (Rose 1993; Thrift 2008). In geography, NRT provided a starting point for deeper reflection upon the role of emotion in studying place, as in the past, geographers overlooked how emotion affected landscape encounters and experiences of place (Rose, 1992; Massey, 2006; Thrift, 2008). A key connection between NRT and autoethnography is that researchers should

avoid relying on interviews, observations and self-reported work alone. At first glance, NRT privilege of ethnographic approaches to research which excludes the voice and experiences of the researcher, would seem to discount the value of autoethnographic research.

Arguments against self-reported work in NRT stem from a general distrust of self-reported research in the social sciences (Butz and Besio, 2009). What aligns NRT and autoethnography is the valuation of mixed-method and creative approaches to research and the recognition that research and the researchers are never objective (Chang, 2016, Boylen and Orbe, 2016). NRT recognises the agency of things, people together implicate lived experiences of place, and autoethnography provides one reflective framework to unpack the complex facets of lived experience in place (Clark, 2003; Macpherson's 2009).

In using autoethnography, I engaged experiences of place and retrospection in conjunction with other disciplinary areas of research, including memory work, sociology, communication studies, and history. Like Macpherson (2009) and her work with visually impaired and blind actors navigating everyday urban spaces, I draw on multiple scholarship to reflect upon the memorial cenotaph and landscape. These were helpful in researching the cenotaph as part of a wider empirical and theoretical sphere of inquiry (Macpherson, 2009; Lorimer, 2006; Chang, 2016). Autoethnography and narrative writing within my research diary acknowledged my positionality as a central component in how I analysed my empirical findings as part of the diverse academic literatures I engaged with.

The researcher, their biases, and lifeworld through autoethnography are never separate from the research context or outputs produced (Purcell; 2009; Chang, 2016). The decision to draw on the self in research does not mean this account of the memorial cenotaph is monolithic or limited to my own experiences of place. As Longhurst (2012:

877) writes, autoethnography unearths the “*multiple, complex and shifting discourses*” which arise as researchers do research.

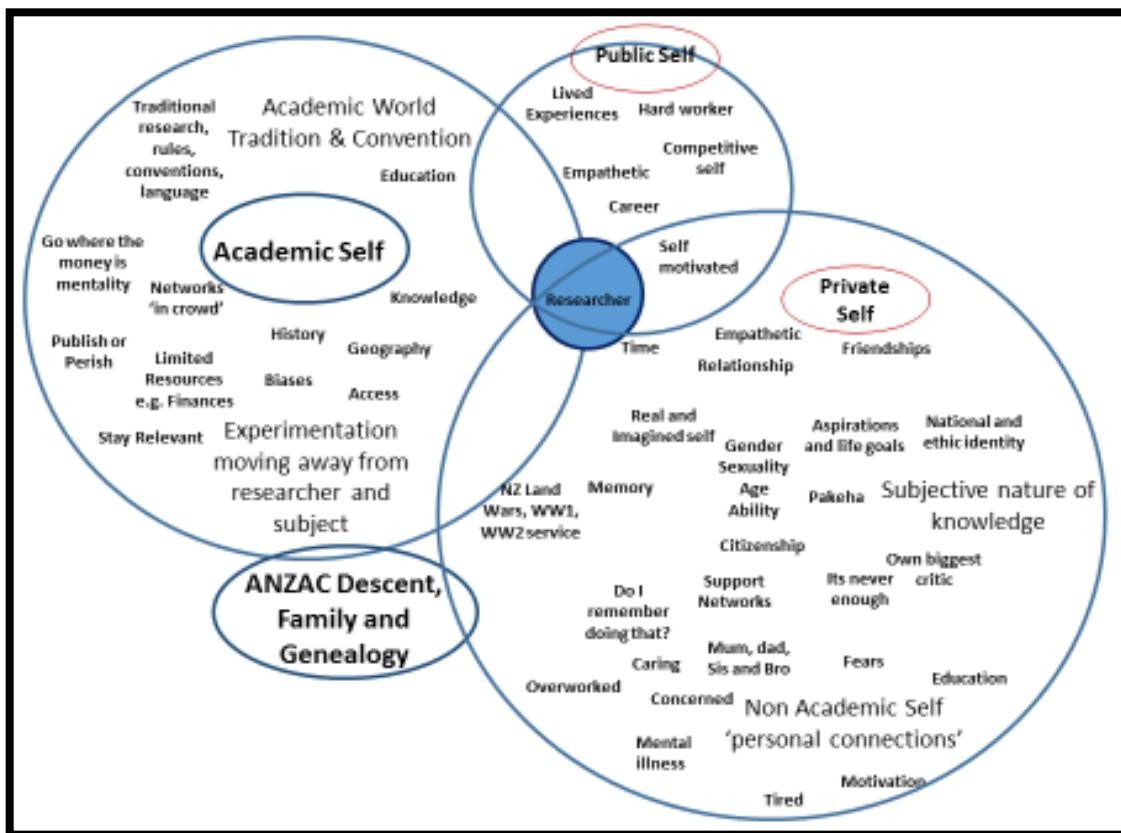
An autoethnographer recognises that validity, like a prism, can have numerous angles but has a single structure (Richardson and St Pierre, 2008). To ensure that the multiple angles within my research diary were in a digestible format, I used autobiographical mapping to reflect upon my research diary. Like Pini (2004), I used an assemblage type autobiographical map as a way i to reflect upon my own positionalities and subjectivities (seen in

Figure 6). Pini (2004) did not use an assemblage map per say, but her narrative reflections from key interviews were mind mapped. Each mind map sought to question her own positionality as a former member of an Australian sugar cane community which she was researching some years after she had left the township.

As a way forward from Pini’s (2004) work, I used autobiographical assemblage maps to draw out my experiences, feelings, and sensations in place. Broadly aligned with Pini, (2004) I produced a kind of momentary intellectual snap shot of my experiences at the memorial cenotaph to explore how I experienced place as a researcher and private individual (Pini,

2004). I found that as I conducted my research in the field, it was guided by my public behaviour and thoughts, my private individual emotions, thoughts and feelings, and my academic background (Pini, 2004).

Figure 6. My Research and Understanding Autoethnography



Each assemblage map sought to provide a framework which I could reflect upon retrospectively. Retrospective reflection upon each map documented the various thoughts and feelings which directed my experiences at the Domain cenotaph (Pini, 2004). The autobiographic comments were not fixed. Assemblage theory and autobiographic mapping frameworks are loose forms of theorisation (Latour, 2005; Deleuze and Parnet, 2007). Autoethnographic mapping laid out some of the social configurations and ways in which I ordered the relations I experienced at, with, and away from, the memorial cenotaph. As I discuss in chapter five (page 72), this exercise was not as useful as I first thought.

The autobiographical maps were challenging to interpret when retrospectively reflecting upon my diary entries. Despite the use of life spheres (public, private, academic and as the descendant of an ANZAC) the autobiographical maps were problematic as a standalone research tool (see chapter five for a full review page 65-78) due to the inherent complexity and crossover of each life sphere (public, private, academic, and genealogical). Again, I emphasise that this form of autobiographical mapping represented a loose form of theorisation and was one component of my overall autoethnography, which turned out to be unhelpful in my retrospective reflection process. In the next section, I explore some of the other areas of autoethnography that have received criticism in previous years within the social sciences. The purpose of the section is to identify some of the caveats of autoethnography and explore how different scholars have responded to these critics.

4.4 Limitations and critiques of autoethnography

It is important to acknowledge that autobiographical and autoethnographic research are not without critics. Within geographic studies, despite autobiography's - and more

recently autoethnography's - broad analytical applications by respected academics such as Valentine (1998) and Gibson-Graham (2003), the methodology has remained largely side-lined based on its deeply personal and inherently story-like nature (Butz and Besio, 2009; Cameron, 2012). The implication of excluding the researcher's narrative experiences from their findings in the past overlooked what their voices could add to how place is understood over time (Longhurst, 2016; Chang, 2016). Narrative approaches to research, historically regarded as 'weak' within geographic studies, were delimited to sketching out a research framework to be filled by stronger forms of quantitative explanation (David Harvey 1969 cited in, Daniels and Lorimer, 2012). Such attempts to dialectically and methodologically isolate narrative undermined narrative's power to question official, established, and seemingly natural conceptualisations of place at all geographic scales (Daniels and Longhurst; 2012; Longhurst, 2016). As Lorimer (2003 & 2008) argued, narrative research seeks to ask and allow researchers to ask the awkward, uncomfortable, and difficult questions. Autoethnography uses narrative methods such as diary keeping to ask questions about how and what is researched, valuing personal accounts in the generation of meaningful research (Lorimer 2003 & 2008).

In geography, Longhurst's (2012) work on overweight, obese and 'fat' women's experiences of being in everyday spaces spoke to the power of narrative methods in autoethnography. Longhurst's (2012) autoethnography used narrative writing to record her confronting and complicated experiences of dieting. Her narratives were revealing as they showed how being in different places dialectically transitioned in her narratives from feelings of self-loathing, disgust and even hate to at times humour or a mix of both sentiments (Longhurst, 2016). Only through self-reflection upon the awkward, uncomfortable and transitory experiences of being 'fat' in place could Longhurst fully explore the complicated facets of weight loss and 'fat' identities as a feminist geographer (2012 & 2016). As an ANZAC descendant, like Longhurst (2012), I engaged narrative writing within my autoethnography to reflect upon how the memorial landscape and

cenotaph created mixed experience of place and senses of belonging throughout the research process.

Putting my narrative work centre stage was by no means easy. Like other autoethnographic researchers before me, writing narratively was not without several personal trials (Ellis, 2004; Liggins et al, 2013). The honesty and personal detail of autoethnography raises questions around how honest a researcher should be about their emotional and embodied experiences while protecting themselves from unnecessary criticism (Ellis, 2003; Longhurst, 2012; Chang, 2016). Longhurst (2012) emphasised her confusion and hurt as a feminist and self-conscious dieter, and later ‘thinner’ women which meant she lost some of her female students’ respect due to her weight loss. In losing her students’ respect, Longhurst (2012) recounted that she no longer felt (temporarily) that she was no longer a ‘real’ feminist or role model. In Longhurst’s (2012) narrative autoethnography, she reflected on these comments to speak to the strength of societal pressures to lose weight and the stigma attached to certain women who lose weight. So, despite experiences of personal sadness, autoethnography and the researcher’s written narratives provide significant insights into everyday experiences of emotion and embodiment that are overlooked in memorial studies.

As Longhurst (2012) and Fisher (2015) acknowledged, narrative autoethnography provided a method through which to express how they remembered lived experience. Narrative language for Longhurst (2012) and Fisher (2015) revealed truths, half-truths, and silences about their experiences in place - to themselves and, where appropriate, to others. In this research, self-narration meant I recounted how I felt and related (or was unable to relate) to the memorial landscape in the field and retrospectively outside it. At times, this was very difficult. In this process of recounting my experiences in and out of the field, like Liggins et al (2013) - with recollections of being a mental health care patient - I

often found that I became frustrated and even self-critical of what I could remember. My self-criticism extended to putting down how I was writing, often questioning if I had written in the correct tense and about the right subject matter or memory.

Ellis (2004) stated that such experiences are normal facets of narrative research and autoethnographic writing. It was only through practising my writing that, as a researcher, I came to understand that I could never write down or remember everything, and that my own knowledge was limited without the involvement of others. Agreeing with Ellis (2004; 118), I found trying to write everything in one moment is unhelpful and unrealistic and overlooks the complex ways that consciousness and memory work.

To address the limits of my own knowledge and research concerns and to reflect more deeply upon my autoethnography, I asked three participants to share and reflect upon their own experience of the memorial cenotaph.

4.5 The Role of Participants

In using autoethnography, I documented both my individual experience and the experiences of three research participants. Four participants were invited to sit with me at the Domain cenotaph and discuss their thoughts and feelings within the memorial landscape. Despite four participants being sought I only was connected to three participants through friends and family.

Under the terms of approval from the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, I only interviewed persons over 18 years (due to issues of vulnerability and the challenges of gaining informed consent) (Clifford et al, 2016). To recruit participants, I gave my email address to selected friends and family members who passed on my

details to persons they thought may be interested in participating in an hour-long interview at the Auckland Domain WW1 cenotaph on one weekend day in July, August, September, or October 2016. Once a potential participant responded, I asked the ‘gate keeper’ to email the potential participant a consent form, participant information sheet and Ethics committee acceptance letter (see Appendix 1. pages 136-144). These documents outlined my research project, including what was required of the participant and what they would receive through participating in my research.

Two participants (Mary and Alice) were friends and sat talking with me in the Winter Garden café for two hours (it worked out to be about one hour talking each). As these two interviews were in winter, the participants asked if they could walk around the cenotaph square and then retire to the nearby Winter Garden Café for the interview process out of the wind and cold. The third participant (Helen) asked to walk around the Domain cenotaph square and then asked to sit in the spring sunshine facing north towards the harbour bridge. She asked to do this way as she had never been in the cenotaph square before.

I used informal, semi-structured participant interviews, and I asked each person four broad questions, allowing time for them to tell their stories. I recorded notes of each participant’s stories to be then analysed as part of my narrative autoethnography. The participants’ insights were important as each provided narratives of their placed-based experiences of the cenotaph outside of its ceremonial role on Anzac Day that differed from mine. As Scarles (2010) articulated, different expressions of how place can be experienced is important in autoethnography as it provides unique snapshots of how people experience place differently. Each narrative provided comparative scope to reflect deeper upon my own experience (Scarles, 2010).

A key challenge in the interview process was to allow each participant to express their own narrative experiences in their own time. Ellis (2004) cautions autoethnographer’s that,

although it is important to include their own voice in the interview process, the researcher should not take over the story or lead participants into telling stories. Context and power relations in any interview process are crucial dynamics to consider (Peterson and Langellier, 2006). Within autoethnography, listening to each participant's story required me to step away from my own experiences as the focal point and listen to the participant's experiences and narratives (Ellis, 2004: 62). As my interviews were largely informal, I engaged in an interactive form of interviewing. The use of an interactive interview approach allowed the conversation to flow more naturally, which was important to make the participants feel more comfortable. The creation of a comfortable setting was also designed to ensure that the participants felt safe as each shared (or held back) their narrative experiences of the memorial landscape (Ellis, 2004)

The experience of engaging participants represented an invaluable part of my autoethnography. Each participant had their own set of ideas, knowledge, and experiences of place. All interviewee's answers represented one experience and one narrative of the memorial landscape, like my own narrative snapshots. The interviews added to my empirical research of the memorial cenotaph and landscape, representing snapshots of the wider socio-spatial understanding of the memorial as an everyday place found within the New Zealand landscape. I hand wrote each participant's experiences within my research diary, writing the responses to each question as well as noting any comments or silences.

In the interview process, I recounted extracts of my autoethnography not to simply tell my story as a researcher but to assist, where appropriate, telling the stories of the participants (Ellis, 2004). I found that this was at times necessary, as some of the participants felt nervous or unsure that their 'mundane' observations or reflections were adequate (see Chapter 6 page 78). As suggested by Ellis (2004) and Clifford et al (2016), rather than recounting my experiences as a tool to lead my participants into telling their stories, it was important to emphasise the validity of everyday and seemingly mundane experiences of place. Each participant's insights informed my own understandings of the

socio-cultural role and function (or lack of) of the Domain WW1 cenotaph as a landscape feature.

Alongside my participant interviews and research diary to reflect upon the socio-cultural role and function of the memorial cenotaph, I also used visual autoethnography. As I discuss in the next section, visual autoethnography informed my research with visual aids. These visual aids were photographs, which provided tools to reflect upon my diary entries alongside snapshots of the cenotaph and landscape.

4.6 Visual autoethnography: Experimenting with photography

Within geography, autoethnography has grown from attempts to re-instate the 'I' in research (Krieger, 1996; Scarles, 2010). One autoethnographic approach to explore how researchers do research and come to produce knowledge is through viewing photographs taken in the field retrospectively (Scarles, 2010: 907). Using photography in research is by no means new in geography (Rose, 2000), but visual autoethnography and the use of photographs in research goes beyond traditional ethnographic photo elicitation.

Photo elicitation techniques fixated on the researcher showing others photographs and asking how they understood the image (Pink, 2013). The respondent's narrative stood as an interpretation and representation of place, packaged by the researcher as an objective explanation of how others experienced place (Pink, 2013).

Visual autoethnography asks the researcher to have more discussions with participants about the images you show them, and then reflect upon your own experiences of place with them (Scarles, 2010). The purpose of more interactive engagement with photographs and open discussion between the research participants and researcher is to

explore how places are embodied and experienced emotionally and conceptualised cognitively. As Krieger (1996: 1919-192) stated, researchers - through linking their statements about what they study with those of their participants - are being more transparent, open, and honest about their own positionalities (knowledge, biases, and personal interests). A researcher, in using visual autoethnography, does not stand alone from what they ask of participants but instead constructs knowledge from encounters with the participant, the photograph, and place (Krieger, 1996; Scarles, 2010).

In this body of research, I extended Scarles (2010) autoethnographic work that engaged photographs in participant interviews to my own reflections upon my research diary. I used photographs to take momentary snapshots of the memorial cenotaph and landscape at the Domain. I used these photographs to disentangle my diary entries retrospectively and ask myself what I had written in the field and what did I miss writing about. Taking the question forward, I constructed a series of photograph collages, to tease out any new themes that emerged outside of the field.

Photographs were invaluable as, retrospectively, they allowed me to become a more active agent in my research. As Spry (2011) described, an active agent in research examines how one's own body interacts with others in the landscape and the material world. By taking, re-looking at, and collaging photographs, I facilitated another layer of reflection upon the blurring distinctions between my personal experiences and social experiences and my encounters with others and things in place (Ellis and Bochner, 1996; Spry, 2001; Scarles, 2010).

As I discuss in chapter eight (page 107), the photographs I took, how I arranged and described them, and how I communicated my experiences revealed deep senses of disconnect in memorial spaces away from the Domain cenotaph. I deviated from Scarles (2010) approach to visual autoethnography, as my photographs alongside diary entries, textual reflexivity, and participant ontologies facilitated my own reflection process rather than that of the three participants. My approach to taking and then using photos was more mixed than Scales (2010) due to the absence of previous memorial-based visual autoethnography to draw upon.

Visual autoethnography and my narrative autoethnography accepts Bondi's (2005) challenge to engage in more experimental forms of research as a geographer studying emotion and place. I engaged visual, textual, and oral methods to address the lacuna around embodied and emotional experiences of the memorial landscape. I wove my own and three participants' experiences to ask how people experience the WW1 memorial landscape in everyday life as ANZAC descendants or as persons with no personal ties to the memorial landscape. Visual autoethnography added to my research, with the process of photo collaging facilitating questions around why particular images mattered more than others, why some images connected to what I had written, and in addition, what as well as why I overlooked certain things in place.

4.7 So why autoethnography?

Autoethnography and the use of a research diary guided my research of the WW1 Domain memorial cenotaph. My research diary documented my experiences at the memorial cenotaph both on ceremonial days and outside its ceremonial role. Each diary entry was a narrative reference to how I experienced the memorial landscape on my own and how three research participants experienced the same landscape. Through reflection upon my own experiences of place and the experiences of participants in the next section, I discuss how my assemblage maps and mind-mapping exercises at times hindered my ability to draw out themes in my autoethnography. Thematic analysis was important as it provided categories which could trace the multiple components that I narrated, felt, and remembered in my experiences of the memorial landscape and WW1 cenotaph.

Autoethnography forms the methodological base of this body of research. Through diary keeping, I documented my thoughts, feelings, and emotions while in the presence of the memorial cenotaph and, retrospectively, my writing being a data collection tool. Alongside my own experiences, three participants were engaged to deepen my own findings and see if they fitted within or outside of others' experiences of place. In

the sections and chapters that follow, I discuss how, in using autoethnography, I reflected upon the everyday role of the WW1 memorial cenotaph in terms of sensations of embodiment, emotion, affect, memory, belonging, and exclusion.

Each of the following chapters discusses my autoethnographic writing and reflections from my field visits and then from engaging with three research participants. Through discussion with, and in reading other autoethnographers' works across the social sciences (Ellis, 2004; Liggins et al, 2013) and within geography (Longhurst, 2012; Fisher, 2015 Longhurst, 2016) I crafted my own autoethnography through learning from others narrative work. I developed a way of speaking to my research that engaged my diary entries as a retrospective lens on when the research was written and re-read retrospectively.

In reading the following chapter, please note that the dark blue text in italics represents extracts taken from my research diary, the black text represents my own contextual additions to the text for the reader, and the dark green text in italics represents reflections from the research participants. Note each section is thematically organised into chapters. The purpose of a thematic approach is to give structure the complex experiential encounters at, and away from, the memorial cenotaph. The separation of the chapters into themes does not mean that they exist in isolation, and the final summary in chapter nine (page 123) outlines how my autoethnography helped weave together the experiential challenges faced in researching the memorial landscape.

Chapter 5. The ceremonial role of the cenotaph

As I discussed in my context (page 7) and literature sections (page 25), the Anzac Dawn service is the most ritualised commemorative event for military remembrance in New Zealand and is performed across all regional WW1 memorial sites (McConville et al., 2017). The ceremony starts just before dawn and is nationally broadcast. All the service components, including the speeches, prayers, hymns, and ritual performances such as the procession of servicemen, trumpeted last post, and wreath laying are strictly regulated to ensure the service does not go over time (McConville et al., 2017). In memorial studies across the social sciences, these ceremonial activities - which remain largely unchanged since the WW1 memorial cenotaph's conception in New Zealand in the 1920s and 1930s - are well-documented (Phillips and Maclean, 1990; Gough, 2004; Kerwin et al., 2016; Phillips, 2017).

Regardless of the extensive coverage of the memorial cenotaph's ceremonial role, both geographers and historians within memorial studies have not explored how people can experience the Anzac ritual in terms of emotion and embodied experiences in place. In this chapter, I reflect upon what emotions, physical sensations, and memories I experienced at the memorial cenotaph on Anzac Day, through being a spectator and participant in the civic service. I embarked on this exploration of the cenotaph's ceremonial role to compare my ceremonial experiences to my non-ceremonial visits, which I discuss in chapters six and eight.

As part of my visit to the Anzac civic service, I took photos and later reflected upon my experiences of the ceremony as an ANZAC descendant. As part of the reflection process, I attempted to use autobiographical mapping; however, as I discuss, this proved unhelpful. The chapter focuses on my field visit on April 24 where I watched the pre-dawn service set up, and my participation in the civic service at 10am at the Domain WW1 memorial cenotaph on April 25. As the chapter progresses, I take my written extracts and

photos and summate my experiences to explore the memorial cenotaph during these field visits. I finish the chapter with an exploration of the memorial's ceremonial role as part of a broader set of socio-cultural and political processes of belonging and exclusion. The purpose of visiting the memorial site before the Anzac Day events and then for the civic service was, therefore, to speak to the memorial's ceremonial transformation and to contextualise this alongside the memorial landscape's existence outside of Anzac Day.

5.1 The pre-dawn service makeover of the Auckland Memorial Museum cenotaph

On the day before the Anzac dawn service, I visited the cenotaph to see how the landscape was prepared for the commemorative event. I had never visited the cenotaph square the day before Anzac Day. I wrote in my diary how I “*was curious how the site was changed to be fit for purpose on the 25th (April).*” At 10am, when I visited, the site was cold and wet from drizzling rain. I wrote in the square how I felt “*in awe and extremely grateful at the extent of the efforts to decorate the memorial landscape.*” I noted the scale of the site’s makeover with the erection of a field of white crosses, large TV screens and speakers, and the cordoning off of whole areas normally open to the public (seen in Figure 7).

I felt a deep sense of gratitude mixed with sadness about the effort to “*dress up the grey normally empty cenotaph square*” for the next day. On reflection, I felt these feelings of sadness were intensified as a parade of khaki-clad young soldiers practised their ceremonial march in the square, getting their footwork right for the forthcoming service. I felt emotional as the young men practised for the parade for the next day, and I wrote at the cenotaph,

“*I was looking at them, and shuddered inside, my stomach flipping over, as I heard their marching brown/black boots hit the concrete. I could not stop thinking as they rhythmically moved to the commanders left, right, left commands, that if this was 1915*

you would be going off to war, probably full of excitement. Many soldiers were excited. Getting out of small town New Zealand to travel the world and then be ‘home by Christmas’ as the saying went in those early days of WW1. Would have these young men returned physically broken like my great grandfather and mentally wrecked like poppa with PTSD? At Gallipoli who would have died on the beaches, come home and committed suicide, who would be buried forever in the sandy soil of the Dardanelles far from home and loved ones? Would their family remember them here or prefer to forget such sorrow and loss?”

I watched these young men in the present, but retrospectively, I realised I had been transported mentally to a past in the pre-WW1 period. As Kuhn (2010) explains, when people see past images or photographs of people engaged in activities in far off places they can be transported to the past even if they had never experienced those things or been to those places in the flesh. Therefore, despite not knowing the young men, their uniform and their marching performance around the cenotaph square generated a cross-temporal imagery and imaginary of what young ANZAC men could have felt and experienced in -and after - wartime. I had not been at the cenotaph while it was being decorated for Anzac Day. Nor had I seen soldiers parading in uniform to the beat of the military drum: left, right, left.

Figure 7. Author's Own, 1: Pre-Anzac Service Facelift 24 of April 2016



Being in the memorial square before the dawn service, I felt the experiences I had from seeing the young soldiers marching aligned with Merleau-Ponty's (1992) study of everyday experiences of walking through the city. The kinaesthetic performances of the mundane (the non-ceremonial) and the unexpected impelled me to stop, look, feel, and then physically and emotionally respond to what was going on in place. Such sensations were intense. I watched the soldiers on parade in one moment but also felt I transitioned to another time and place imagining these young men as active servicemen. I imagined them as my own forebears and contextualised them in the gritty realities of war. My own knowledge of the physical wounds of war and mental scars led me to imaginaries of death, suicide, loss, and sorrow which physically manifested in a tightening and turning of my stomach at the thoughts of military devastation.

Sorrow and loss were also common themes I derived from visiting the memorial cenotaph on Anzac Day. In missing the dawn service (due to my back problems), I realised how I had taken for granted the extent of attachment I placed on attending the event. On the day of the dawn service in 2016, I could not summon the strength to attend the service as I had put my back out the day before "*there was no way I could stand for up to two hours in the cold morning air without fainting.*" I was in so much pain that I could not get

up at dawn. I Instead, I loaded myself up with painkillers and, with the physical support of my partner, I went to the civic service that started at 10am that day.

I recounted how guilty I felt about missing the dawn service at the cenotaph, writing as I rode the Inner-City Link bus to the memorial:

"I should have been there this morning and put my physical pain aside and stood with all those other ANZAC attendees praying, reflecting and remembering my family's sacrifices. I had gone every service for nearly 8 years. The guilt is almost suffocating me, my throat's tight my eyes watery and almost in tears if I am honest. I can feel the salt from my swallowed tears in my throat. It tastes foul like my mood. It is a deep personal shame I am feeling. I have let my poppa and great grandfather down."

To many researchers, these expressions of guilt and self-pity would be out of place in research (Butz and Besio, 2009), such expressions of self-pity being too subjective and belittling to contribute to real knowledge or genuine discovery (Ellis, 2004; Liggins et al., 2013). What is invaluable about such insights from the researcher's perspective are revelations of deep connection people can have to place at different moments in time. In documenting the deeply personal feelings of shame and belittlement, the politics of power and sentiments of exclusion attached to non-Anzac Day Dawn service participation come forth and are powerful insights into senses of identity, belonging, and exclusion at a personal and community level.

Such personal insights further articulate how exclusion and belonging are by no means absolute over time. At the civic service that day, I recounted that, "*I felt much better once I had visited the site.*" The agonising self-guilt and self-critique of missing the dawn service evaporated as I stood at the civic service amongst other commemorators, and I began to feel a part the service:

"I knew that hymn. Not the exact words, rather its importance to me. It was sung at my poppa Reginald's funeral in 2000. I remember how I cried then and I felt like crying in that moment as I listened. Tears were ready but did not flow as I did then when my best friend was gone, the one person who made me feel I was special. I laughed inside

though as I remembered how he used to tell me he could never take me anywhere with my table manners! Memory is funny like that I guess, I remember feeling such loss, those salty and gut wrenching tears alongside sensations of bubbling laughter and smiles. I shouldn't smile here though THAT WOULD BE SO WEIRD."

As I experienced a set of mixed emotion (some restrained unsuccessfully), I realised I was not alone in feeling mixed emotions about certain behaviours in the memorial landscape. At the memorial cenotaph's northern façade, there were purposefully situated white crosses in a neat set of rows. Arranged in rows, the crosses showed a former battalion of soldiers, lined up by their rank. The field of crosses seen in Figure 8 below was a memorial designed to represent the regiment's members, with their name, rank, date of birth, and date of death alongside a material poppy donated by the RSA. Amongst the RSA crosses there were several other crosses laid by family members. The small home-made white crosses stated the names of, and services performed by, soldiers and service personnel who had not received an RSA cross. Seen in the centre top of Figure 8, one cross was laid to commemorate the service of three WW1 nurses.

Figure 8. Author's Own 2: The Anzac Civic Service 10am April 25 2016



I wrote that the field on Anzac Day

"was a peaceful space. Children were playing, laughing and touching the crosses, most no older than five years, while their parents stood back watching and occasionally scolding or grabbing their child when the chirps became shrieks of laughter. Several children also pointed at the crosses and looked up at their carer as if asking what this is? In the sunshine, the children also stumbled over the crosses, knocking several over in the course of making a new friend, trying a catch a sparrow or wanting to sit on it. The crosses like the children I wrote looked so innocent like the young children, the landscape smelling of fresh grass, dew and sunshine."

It was only later, upon reflection, that I began to wonder about the field of crosses:

"I wondered why people had gone to such efforts to make guerrilla crosses for the nurses; I mean the field was meant to be for the men right? Perhaps it was a form of protest, putting nurses at centre stage for their contributions and sacrifice in the war. I wonder if any of the children or their carers noticed these additional crosses, what they thought of them and whether they had planted them."

The importance of asking these questions at a personal level was to reflect upon why the non-RSA crosses had been placed so lovingly alongside the purposefully planted regiment crosses. As well, I began to question why certain Anzac structures such as the Poppy are privileged over others. As Standish (2016) reflected in her work on counter-memorialisation projects like the Peace pole and Archibald Baxter memorial, exercises of intentional questioning are often seen as a form of attack upon the memorialisation process and the sacred memory of the soldiers.

It was only through questioning what my own experiences meant- what I saw, sensed and physically felt - that I could question how I came to comprehend the Anzac commemorative ritual and the role of the cenotaph, as natural. As a researcher, it was crucial to engage in autoethnography and retrospective reflection to stop and

ask why was I here, who I remembered - and why - and how did I come to understand the memorial landscape as natural and the Anzac ritual as nationally normal?

5.2 The Anzac Day Civil Service: The persistent strengths of the Anzac myth

Sadness and guilt were central emotional and physical sensations that I embodied in the memorial landscape in 2016. I experienced the personal nature of feeling suffocated while I was imagining the past without personal in-that-moment experience, and was embodying shame as well as tasting tears - and even holding back laughter. These feelings expressed the connection between my embodied behaviour and emotional experiences at the cenotaph. These feelings were very real components in how I felt as I missed the dawn service. If I tried to exclude these feelings from my experiences before and at the Anzac services, these personal sentiments - due to their subjective nature within traditional ethnographic research - would be lost.

The sensations of taste, deep emotion, and imagination revealed specific senses of place (outside of Anzac Day) that, in the past, I had taken for granted. In my experiences of Anzac Day in the past, I had not considered the significance of my ANZAC lineage in how I performed within the memorial landscape and what behaviours I embodied and excluded at the cenotaph out of respect to my forebears. Through valuing how I gave voice to my lived experiences, I began to comprehend the political and cultural power of the Anzac mythology and ritual in experiencing place. My feelings as an ANZAC descendant who annually attended the Anzac Dawn Service- although I was unable to speak for others who missed the Anzac Dawn Service - provided one voice for reflection upon what it can feel like to witness military activity, such as marching, and to miss an annual, widely publicised (McConville et al., 2017) and ritualised (Worthy, 2002; Stevens, 2014) cultural event in the New Zealand and

Australian context. Reflection upon the experiences of the Anzac service, as a New Zealand citizen and ANZAC descendant, provided one lens into how the Anzac mythology and how its place-based performances are manifested into senses of national identity and feeling I belonged in terms of my family history and more broadly ability to place myself in the world.

None of these sensations and emotions, or attachment to place during the Anzac Day ceremony, came across in my autobiographical maps. After my pre-Anzac Day and Anzac Day visit, I tried to sit down and map out the key themes from my research diary to formulate an autoethnographic account. When I tried to do this, however, I found that my feelings in the moment could not easily slot into each of the demarcated life spheres I had designed. For example, my private self and public self both encountered emotional and physical sensations - like the saltiness of my tears - and my genealogical sphere was inseparable from the emotions I felt in my public encounter with place.

In using autobiographical mapping, I wanted to acknowledge my own biography as the key to some of the positionalities and subjectivities, which orientated how I understood myself in my research project. As a feminist scholar, Pini's (2004) reflexive framework extended Stanley and Wise's (1990) acknowledgement that, for research to be truly reflexive, a researcher needed to map out their intellectual autobiography. In trying to construct an intellectual autobiography within autoethnography, I confused rather than pinned down my experiences of place as a researcher. Although it was useful to reflect loosely upon the assemblages of thoughts, memories, and experiences I had in place, and retrospectively, the autobiographical mind map did not assist in terms of breaking down any of these components.

The activities on the day before and on Anzac Day itself therefore empowers or silences specific understandings of national (in terms of my sense of citizenship as a New Zealand born citizen) and personal (in terms of my family history) identification, which can be difficult to pin down at either a personal or collective level of identification. As I discussed in my literature review (page 25), cultural historians and geographers prior to - and following - the start of the WW100 centenary series had emphasised the political role of the memorial landscape on national memorial days (Worthy, 2002 & 2004; Gough 2004 & 2007; Stephens 2007; Hucker, 2009; Mycock, 2014; McConville et al., 2017).

The political power of the memorial landscape lies in its ability to facilitate community-wide senses of citizenship and belonging (Worthy, 2002; Dwyer, 2004; Tamm, 2010; McConville et al., 2017). Based on my own experiences, which aligned with Tamm (2013) and Curti's (2008) work on physical structures' role in constructs of national identity and belonging, the Domain memorial cenotaph represented one place that facilitated national belonging or exclusion. In the Auckland context, who belonged and felt out of place in the memorial square flowed from the repetition of the ritualised Anzac Day service (its hymns, dignitaries speaking, and wreath laying). The service reinforces that the military service and death in WW1 and all wars was horrific but also a heroic badge of New Zealand citizenship (Worthy, 2002 & 2004; McConville et al., 2017).

Aligned with Standish's (2016) understanding of military memorials in New Zealand, I felt that if a person or group disrupted or challenged the Anzac Day ceremony as the foundation of New Zealand's national identity, they would have been excluded as unpatriotic, non-citizens, and outcasts (McConville et al., 2017). My understanding of what it means to be unpatriotic and disrespectful at the memorial cenotaph derived from past acts of exclusion such as the feminist protests of rape in wartime (Weaver, 2012). Alongside more contemporary negative media representation and public

response to the Peace Society's protests at the memorial cenotaph in Wellington in 2017.

Based on re-reading my diary entries alongside the academic literature, protest and resistance to war, and military remembrance are historical and contemporary activities that occur at the cenotaph. Such activities reinforce what Standish (2016) and McConville et al., (2017) understand as the limits of monolithic representations of military memorialisation as the central pillar of New Zealand identity and citizenship. Counter-memorialisation and counter-commemoration recognise how traditional Anzac Day services exclude alternative experiences of military service by Maori, women, and conscientious objectors in wartime, and the significant violence, loss of life, and destruction of war.

My own behaviours were not drawn from alternative experiences of the pre-Anzac Day and Anzac Day service, such as the rape in wartime, protests, or Peace protests in Wellington. Instead, I felt my behaviour aligned with how others - and I - behaved at the Auckland Domain civic service by participating in the rituals respectfully. Therefore, my body and feelings were regulated by a disciplined set of rituals which I had internalised through my upbringing, and through a deep respect for my forebears who served and fought in the First and Second World Wars. Like Longhurst (2014) and her writing of place-based experiences as a 'fat' and then 'thin' woman, I could not escape the learned socio-spatial behaviours which had been contextualised by an aversion to counter-narratives of what does not belong in the memorial landscape. Such behaviours and restraints upon my personal feelings and how I contextualised others' behaviour as in or out of place were learned from my family upbringing as an ANZAC descendant, and as McConville et al., (2017) identified, specific media coverage of Anzac Day and the memories of past military service.

At no time did I disembody and act outside these spatial norms. What being emotional and embodying emotion as an ANZAC descendant who missed the dawn service revealed was the fundamental role of the memorial landscape and service in understanding the politics behind, and cultural constructs invested in, place on ceremonial days. Recording and reflecting upon emotion and embodied sensations in place recognised the importance I ascribed to being a part of the performance of the Anzac Day dawn service. Senses of exclusion in the memorial landscape are thus both personal and societal and depend upon the political and cultural context (Sibley, 1995; Curti, 2008; Tamm, 2013).

No member of the public or my family coerced me to feel or behave the way I did. Instead, the political and cultural constructs of otherness and exclusion that exist during the Anzac Day service at the cenotaph regulated my feelings, memories, and behaviours. In constructing my autoethnography, I challenged myself to reflect upon why I - and potentially others - may have felt and behaved within the memorial landscape on Anzac Day. In re-reading my research diary, I questioned myself around my focus on why I did not feel I could laugh or cry, why I recorded the placement of the non-RSA crosses, and what sparked my reactions to the mischief and regulation of children at the service, over other things that unfolded at the site. As other geographers such as Longhurst (2005) and Fisher (2015) articulated, autoethnography raises crucial questions about the positionalities researcher's carry when they engage in processes of knowledge production.

Diary keeping at and away from the Anzac Day ceremonial services was therefore crucial to explore why, as well as how, I experienced the memorial landscape and military memorialisation rituals such as Anzac Day. Diary keeping and photography were also invaluable in teasing out the political and cultural constructs of belonging and exclusion facilitated by the memorial landscape at different moments in time. In the next chapter, through reflection upon the memorials everyday role outside of Anzac Day, I speak to the hybrid and transitory activities, feelings, and constructs of the

memorial landscape from April to November 2016. The chapter articulates how place and feelings of identity, exclusion, embodiment, and place are informed not only through the ceremonial and spectacular but also through seemingly mundane encounters with place.

Chapter 6. Every day: Hybrid Space

6.1 Everyday encounters with the cenotaph

Alongside the cenotaph's ceremonial role and the performance of Anzac Day, I engaged with the memorial landscape as it stood in everyday life. Stripped of the Anzac Day ceremonial set up by 12pm on April 25, 2016 (Figure 9), the memorial landscape resumed a sparse, grey, cold, and largely unpopulated space (Figure 9, left hand side images). The wreaths, white chairs, crosses, flags, big screen televisions, and ceremony attendees as seen on Anzac Day were gone, and no traces of the ceremony remained except the cenotaph and commemorative features such as the 'consecrated ground' sign and remembrance water feature (established 2010).

Outside of Anzac Day, the site felt much emptier: empty of people, sound, and activity. I wrote, while sitting on a wooden bench on a morning visit to the site in May:

"I felt at peace thinking about the cenotaph square in the bright morning light and cool dew. I was alone with my thoughts, just relaxing and feeling at peace. I wasn't really thinking of anything just being present with the birds, gnats and cool morning air. No judgement, no fear just inner peace as I looked down at the glittering harbour the waves caressing the big cargo ships under the sun."

However, it was later that I reflected I was far from alone. I simply had isolated myself consciously. I realised this as I looked over some of the photos from that morning. There were several things that I had forgotten had happened around me. People were in the square, and they were having a great time.

"I had ignored the small crowd of Active Wear clad women and men who were adorned in black. I remembered they were laughing (not loudly but being silly), taking photos in funny poses (tongue out and duck lips galore)! Felt so weird sitting so close to this, weird!"

Slapping one another in front of the cenotaph as the camera on a timer snapped and was reset again and again. Lots of preening and adjusting was going on as well to get camera ready."

As people moved to the museum and out again, the site was filled with temporary activities.

These activities were conducted by an interesting mix of older and younger people. I had not written down many of these activities or noted the other visitors while I was in the square, such as the presence of young graduates in regalia and a modelling party posing in the square. I reflected:

"It is bizarre that I had just overlooked what these people were doing. They were doing such interesting stuff! I remember nearly losing it laughing when the young blonde model in her billowing white wedding dress was saying 'I don't know (name removed) everyone's looking at me. Shit shit shit! I have caught my heel in my dress it's fucking ripping oh Jesus help help!"

I struggled to stop myself from laughing aloud. The laughter "*ripping out of my gut, bubbling, bumping and begging to get out*" as I thought about the young women's misery; however, as it seemed mean spirited to her and to the role of the memorial space, I abstained.

Figure 9. Author's Own 3: The Auckland Domain Memorial Cenotaph Winter Fun 2016



The memorial space, I noted retrospectively, was not silent. Looking at my photos, I could imagine the sounds and feel the emotions I encountered but had overlooked in the moment. I could only remember these, however, once outside the square. It seemed so odd to imagine I felt alone and immersed in such silence as the young model, graduates, and young children and animal activities filled the square (see Figure 9 right hand side images). I recounted:

"A hungry seagull was going to town on a tuna fish can in the rubbish bin, a baby in a pram screamed and a young son (maybe three/four?) had been playing hide and seek around the square including the cenotaph as a desirous hiding spot. Why did I want to overlook these activities that buzz buzzed all around me? Was I trying to leave them out of my mind and just relax after a lard week at work? Or was I trying to structure a peaceful narrative of the memorial landscape, a deep inalienable respect and silence for the memorial cenotaph? How could I overlook these weird hybrids mix of activities and spatial uses of the square on a Saturday morning?"

Figure 10. Author's Own 4: After the Anzac Civic Service 12pm April 25 2016



I realised on reading through my diary that the May morning visit was not the only time where I had selectively written about activity in the site, only to remember more activity than I first realised. In late June, I visited the memorial square in the morning and wrote in the square about how frustrated I was that I could not see or feel anything new. I wrote in the square:

"I can't see anything. What new things could I possibly see or sense that I haven't before? Is there even any point being here it's all old the rusty flag handles, moss ridden cement slabs beneath my feet. I'm sure someone's written about this before, I'm nothing new just a cold and emotionally out of it researcher. I just feel so frustrated I can't feel anything automatically like I have before, I see nothing new. Tears are pricking, but not in remembrance but frustration at my lack of sensation in the memorial space. It's so hard to know if I saw everything, felt everything and wrote about everything, does it make my findings less meaningful or valid."

As I recorded my frustrations, however, I did take photos as I walked across the memorial square from the museum steps to the northern memorial edge towards the harbour. As I had found in May, my June visit confirmed that retrospective reflection upon my diary entries with my photographs presented a lot more going on in the memorial square than I first realised.

Figure 11. Author's Own 5: Wet winter cenotaph visit late June 2016



I observed for the first time the remembrance memorial at the cenotaph's northern face. It had been a windy and rainy morning. As seen in Figure 11, the site's concrete surfaces shone under the murky grey clouds, as young people and their parents jogged from the road to museum entrance. Looking up the memorial squares edge, gazing towards the museum, I looked closely at the black stone seen at the right corner of the image above. I had never thought to look at the stone before, focusing instead on the activity around the cenotaph and memorial square. I could not remember the writing on the stone very clearly nor could the photograph shed any extra accuracy, but I remember key parts and I remember it read:

*"People of New Zealand are fronds of the same fern...roots anchor us to this land
Papatunuku...bicultural foundation of New Zealand...celebrate the fallen...honour them with
peace."*

I recounted those keywords and phrases as part of

"a moving story to read. Bicultural unity sounded great, but aren't we a multi-cultural nation now? I mean as I stood reading a little Korean boy was trying to splash the cold water from the memorial on me while his mother wasn't looking! The language of the fern and koru however seemed clear, Pakeha and Maori were symbolised in a narrative of growth and mutual identity, mystical oneness. The narrative reflected how in WW1 and WW2 Maori servicemen fought in battle like Pakeha men with pride. However, as a site the memorial landscape was not bi/or multi-cultural. It was white in colour and cultural content. The water feature the only part of the landscape with Maori language or input was situated in 2010 not in 1929 when the cenotaph square was opened for commemorative business."

The mono-culturalism of the memorial landscape had previously escaped me, as I had focused on my own investment in the site through participation in the dawn service:

"the site was full of my own memories, my sadness and my anger at the loss of my beloved poppa and his traumas with PTSD. Those sentiments weighed heavy there at the cenotaph. I had overlooked the cultural monotone present. The Maori words so new in the cenotaph square compared to the cenotaph structure were the reminder that this site was at a time far from bicultural let alone multicultural. It was designed, its concrete façade, classical Greek columns and white-wash to be European, it was a reminder of Pakeha and European military remembrance not Maori or other minority experiences had informed the mainstream ANZAC narrative."

The presence of ethnically diverse and different age groups in the square prompted the above deeper reflection upon the cenotaph square. Again, the memories were prompted retrospectively and through looking at photographs. The reflection upon photographs

facilitated what Kuhn (2010) described as flash-bulb memories, those ‘oh yeah, I remember now’ thoughts. If I simply took my field observations as law and did not reflect upon my written work and photographs outside my field visits, I would have missed certain elements of my experiences of place.

This is not to say that in reflecting upon my diary entries I remembered everything or got an all-seeing picture. Instead, I reflected on my diary entries and photographs to draw upon certain themes I had previously overlooked. These themes were diverse, including the structural, discursive, and commemorative exclusion of Maori and other multicultural experiences of military memorialisation from the cenotaph square - both now and historically - in ceremonies of remembrance long before my time.

The presence of children and young people in the square also acted as a reminder that the memorial square was a multipurpose space. Multipurpose in the sense that the space was not only used for commemorative purposes or reflection upon military service. Seen in the centre left of Figure 10 is a young couple holding hand walking through the memorial square, while the images top centre show a group of young people with their phones in hand. At first when I relooked at the images, I thought they were

“selfie photobombing as their phones were held at face level, however once I zoomed closer I laughed. I felt so old. Ancient like the cenotaph in its grey stone garb. The teenagers were not taking selfies but playing Pokemon Go. I realised this as they were aiming the phone towards the square not themselves and I remembered them talking about how the site was a hot spot and there was always lots of ‘good ones’ to capture here. I had never played myself, but through Facebook and a txt to a helpful friend I learnt that the cenotaph square and the Domain overall had lots of Pokemon to capture on your phone ap. The playing in the square felt odd at first, I mean this was a sacred space ‘consecrated ground’ however, it wasn’t Anzac Day and the site was at least being used by young people in a non-aggressive or derogatory way. I mean I can distinguish their activity as non-offensive as I remembered how disgusted I felt seeing a pile of Ready to Drink Bourbon cans, who would be so weird as to drink in a religiously consecrated site! Yuck. However, in contrast the youth laughing, and

wandering around the site looking for virtual species of Pokemon seemed all right. There was no vandalism, no loud shouting or cursing just the occasional touch of excitement or laughter as they got something."

On reflection, I realised that, within my own mind, I had a series of permitted and not permitted activities that sat in and outside the cenotaph square and memorial landscape. Regardless of my own positioned feelings of what did and did not belong as specific rules of behaviours and spatial use, these did not sit with everyday use of the space. While consuming alcohol, littering, and being rowdy were in my mind as inappropriate activities, quiet activities such as Pokemon Go were acceptable. These quieter activities used the site but did not disrespect the space's role in providing opportunities for remembrance and reflection upon military service. Without taking photos, however, these additional activities would have escaped my diary entries and limited my autoethnography.

6.2 Visual Autoethnography and the Importance of Retrospective Reflection in Research

The use of photography and autoethnography is a powerful retrospective reflection tool (Scarles, 2010). Photographs, field notes, and reflections facilitated exploration of my positionalities and enabled self-discoveries around how as a researcher I came to understand the world through positioning others in context. This autoethnography employed field and retrospective diary entries to shed light on the often taken for granted, everyday role of the memorial cenotaph outside of Anzac Day. All diary entries and photographs were gauged when I reflected upon my work at a personal level (in terms of how I conducted my own behaviour) and at a wider societal level (in terms of how I judged others behaviour) following Anzac Day.

Outside of Anzac Day, the memorial cenotaph and the memorial landscape at the Domain changed dramatically both aesthetically and culturally. Alongside this, my own conceptualisations of what behaviours were acceptable, unacceptable, and quasi-acceptable changed from visit to visit. Retrospectively reading my diary entries and engaging in memory work, I found autoethnography supported my exploration of what I felt in one moment and what I recalled later outside the field.

Relations to objects within the landscape are by no means fixed (Urry, 2005; Bondi et al., 2005). Relations with - and in - place rely on encounters with subjects, human meaning, and socio-spatial interactions that vary depending on the contextual moment (Davidson et al., 2012). At the cenotaph, I felt some activities and behaviours were acceptable, such as teenagers quietly playing games and talking within the square. At other moments, I felt people's behaviours were out of place, such as the young model cursing or the shenanigans of the athletic group taking selfies. At each visit, if I had not taken photographs and diary entries in the field and then retrospectively engaged in memory work and visual autoethnography, I would have overlooked multiple behaviours and experiences of place.

These oversights became apparent only when I re-read my diary entries alongside photographs. Only retrospectively, I began to remember other things going on in the square, which I had actively excluded from my original narrative. By acknowledging these oversights, I asked myself why remembering these other activities was so important and why I may have excluded them from my original diary entries. Through moments of individual and group experiences, memories and affect certain understandings of place were enabled while others were partially enabled or silenced. The memorial cenotaph square and the activities I observed and later remembered through the use of photo collages allowed me to relationally organise the people and the structures within the memorial landscape beyond the traditional themes used to describe military service at memorial events such as Anzac Day.

Through memory work, autoethnography, and visual autoethnography, I unpacked some of these taken-for-granted myths around the Domain memorial cenotaph's role. Duff's (2010) enabling places concept sat well within my autoethnography as it invited me to think critically about the relationships between material and human experience in place. Autoethnography challenges the researcher to take what they experienced in terms of human-place relations a step further to tease out why specific relationships were recorded and are analysed, what may have been overlooked, and why this occurred (Ellis, 2004; Fisher, 2015; Longhurst, 2016). Autoethnography and retrospective reflection thus emphasises the limits of the visual privilege within ethnography and its understanding place.

As Ellis (2004) articulated, a core limitation of ethnography is its claim to speak on behalf of others to concretise scientific objectivity. This body of research recognised the limitations of my own vision, memory, and knowledge in research. Instead, through critical reflection on the role of emotion and embodiment, the impossibility of being objective in research became apparent. As an example, when I looked back at the images of the black stone memorial at the cenotaph, realised how I had often overlooked this structure as a space where people walked, played and sat. I had overlooked how people engaged with the water feature, where children were playing and people were sitting around it on the benches provided as they moved within the memorial landscape. I realised I had overlooked this space as it seemed secondary to the cenotaph.

Without retrospective reflection upon the cenotaph square's other features, I would have overlooked the complexity of biculturalism and the myth making behind the Anzac Day ceremony at the memorial cenotaph. The black stone of the memorial that lies in front of the cenotaph, inscribed with both English and Maori text embossed with the fern, is a symbol that constructs a narrative of bi-cultural unity between Maori and Pakeha through their service in WW1 and all other wars. This second memorial was situated in the Domain landscape in 2010, unlike the cenotaph, which was first used for Anzac Day

services in 1930 and was positioned to speak to both Maori and Pakeha military service. The use of the fern, suggests that the structure and the servicemen are forever rooted to the New Zealand landscape.

As Standish (2016), and McConville et al., (2017) articulated, structures of military remembrance, such as the cenotaph, in New Zealand represent the roots of citizenship and belonging. The cenotaph, however, is not the only commemorative structure or place where military remembrance occurs (Standish, 2015 & 2016). Through autoethnography and retrospectively remembering the position, inscriptions (in part), and experiences at the water feature, I began to realise the significance of this other memorial. The cenotaph, as the epitome of colonial military memorialisation (Gough, 2004; Worthy, 2002), sits at the heart of the memorial square and has done so since 1930. The water feature, constructed as an attempt to speak to a more bi-cultural rather than mono-cultural experience of military service, sits at the memorial cenotaph's base.

Through narrative and visual autoethnography, it became apparent that both structures continued to sanitise war through the persistent exclusion of its horrors and, unlike the white poppy, posed no direct challenge to the pain, suffering, and devastation of war on humanity. As Sumartojo et al., (2016) and Kerwin et al., (2016) wrote regarding new military memorials and memorialisation practices in the Australian context, the Domain black stone water feature continues to make no reference to the ethnically distinct experiences of war and military service. These new structures also make no reference to the military and home front experiences of servicewomen, women, or conscientious objectors.

As Dwyer (2004) articulated in his conceptualisation of symbolic accretion, the WW1

memorial cenotaph and landscape features such as the Domain water feature continue to substantiate archetypical ideologies of New Zealand military service in terms of military service being defined by glory, valour and sacrifice. These archetypal constructs actively exclude antitypical and derogatory understandings of war. Despite counter-memorialisation movements and objects such as the white poppy, the memorial cenotaph and landscape remain the official sites for remembering and commemorating Pakeha and male military service. Dwyer's (2004) understandings of memorial structures and projects of remembrance as always in a state of becoming is thus somewhat limited in respect of the WW1 memorial. The contemporary water feature memorial, despite its representation of a bicultural military narrative, instead of transforming the meanings attached to military memorialisation, augments and reinforces the same understandings of war as the cenotaph. The water feature memorial reinforcing military service in terms of male sacrifice and glory, continuing to exclude the horrors of war as well as women, conscientious observer and other ethnic groups experiences of the conflict from the memorial landscape .

The persistence of the ritualised performance of Anzac Day services, as Standish (2016) and McConville et al., (2017) articulated, are reinforced through the WW100 event series. The WW100 centenary, from 2015 (Gallipoli landings) to November 2018, commemorates WW1 battles and Allied victories 100 years following the events. The persistent ritualisation of Anzac Day in 2016 saw a resurgence of public participation and interest in the Anzac Day ceremonies, displays, and events (McConville et al., 2017). The potential hybridity of the memorial landscape is wholly dependent on the context of time, the commemorative moment, the needs of society and its dominant political, ethnic, and cultural groups. The Domain cenotaph and memorial landscape's symbolic accretion for the WW1 memorial does embed specific archetypal understandings of the landscape on Anzac Day alongside the landscapes facilitation for play, social engagement, and drama outside Anzac Day.

How I felt about these activities unfolding in the memorial space changed overtime, and at

times, my reactions were surprising. On different visits, I was happy that young people were in the square making the most of the space (like when they were playing Pokemon Go) and its archetypical use for quiet reflection and social engagement. But at other times, I felt confused and even annoyed to see the site taking on what I saw as an antotypical role. When the model was swearing and falling over, I nearly laughed, and the bubbling of laughter was something I saw as totally out of place in the memorial landscape. Dwyer's (2004) conceptual distinction between archetypal and antotypical helped me to capture some of the transitory activities that could be attached to attached place. Due to the persistence of the military memorialisation rituals attached to Anzac Day at the cenotaph, Dwyer's (2004) assertion that memorials are always in a state of flux and change is limited.

The memorial cenotaph and landscape and how I engaged, felt, and experienced both was a complex hybrid. In my case, I could never step away from the memorial's ceremonial significance and the behavioural cues expected on Anzac Day in how I interacted with the landscape. The Domain memorial cenotaph's symbolic accretion speaks to the complex mix of traditional political, social, cultural, and ritualised performances against more recreational functionality in the site outside Anzac Day.

What autoethnography allowed me to explore was the deepness of my own sentiments of place and the behavioural cues I upheld within the landscape over time. Through writing in the field and afterward alongside a set of photographs, I also could retrospectively encounter things I had overlooked and tease out why I had omitted these in-the-field experiences.

As I discuss in the next chapter, the complexity of memory and feeling outside the memorial landscape is explored in relation to the knowledge and experience of three research participants. Each participant's experiences and understanding of the memorial landscape enabled deeper reflection upon my own experiences of place on Anzac Day

and in everyday encounters with the cenotaph.

Chapter 7. Role of participants

7.1 Participants and autoethnographic research

Although autoethnography was the primary research method in this research, it was invaluable engaging participants' experiences at the Domain memorial cenotaph and landscape. By including participants in autoethnographic research, it is possible to highlight the embodied and performative experiences of place that the researcher may otherwise take for granted (see Scarles, 2010). The interview process, times, and content are in my methodology chapter (page 44), and the limitations of only engaging three participants is discussed in my concluding chapter (page 123). Please note that the participants each used a pseudonym and that any quotations extracted from my research diary are written in green.

The three participants who engaged in the research provided narratives of placed based experiences at the cenotaph. Each of the participants elected to walk around the cenotaph square and then reflected on its ceremonial role on Anzac Day and how they felt in the square at that moment. Due to variances in the weather, we either sat in the cenotaph square (Helen) or at the Winter Garden Café (Mary and Alice) after each participant's walk around the cenotaph square. The participants' reflections provided unique expressions of how people experienced the memorial landscape at different times throughout their lives. Each set of insights provided comparative scope to reflect more deeply upon my understandings of the memorial cenotaph.

In this chapter, I start by discussing Mary and Alice's experiences and understandings of the memorial cenotaph, identifying their experiences as tools that validated my own experiences of place. I then go on to discuss Helen's experiences and understanding of the memorial cenotaph, which challenged the centrality of its role in experiencing the memorial landscape on ceremonial days and in everyday life.

7.2 Mary and Alice local memorial spaces matter: Places of long term connection

In interviewing Mary and Alice, I found that despite my personal connections to the Domain WW1 Memorial not all ANZAC descendants connections to a specific memorial landscape was as strong as my own memorial spaces compared to others. In interviewing Mary and Alice, I learned how others felt stronger senses of place at one memorial, which, could not be replicated at the Domain cenotaph. Mary and Alice whom I interviewed at the Winter Garden Café in July 2016 said that they had little connection to the Auckland Domain cenotaph. The conversation instead moved to their experiences at their local memorial cenotaph on Anzac Day and as they passed by the cenotaph in everyday life.

Coming from a small Waikato township Mary and Alice had participated in the dawn and/or civil service at their local memorial cenotaph since they were young Girl Guides. In turn, as Mary drove to work every day and passed the memorial cenotaph she felt she often reflected upon the First World War, her own ancestors and her gratitude that she would never have to send her own son in to battle.

Mary and Alice felt that in their small community the memorial represented “*a key local landmark*.” They both felt that most community members knew about and recognised the memorial in the landscape as it was located on a main road and was near a local park. On Anzac Day, Mary and Alice expressed that the memorial cenotaph had a “*sacred function, despite some tensions over where the cenotaph was put in the first place. Regardless the cenotaph stood as something that was good in the ruins of war. It*

was restorative for their community following the losses of the First World War. The memorials in the community however, are often taken for granted until they are under threat. As an example, our local war memorial hall was going to be torn down but the community pushed back stating it had a sacred and practical function which would end if removed."

The memorial cenotaph and other memorial structures to Mary and Alice therefore formed a core part of how war and military service are commemorated in their community. Mary and Alice articulated that the proposed removal of their local memorial cenotaph or WW2 memorial hall were threats to the community's collective sense of history and identity. If removed the memorial structures 'sacred function' would be lost forever.

The phrase 'sacred function' or 'sacred role' persisted throughout the interview. Like myself, Mary and Alice had grown up knowing how WW1 was commemorated, learning about the conflict from their parents, at school and through community groups such as the Girl Guides. Mary and Alice aligned with how I had felt as since childhood their family and community participated in the dawn and civil services on Anzac Day. The commemorative function of the memorial landscape being an integral part of their culture and identity since they were children. Mary expressed that she felt as a New Zealander "*that memories of WW1 and the men and women who had been in the conflict were ignited as lingering impacts and traces on future generations who live on, see and experience the Anzac Day service or memorial in everyday life.*"

Writing later, reflecting on my time with Mary and Alice, I noted, "*I felt like they got it. Got me. They got how my Anzac heritages influence how I understood the cenotaph square. At no time, did I feel the red twinges of anger that Mary or Alice were behaving in a disrespectful way or chills of sadness that I was alone in how I felt about the importance of the memorial landscape. It was just normal being with them, feeling like I was one of them, the Anzac community and family. I felt safe, home and validated that my feelings*

and senses of selfhood were not isolated to me. I had the patriotic feelings “God defend New Zealand” for the first time thinking about the cenotaph, being proud to be a New Zealand born Anzac descendant who had a home memorial and commemoration connection.”

7.3 Deep connections and identity making

Everyday encounters with place represent a fundamental part of human experience (Duff 2010). How people feel (dis)-connected to place is enabled through relations between people (individuals and communities) and material structures over time (Duff, 2010 & 2014). Duff (2010) and the conceptualisation of place as enabling understands place as relationally organised through material and cultural encounters over time. Place, rather than having a fixed meaning, becomes something that is enabled by a power body and is malleable to the contextual and societal needs of a particular moment in history (Massey, 2005; Duff, 2010).

Mary and Alice endorsed my experiences as they were also connected by family and participation in commemorative events at national military service. These two participants validated my experiences of place as an ANZAC descendant. Based on their upbringing and experiences as participants in Anzac Day ceremonies, Mary and Alice identified the memorial cenotaph as an integral part of their identity and sense of community. Their connections to the memorial landscape spoke to my sense of Anzac memorialisation as something that enables people to come together and feel part of a community of remembrance. As Worthy (2002) articulated, Anzac communities of remembrance are collectives of people who remember war and its devastation on society as something worth commemorating, in the spirit of dignity and deep respect.

Commemoration practices are constructed over time based on communities of remembrance who through political, financial, social, and cultural resources lobby for

ritualised remembrance of the past (Latour, 2005; Duff, 2010). These constructs of the past, both physical (such as Mary and Alice's hometown memorial hall) and ideological (the Anzac mythology and military memorialisation), are often taken for granted until they are under threat. Threats take the form of both physical destruction and ideological and cultural transition as power bodies rise and fall over time (Muizani, 2014).

As Anderson (1991), Curti (2008), and Tamm (2013) maintain, different ideologies and cultural norms are reinforced, reinvented, or silenced through physical structures - such as the war memorial - to substantiate senses of belonging and national identity. The memorial substantiating senses of belonging, national identity and exclusion through their physical place in the landscape alongside the cultural ceremonies preformed around them. Often, these cultural and ideological constructs go unnoticed outside of national days such as Anzac Day, as a physical structure's existence becomes normalised within the landscape (Tamm, 2013; Muizani, 2014). In memorial studies, the Anzac Day ceremony continues to define the role and function of the WW1 memorial cenotaph, and its everyday role is secondary as it is such a seemingly mundane and everyday structure within the New Zealand landscape.

As Mary and Alice discussed in the context of their hometown, the naturalness or taken for granted-ness of the cenotaph as a landscape feature which people pass by in their daily travels changes when its role and function is under threat. The everyday memorial, when challenged, comes to the centre of attention, out of its everyday silence and is revitalised in the post-war era. It was the threat of both a physical and commemorative change to the community that brought its significance back in to how people understood themselves as community members, citizens, and descendants of servicemen in Mary and Alice's case.

As a memorial structure is not always the centre of an individual or community's attention,

it is not always enabling. An individual or community often takes its presence for granted outside of its ceremonial function. Once challenged, the memorial cenotaph's potential to enable processes of self- and group identification is enacted to suit the needs of that contemporary moment (Duff, 2010; Tamm, 2013). Landscape features as enabling is a complex arrangement of relationships (both human and material), being inherently messy in terms of how place is used, interacted with, and understood over time.

The interview with Mary and Alice wrapped me in a sense of security that what I experienced was normal. The alignment of our experiences meant I overlooked some of the inherent complexities of how I experienced the Domain and other memorial landscapes over time and how other non-commemorative agents could experience place. The memorial cenotaph and square was, at times, a playful, happy, and active space for me, but at other times, it was a space where I felt deep sorrow and loss. Without my diary entries and reflection exercises, these critical insights into the complexity of place-based experience would have been lost, as Mary and Alice's experiences reinforced my own beliefs and practices rather than challenged them.

Challenge formed a core part of my research as, at different times, I actively regulated my behaviour. Such acts of control occurred when I tried not to laugh, when I would overlook my poppa Reginald's PTSD and remember his kindness, and when I would imagine my great-grandfather's service at Gallipoli as a heroic fight instead of a five-minute respite – all during a five-minute space of time. As mentioned earlier, after the interview, I valued Mary and Alice's narratives as they endorsed my own understanding of the memorial landscape rather than challenged it. The validation, upon reflection on my diary entries, then prompted some deeper self-analysis of the memorial cenotaph's complexity as a site where grief, play, and happiness could all be present at the same

moment in time or on different field visits.

Place as enabling, extends the Pini's (2004) autobiographical mapping work, which I discussed in my methodology (page 44). Although endorsing autobiographical mapping, I found that mapping my own internal processes at each visit were limited by its inward focus and tendency to exclude the contextual (limitations discussed in chapter five page 65 also). Instead of autobiographical mapping, understanding place as enabling allowed me to mentally conceptualise and then write about my personal, material, and contextual experiences as a narrative. The use of narrative writing tells my story as a coherent expression of place-based experience rather than an assortment of words and themes that navigate wider societal senses of place and identity politics.

Identity politics implicate how people experience difference within the memorial landscape, however the everyday identity politics played out in everyday encounters with memorial structure have been overlooked in memorial studies (MacDonald, 2010). The memorial structure and senses of belonging and exclusion are inherently slippery in the New Zealand context as well as in other allied nations as they depend on how people want to remember the past at different moments in time. Yet, despite the slipperiness of how as well as what people remember structures like the war memorial endure as normalised, integral parts of nationhood, belonging, and citizenship (Phillips, 1989; McConville et al., 2017). If unchallenged, minority groups and individuals such as Maori, other ethnic minorities, women, and conscientious objectors' experiences remain excluded and even demonised in mainstream narratives of Anzac Day remembrance.

Autoethnographic and more narrative approaches can convey how different people experience place alongside the experiences and positionality of the researcher. Narrative approaches such as autoethnography are important to research as they raise questions and speak to some of the silences that researchers take for granted or feel are too subjective to be meaningful to other research work (Lorimer,

2003; Cameron, 2012; Muizaini, 2014). In practising autoethnography, Scarles (2010) maintains participant interviews are crucial for researchers to challenge and discuss their positionalities more openly, reflecting upon who, what, and how particular bodies, behaviours and things may be understood as out of place.

Autoethnography therefore facilitates both personal as well as broader reflection upon how places are enabling. By keeping a research diary, taking photographs, and engaging in participant interviews, I began to tease out how the memorial cenotaph and landscape can enable constructions of self, other, belonging, and exclusion in place at a particular moment and then change retrospectively.

As I discuss in the next section, not all people experience military memorialisation and memorial landscapes in a uniform fashion. Within the New Zealand context, more work is needed to unpack whether mainstream military remembrance speaks to how people experience the memorial landscape in contemporary society. The purpose of a broader approach to memorial studies will also inform how different minority groups experience place over time on - and outside of - national memorial days.

7.4 WW1: History is the story of the victors

In the process of engaging participants, I began to realise that the personal connections I had to the Domain memorial cenotaph and landscape were not universal. Mary and Alice had similar attachments and experience at their community memorial cenotaph as I had at the Domain memorial cenotaph. Each of us felt deep personal connections and senses of community, sanctity, and respect when we were within the memorial landscape, especially on Anzac Day at dawn and/or civic services.

In contrast to Mary and Alice, Helen had no sense of connection to the memorial landscape in New Zealand or abroad. Helen, although German born, had been raised in New Zealand and at primary and secondary school learnt about Anzac Day and its significance through her teachers and friends. Helen expressed how her German parents did not really talk about WW1 and WW2 or their family's experiences of the war in any detail. She thought this was because "*Germany lost the First World War and Second. As Germans, we are condemned as all having committed war crimes in the Second World War, we just do not talk about those wars. In our homes unlike some of my friends here, we do not even have photos of our family members who were soldiers, maybe it is too painful, and to shameful, I do not know. We did have some medals which we donated to the RSA for a good cause and for people who would have a real interest in them.*"

Unlike Mary and Alice, Helen's interview took place at the memorial cenotaph. Helen asked to sit at the cenotaph in the sunshine. She stated that the sunny sheltered square was '*pleasant and had a beautiful view of the harbour*'. Helen was visibly nervous about the interview, twisting her hands and shuffling her feet side to side. She articulated her nerves and said, "*I am unsure how helpful I can be for your research, I have never even been to the dawn service and had no family that I know of in either world war. I mean I think in WW2 there is a story of my family in Germany hiding allied soldiers on their farm but we just don't talk about the wars.*"

I responded by assuring her that her presence was very important to me, for as an ANZAC descendant, I took the memorial landscape for granted. I articulated that I did not really know what it was like to feel disconnected from the cenotaph square and Anzac Day ceremonies. I felt wary of my own behaviour as well. I reflected later "*I must have looked very twitchy. I felt I was really sweating in the square as I was so so so worried I would ask a question in a leading way, make Helen feel weird that she was not a dawn service goer or knew nothing much about the memorial. It made me dizzy constantly stressing about if I was being too full on, if I was excluding or invalidating her experiences.*"

Despite my worries and nerves, Helen responded to my four questions and explored how she felt in the memorial square as we sat in the sunshine. After the first twenty minutes, Helen began to talk more about her German heritage in relation to WW1 and WW2. Helen explained “*In Germany there are no memorials to WW1 and WW2 in my home town. There are no cenotaphs big or small. The only memorials are to older wars that we won and we commemorate some of these with public holidays I think. We just do not like remembering the world wars and I never really was told anything about them by my parents whose parents had lived through them. I asked questions but mainly I learnt at school here (New Zealand), Germans were the bad people and Russians. I never really participated in the commemorative stuff like Anzac Day.*” I asked Helen why she never participated in Anzac Day activities, and she said, “*I just didn’t feel part of it. Not me or my family’s thing I guess, I bought a poppy though most years and donated to the RSA. It felt like a good thing to do, donating to a good cause.*”

Helen, despite having no commemorative connection to the memorial landscape, reflected as she looked out to the harbour front, “*it is a beautiful spot. Green and open with a nice big concrete square. It is a great public space; I sure people can do lots of stuff here and make use of it.*”

My reaction to Helen’s idea of the memorial landscape being somewhere people could “make use of it” for recreational purposes was surprising. When I reread Helen’s, interview notes, I wrote in my research diary that I was feeling angry: “*I was seeing red, feeling red. How do you just flippantly say those kinds of things? Arrrgh. Helen was just so far, off how I felt. No wonder I was scared I would upset Helen. I only realise now how even outside Anzac Day the memorial landscape always seems to mean something to me. If no one aligns with my feelings and sense of attachment, I seem to snap a bit, fight back or react. Am I just so enamoured with the Anzac myth and its imprint in the memorial cenotaph that I cannot see beyond it, see other points of view rationally?*”

7.5 What it feels like to feel out of place: The memorial landscape as not just for memorialisation

Through identifying how individuals and groups of different national and ethnic backgrounds experience the memorial landscape, it is possible to reflect upon the socio-cultural significance of the memorial space outside its specific spatial rituals (Sumartojo, 2016). Moving beyond Sumartojo (2016) and Kerwin et al.'s (2016) focus on the memorials political and cultural role of the memorial cenotaph this thesis focused on the potential for everyday encounters with the cenotaph to explore how people experience place. Helen, having never been to an Anzac service and being a German citizen felt totally out of place at the Domain cenotaph.

Helen as a German citizen, who has been to Germany many times since moving to New Zealand identified how German memorialisation focused on Holocaust memorialisation. Helen's experiences of the German memorial landscaped aligned with the literature on German memorialisation as stated in my context chapter. Helen articulated how she felt that WW1 and WW2 were not commemorated in Germany beyond Holocaust memorialisation.

Through my own readings of German military memorialisation projects it became apparent that Germany were excluded from WW1 memorialisation projects at the war's end and even today have broader national days of remembrance. These national days of remembrance centre on remembering death in wartime as a personal over a collective sense of loss, being polarised from the national commemorative ceremonies held in New Zealand on Anzac Day (Forester al., 2004; Harjes, 2004; Herwig, 2014). Germany actively chooses to exclude all memory of WW1 and WW2, as these wars had been allied victories, with axis nations paying reparations and losing two million young men in silence and humiliation (Keegan, 2014). The Domain memorial landscape and cenotaph

to Helen commemorated something alien. As a German Helen identified her identity as separate from WW1 and WW2 projects of memorialisation and memory as these events had been explained to her by her forebears to be forgotten publicly and even privately within their own homes in the form of family medals or photographs.

Helen felt no personal connection to the memorial landscape, at the Auckland Domain or elsewhere. At no time did Helen feel that she belonged within the memorial landscape and Anzac commemorative space, stating she had never been to a dawn service on Anzac Day in New Zealand, and acknowledging she had no connection to German projects of remembrance. Asking Helen about how she felt in the memorial square revealed a total sense of disconnection from the same landscape that I felt so connected to on Anzac Day (and to a lesser extent) and beyond.

Upon reflection, my discussion with Helen reminded me of my own experiences of disconnection from the Wellington national memorial (See Chapter 8 page 115). In that space, I felt little emotion and reflected that I felt more like a tourist. As a tourist, I felt no sense of connection to Anzac Day remembrance, memory of my forebears, or sense of belonging. Helen went a step further and identified that she could not recall any everyday space where she felt a deep connection to a memorial space, or felt a sense of community through engaging in memorialisation rituals in New Zealand or abroad.

As Tamm (2013) and Muzaini (2014) articulated, memorial spaces and structures facilitate senses of belonging and exclusion in different places at different moments in history. In Helen's case, it was not that she felt out of place in the Auckland Domain memorial space, rather it was my reaction and placement of Helen's lack of connection that situated her as out of place. As I wrote, and then reread my diary entries post-interview, I was deeply affected and angered by Helen's comments about how the memorial space could be used for multiple activities due to its size and beauty.

On reflection, my emotions revealed a deep sense of attachment and protectionism to place and the Anzac myth more generally. The Domain memorial cenotaph and landscape exists as much as a concrete structure as an Anzac ideology surrounding military service and nationhood. As McConville et al., (2017) articulated regarding the Anzac poppy, the cenotaph helps ideas of nationhood and belonging persist in ways that not all people, such as Helen, can access - despite being a dual citizen and having lived here most of her life. As Standish (2016) expressed, it is therefore crucial to appreciate and consider alternative understandings of military remembrance outside of traditional masculine, Pakeha, and violent constructions of past military service.

Discussion around alternative uses and spatial understanding of the space outside of Anzac Day is crucial, as the spatial understanding is not unitary. If alternative ideas and understandings of how different spaces could be used are side-lined, this manifests in long-lasting feelings of cultural exclusion in public spaces such as the memorial square (Standish, 2016; McConville et al., 2017). As MacDonald (2010), Standish and McConville et al., (2017) stated, if the complexity, positionality, and collective power of how memories of the past are constructed in place remain hidden, certain groups who cannot connect with the mainstream myths remain actively excluded.

Without reflection on positions such as Helen's, it would have been impossible to reflect upon my own positionality as a researcher in studying the WW1 memorial cenotaph and ritual remembrance of the ANZACs and all other New Zealanders who served in WW1. Retrospective reflection upon my anger at Helen's expressions of disconnection and alternative use of the memorial space showed the depth of my connection to the landscape, the Anzac myth, the role of my family, and my education while growing up in New Zealand. Autoethnography and my research diary in this context allowed me to step back and test my experiences retrospectively once I had cooled off and could rationally situate my reactions as one specific understanding of place. I came to understand that at no time was I separated from the positionality of my ANZAC genealogy, the Anzac Day ritual, or the behaviour and emotion which I understood to

belong in the memorial cenotaph square.

Aligned with Ellis (2004) and her understanding of autoethnography, through retrospective self-reflection I was confronted not only with the mundane but also the awkward, angry, and the unsettling gravity of my inner beliefs. These beliefs always guided how I came to understand the world and how I generated knowledge around the Domain memorial landscape. Autoethnography assisted me in exploring the unsettling emotions and feelings I had in the memorial landscape. Retrospective reflection allowed me to unpack my own experiences at the cenotaph as one component part in a wider process of lived experience in place. Researchers can offer insights into everyday encounters with place and tease out the seemingly normal, natural, and benign aspects of the landscape. This chapter illustrates how autoethnography rises to Bondi et al.'s (2005) challenge to engage in experimental forms of emotional and embodied research, engaging the voice of the researcher and participants as invaluable data sources for cross-temporal research work.

What autoethnography allowed me to explore was the deepness of my own sentiments of place and the behavioural cues upheld within the landscape over time. Through writing in the field, and afterward alongside a set of photographs, I also could retrospectively encounter things I had overlooked and tease out why I had omitted these from my diary. As I discuss in the next chapter, the complexity of memory and feeling outside the memorial landscape are explored in relation to how particular material structures and landscapes are experienced outside the Domain cenotaph. The Auckland Central Business District in the lead up to Anzac Day and the Wellington National memorial, focusing on the WW1 commemorative cenotaph structure are explored as landscapes that drew out deeper emotions and, at times, totally disconnected experiences of place in relation to my experiences of the Domain memorial landscape.

In the last discussion chapter, I explore my narrative and visual autoethnography from my

encounter with memorial structures and symbols outside the Domain memorial landscape. The chapter starts with reflection upon my experiences of the Auckland-memorial-themed landscape in the lead up to Anzac Day and then moves on to discuss my feelings of exclusion from the Wellington National Memorial cenotaph landscape.

Chapter 8. It all depended where I was

8.1 Embodiment in experiences of the memorialisation places in and away from the cenotaph

As outlined in my literature review (chapter three sections 3.5-3.7 pages 35-44), embodiment is a central pillar in how place is experienced. Per Anderson (1991) and Curti (2008), how people feel connected to place is as much a cultural construct as a relationship to a physical place on a map. Through autoethnography and self-reflection upon embodiment at the memorial cenotaph, I engaged with how I comprehend my place in the world: where and why I felt that I belonged, and when I felt out of place or excluded (Sibley, 1995; Bondi, 2005; Hayes-Conroy et al., 2010; Davidson et al., 2012).

As Anderson (1991), Curti, (2008) and Tamm (2013) argued, feeling connected or excluded from place does not necessarily require a person to be physically present or barred from entry. Personal feelings of being in place, belonging, and exclusion are complex ideological and cultural constructs as well as physical sensations (Anderson, 1991; Curti, 2008; Tamm, 2013). In this way, feeling that you belong to a community is imagined and contextually constituted rather than natural (Anderson, 1991), and depends upon the contextual boundaries put in place (Curti, 2008). The memorial cenotaph provided insight into how, as an ANZAC descendant, both in and away from the physical site, I experienced sentiments of belonging and exclusion around other related Anzac phenomena and memorial sites. Further, my own ascription to, and performance of, the Anzac myth was emphasised through my diary entries.

Encounters with phenomena outside of the Domain memorial landscape in certain moments mentally transported and connected (or disconnected) me to the cenotaph “out of the field”. In this chapter, I examine my embodied experiences of the Anzac

poppy and a visit to the Wellington National War Memorial as an object and place that brought forth or silenced connections to the memorial cenotaph and senses of connection to my forebears. As reflection points, the two examples are useful in fleshing out how I felt physically, sensually, and emotionally connected (in the case of the poppy) and disconnected (in the case of the national war memorial) from the Domain cenotaph landscape. I discuss these out-of-field encounters as, even away from the cenotaph, I could reach out and reflect upon the inherent complexities of the memorial cenotaph and landscape.

8.2 The Anzac poppy and place: Connecting to the memorial cenotaph from afar

In trying to tease out the everyday role of the WW1 memorial cenotaph in the lead up to Anzac Day, it was impossible to ignore the role of the Retired Servicemen Association (RSA)-sponsored red poppy. Although not on, or directly within, the memorial landscape, the red poppy signified a key commemorative connection for me to think about and feel connected to the memorial cenotaph outside of the memorial vicinity.

Figure 12. Author's Own 6: Anzac traces April 20-April 24 Auckland CBD



In the lead up to, and on, Anzac Day, Auckland city was awash with the RSA's red Anzac poppies. Figure 12 shows a collage (taken 20-23 April 2016) of "poppy-fied" spaces which I photographed in the Auckland's CBD. The collage shows poppies decorating shop windows, the iconic Auckland Sky Tower's concrete façade, Sky City event centre's doors, local ATMs, and in several 'pop up' displays (for example the Wellesley Street poppy path between Bledisloe house and The Civic theatre, and Auckland Museum Online cenotaph as part of the WW100 centenary events programme).

The days prior to Anzac Day saw the growth of a 'poppy-fied' urban landscape. Red poppies in the lead up to Anzac Day seemed to grow wildly, cropping up all over the city centre around the local cafes and shops, and the transport links I used every day to move around Auckland. I took the photos in Figure 12 as I went about my everyday trips to the Wellesley Street North Shore bus stop and walked down Queen Street and home along Federal Street. My daily activities, what I saw, how I behaved (as I did not normally take photos), and what I felt and sensed all changed in the lead up to Anzac Day as I navigated

the changed cityscape. In multiple entries in my research diary, I commented about the poppies' "vibrant redness" and assault upon my usually mundane travels, stating that I had become "eye sore" to their presence. I also chided myself for being too critical of the poppies' presence as "*they were meant to stand out being the first thing people see every day leading up to Anzac Day.*"

The poppies in the CBD also stood out to other people. I noted while looking at the Wellesley Street poppy pathway from a nearby café (seen in the centre of Figure 12) "*young children stared at the red poppies as it asking themselves can I pick it up without mum, dad or sis noticing? The children who did touch the poppies were also almost always immediately scolded by by-standing adults to put the poppies down.*"

The idea of being made "eye sore" by the redness of the RSA poppy as I went around the Auckland central isthmus illustrated how the red colour of the poppy affected how I and other people encountered and experienced place in the lead up to Anzac Day. Upon reflection, the vibrant redness of the poppy as an RSA symbol of the Anzac Day commemoration was multifaceted in terms of what I thought and felt in different city spaces. Despite the significant presence of the poppy in the Auckland CBD, the reasoning behind why Anzac Day remained so important within contemporary society continued to be implicit.

In geography, some academics have attempted to explain that mainstream media broadcasts and articles around Anzac Day and the dissemination of the poppy reflected that the metaphors, rhetoric, and tropes around the poppy helped endorse the public holiday as a sacred and nationally significant day (McConville et al., 2017). The physical placement of the poppy in the city landscape as a political and cultural cue remained largely unexamined. In turn, how people navigated space and experienced different places in conjunction with the poppies' presence continued to be overlooked.

As Hayes-Conroy et al (2010) describe, what a person feels, thinks, and does in place provides insights into how political ideologies and practices become internalised, embodied, rejected, or remobilised over time. The poppy and its wide use in the lead-up to Anzac Day reminded me about the forthcoming commemoration of Anzac Day and WW1. As an ANZAC descendant, seeing the poppy in everyday spaces of the city - such as the Wellesley street poppy pathway - stimulated mental connections to past Anzac days alongside my more mundane experiences of these same places - such as standing at the bus stop, getting coffee from the local café, or lounging in Aotea Square. I saw the vibrant poppy and its redness as a social cue to stop, reflect, and remember that ANZAC Day and my annual dawn service attendance was forthcoming. The mundane everyday urban landscape became a set of spaces for kinaesthetic performance (Merleau-Ponty, 1992; Hayes-Conroy et al, 2010). I responded to the poppy by moving differently through space, taking photos and lingering in places I would normally pass by. I also had kinaesthetic experiences at a cognitive level through active encounters with memories of ANZAC Day and my forebears when seeing the poppy. The poppy also revived memories of my poppa as a loving friend, and my great-grandfather as a serviceman whom my father spoke of lovingly, despite noting, on reflection, that both men were "*at times violent, drunk and very humanly flawed.*"

Such embodied experiences, which included physical sensations, memories, and emotional experiences, were not normally what I encountered in the city. The poppy and its red presence triggered in me, and in others whom I observed, specific reactions, sensations, and bodily responses (such as a conscious pause or moment of physical touch) not normally seen in these spaces when the poppy was absent. The poppies' place morphed temporarily into the everyday landscape and produced a commemorative landscape like the memorial cenotaph. The poppy in the urban environment was placed to ask people to actively stop, look, reflect upon, and kinesthetically engage with the poppies' symbolic redness and the ritual commemoration of Anzac Day. The redness of the poppy and its placement in the central city was therefore strategic.

As I discussed in my context chapter (page 7), RSA poppies were designed to commemorate the scale of casualties on the European and Turkish fronts and to establish feelings of hope towards future regeneration from the sacrifices of the dead (Phillips, 1980; McConville et al., 2017). Poppies sold on the Friday before and leading up to Anzac Day remind Auckland residents and wider New Zealand of the significance of Anzac Day as a commemorative public holiday, which has services to memorialise New Zealand's war dead at the memorial cenotaph. The poppy reinforces a collective sense of shared identity and national belonging to those who donated and acquired the poppy and/or participated in one of the Anzac commemoration ceremonies. The poppy, not the memorial cenotaph alone, bolsters senses of imagined community, shared identity, and socio-cultural practice.

Multiple commemorative symbols are mobilised to bolster imagined sense of community and shared history, genealogy, and loss through military memorialisation (see Tamm, 2013). When I encountered the poppy in the city, I felt a part of an Anzac community dedicated to military memorialisation. My diary entries showed that when I encountered the poppy, I emotionally reacted and physically responded to how the poppy was situated in different spaces. The poppy's redness made me think of blood, specifically the injury my great-grandfather received at ANZAC Cove. When looking at the red poppy path (on Wellesley Street), I wrote in my diary how I imagined the pain my great grandfather Frank must have felt bleeding from his shoulder on the beach at Anzac Cove. The sensations I experienced, including "a sharp momentary pain" in my own shoulder were imagined I felt as if I could feel Frank's injury - which he carried all his life as a painter with a metal wire prosthetic.

I wrote how "*it must have been painful every time he reached up or twisted his arm, did it squeak or grind as well? Did each micro sound remind him of the beach, the blood and the pain on ANZAC Cove?*" The poppy therefore triggered cross-temporal embodiment where I imagined, and then felt, physical sensations that I had not actually experienced myself. The twinge of pain I had imagined was Frank's - someone who I had never met

but whom I had learnt to respect for his braveness in going through life permanently injured. As Kuhn (2010) articulated, memory is a complex mix of truth, half-truths, and imaginings of the past; it is never complete, but the experience of remembering can have powerful implications in terms of how people understand their place at that moment. I felt the poppy acted as an acute reminder of Anzac Day's arrival and the component parts of the Anzac myth, including familial and national sanctity. The poppy acted as a symbol to transport my imagination to construct the pain as a living memory of my great-grandfather who had been a part of my life only through my father's stories and memories.

It was only retrospectively that I comprehended the connection between the two strands of temporal experience. Both relied on the embodiment of learnt socio-cultural cues derived from the Anzac myth. In turn, the selectiveness of what I remembered around my own family and military history, as I stated in chapter two, is always partial. I continued to exclude certain stories and memories around alternative experiences of war, such as conscientious objection, fear, violence, and personal demons to protect my family and myself as a researcher. Omitting certain details protected my family and myself from unnecessary scrutiny and from feeling disconnected from the mainstream Anzac community of remembrance.

These uncomfortable silences in my own history sit in the background of my experiences as unspoken memories and stories, which, I acknowledge, inform how I have come to understand the memorial landscape. I acknowledge that these alternative experiences of war do frame how different people experience the memorial landscape.

In New Zealand, as McConville et al., (2017; 102) wrote regarding media coverage of the WW100 centenary, the poppy is a physical artefact that sponsors monolithic remembrance of military service in WW1. Military service in WW1, through artefacts like the red poppy, is associated with narratives of death in war as something still worthy of

remembrance as part of New Zealand's history as a Commonwealth nation and democratic nation state (Standish, 2016). These retrospective constructs of the conflict publicly sanitise the human suffering and the horrors of battle in WW1 (McConville et al., 2017). The sanitisation overlooks the realities of conscription, conscientious objection, and the human toll of WW1 on New Zealand, which had the highest mortality rate per head of population of all Allied nations.

The poppy and its public presence is an active tool in continually rewriting the past and reconstructing how military service in WW1 impacts society. These constructs are experienced at an individual level and as part of a nationalised narrative of how military service is to be remembered. Even away from the cenotaph, seeing the poppy - in its redness and presence in the city - generated feelings of anger, sadness, and interest that were not usually present in my everyday movements through the Auckland CBD. I could not remember in the past being emotionally struck in this way as I walked through these same city spaces. The poppy, outside the memorial cenotaph grounds, therefore acted as a relational device through which I experienced place differently.

The poppy is a politically and culturally mobile object, put in place to sponsor national sentiments of belonging, unity, and collective memory (Tamm, 2013; McConville et al., 2017). RSA poppies also serve as reminders that, at a personal level, material objects and how they are placed in everyday spaces are often taken for granted (Morgan and Pritchard, 2005). Material objects like the RSA poppy sponsor emotional and embodied responses and implicate how I saw, moved through, and felt the city.

As a relational device, the poppy prompted strong personal feelings which I embodied as I navigated Auckland's CBD. The poppy and its presentation and placement in the urban environment connected me to an imagined, distant past in which I was not a part. It also prompted an acute momentary experience of self-identification through encounters with places. Even outside the memorial landscape and away from the memorial

cenotaph, the poppy acted as a connecting force between geographically distant locations which normally had separate and distinct social, cultural, and physical functions.

As I discuss in the next section, not all encounters with place and material structures that were Anzac themed inspired the same embodied response. By reflecting upon my diary entries and photographs taken at the Wellington National Memorial, I explain how, just because material encounters may be Anzac themed, the location and place of these encounters do not always sponsor the same senses of place.

8.2 Encountering ‘other’ memorial landscapes and feeling disconnected from Anzac memories

In reflecting upon the Domain memorial cenotaph, I used a secondary memorial visit to Pukeahu National Memorial Park in Wellington to ask whether another memorial space could inspire similar senses of place, belonging, or exclusion. The Wellington National Memorial Park is

“The nation’s principal commemorative site acknowledging the impact of war on New Zealand society. Pukeahu is a place to remember those who have died, and reflect upon how experiences of war, military conflict and peacekeeping have shaped our ideals and national identity.” (Pukeahu Visitor’s Guidebook, 2016).

Figure 13. Author's Own 7: Visit to the Wellington National Memorial September 2 2016



Figure 13 above shows the memorial park is made up of a series of elements including the sandstone Australian Memorial, Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and Hall of Memories within the Carillion cenotaph, The man on the Donkey statue, Nga Tapuwae Manga (the footsteps of our ancestors) the faceless cloaked figure (the top left of Figure 13)² O te Kahui Manga (the footsteps of our ancestors). Great War Exhibition Museum and Arras Tunnel were also adorned with poppies when I visited (not photographed). Each part of the memorial landscape speaks to WW1 and the Gallipoli campaign. The cenotaph and Carillon bells are the oldest part of the memorial site, completed in 1932. I chose to visit the National Memorial because this is a nationally sanctified site and the centre of New Zealand's military remembrance and memorialisation events, with a series of separate memorials dedicated specifically to WW1. Unlike the Domain cenotaph, where I have attended the dawn or civic service for many years, the Wellington memorial cenotaph and landscape seemed "*so much bigger, with the Auckland memorial paling in comparison.*"

² Nga Tapuwae o te Kahui Maunga (the footsteps of our ancestors) is a bronze statue designed in consultation with local iwi. The site is designed to hold a garden as cultivation was a key historical use of the site, the bronze figure is of kuia (female elder) standing ready to make a karanga or call. Orange clay bricks found digging the Arras tunnel are used in the wall by the figure and were made by Maori prisoners of the New Zealand landwars in a nearby prison in the 19th century (Pukeahu Visitors Guidebook, 2016).

I hypothesised that the Wellington memorial at Pukeahu was integral to my research because its “grandness” made it so different and so much more “*awe inspiring than the small Auckland Domain cenotaph and memorial square.*” My diary entries suggested that I thought that by going to the National Memorial I would see, feel, and experience the memorial landscape differently. I wrote before visiting the site “*it’s the big day soon, visiting the national memorial. I feel excited but also nervous about how I will behave in the large site, adorned with so many more features than my humble Auckland cenotaph. Will, I be the wide-eyed tourist? Alternatively, will I actually feel some supreme reverence and feel even closer to my WW1 forbears who all trained and sailed to war from Wellington harbour.*”

I thought my experiences of place would inspire more passionate expressions of place-based experience, memory, and emotion due to my perception of the site’s size and its importance as part of the WW100 memorialisation series. My familial connections to the Wellington memorial - through my WW1 patriarch’s training and sailing from the city to war - made it seem like a natural space for embodied experiences in place. What I found from the visit to the National War Memorial, in contrast to my written experience in seeing the poppy in the Auckland CBD, registered little feeling or emotional engagement. Although I wrote six entries about my visit in my research diary, when I reflected on the text and photographs, I experienced no significant sense of place. Although my interest, awe, and attention to the landscape were present, there were no deep emotional or embodied senses of place. I wrote about how I felt drawn to the cenotaph by “*its height, so big and grand casting shadows and light so I couldn’t look away at any time.*” My fascination extended to the site’s micro details such as the lion water feature “*ready to roar perhaps even rage at us (my partner and myself), ready to articulate rage and sorrow at the losses of war.*” These entries, alongside others, expressed how my behaviours in the site focused on observation rather than any senses of feeling emotional or emotional attachment.

At no time in my diary entries or upon reflection did I refer to feeling connected to any memories or stories of my ancestor's military service, or lives at the site or outside the field. I did not feel connected to my memories of the past or any emotional sense of attachment to the Wellington memorial space. As I reflected upon my diary entries, I realised I had embodied an identity as a tourist, snapping photos and recording interesting sights within the landscape (Scarles, 2010).

Scarles (2010) argued that geographers who use visual autoethnographic tools such as photographs move beyond linear or static assumptions around how tourists experience place. Photographs as visual aids are by no means ocular-centric as they can facilitate broader discussions about experience in place in terms of emotion, memory, sensation, and behaviour (Scarles, 2010). Autoethnography and the use of visual aids in this body of research sought to move away from ocular-centrism to more nuanced understanding of place as a complex construction of multi-sensual encounters influenced by how people smell, hear, touch, and remember (Jay, 1997; Scarles, 2010).

Contrary to my experiences at the Auckland Domain WW1 memorial cenotaph and in encountering the poppy in the Auckland CBD, the National War Memorial did not ignite any complex multi-sensual engagements in my understanding of place. In my diary, I wrote how frustrated I felt "*nothing, no personal memories sparked. Instead I behaved like an awe-struck tourist I didn't touch anything, I avoided saying too much in the silent square and tried to feel the underlying holiness and sanctity of this national landmark.*" At first, upon reflection, I felt deeply troubled by this absence of feeling. It made me think I had not paid enough attention or tried hard enough to feel emotionally engaged with the site and its array of commemorative structures. Ellis (2004) and Longhurst (2012; 2016) were right in stating that it is easy to be too hard on yourself as a researcher when autoethnography is involved. I genuinely felt I had done something wrong and had not done enough work to make the most of an encounter which I had thought was of key importance to the researching New Zealand's WW1 memorial cenotaph.

In the days following the visit to the National Memorial, I reflected that “*I felt more connected by memory to Auckland through living in the city and my engagements in the Anzac dawn and civil services. I did not feel this was my place to remember and connect. I knew this seemed odd as I knew my forebears trained in Wellington and sailed to Gallipoli and elsewhere from the capital. My home and my feelings of belonging were not found here.*” I attached my sense of connection to Auckland where I had lived for the previous eight years of my adult life and where I had attended the dawn and civic Anzac Day service.

The notion of feeling senses of connection and disconnection, and belonging and exclusion when you are away from what you feel is your home or place in the world is therefore intensified depending upon the context you find yourself in (Curti, 2008; Adams and Ellis, 2012; Muizaini, 2014; Boylorn and Orb, 2016). I felt strong senses of emotional disconnection and non-feeling in the Wellington National Memorial landscape, unable to recall or imagine my forebears’ pasts. Instead of my hypothesised ties to place in Wellington, I felt out of place and far from my commemorative home. In the Wellington Memorial landscape, I embodied more of a tourist role, taking pictures and exploring the site as a respectful and observant person.

Unlike Scarles’ (2010) promotion of the strengths of visual autoethnography and photographs alongside diary entries, my photographs - as visual reminders of my experience for my visit to Wellington - did not facilitate deeper spatial and behavioural reflection beyond traditional tourist behaviours. In this sense, I behaved by the script of the good memorial tourist within what Foote (1997) described as a sanctified landscape which was well defined, maintained, and engaged in ritualised memorialisation events such as Anzac Day. I looked but did not touch; I felt amazed by the site’s size and scale but that was the extent of my sense of place.

In opposition, I touched, felt emotional, and questioned the memorial cenotaph landscape in Auckland. So why not Wellington? Why could I not feel, remember, and imagine - or at least connect to - my home memorial at this other cenotaph? Based on my strong and emotionally engaged experiences at the Domain cenotaph, I realised that through my history of participating in Anzac Day, I had developed much stronger sense of place and self-identification. Ritualised ceremonies and encounters with the memorial over time augmented a strong sense of self through seeing, remembering, and being in the Domain memorial landscape. The strength of this sense of self and place was reinforced through my everyday visits to the Domain memorial outside of Anzac Day.

The Wellington memorial cenotaph and landscape felt alien, uncomfortable, and silent. These sentiments were present despite the memorial structures in Wellington being dedicated to the same Gallipoli campaign, war, and ritualised remembrance as the Auckland Domain cenotaph. Feeling out of place did not mean I was not interested or did not engage with the landscape. Instead, as Scarles (2010) described in tourism studies, my embodied experiences of place were tourist driven and represented performances of speech, sound, touch, and silence, which were scripted (in terms of how I understood my behaviour at the Anzac Day memorial service in Auckland) as well unexpected (in terms of not being able to bring forth the same emotions and feelings I encountered at the Auckland Domain Memorial Cenotaph).

Visual and written autoethnography allowed me to question how and why I embodied scripted senses of place as a tourist and visitor and felt out of place and disconnected. The process of self-reflection and questioning was crucial as, despite the size and grandeur of the Wellington cenotaph and the landmarks dedicated to both Maori and Pakeha servicemen, I recorded and reflected the emptiness I felt. I felt empty in the sense that I encountered no personal connection to the space, having no memories of my forebears and the deep emotions I experienced in seeing the blood red poppy in Auckland or at the Domain cenotaph on Anzac Day or in my reflections on how the site was used outside of Anzac Day. Instead, my behaviours felt more scripted as I took photos of key landmarks and

interesting element as a tourist would do, documenting the awe-inspiring, the odd, and the compulsory (Crang, 1997; Scarles, 2010).

When comparing Figure 12 and Figure 13, the poppy images taken in the Auckland CBD (Figure 12) are random and speak to my encounters with the ‘poppy-fied’ landscape as I walked down the same streets, areas, and shopping areas I passed every day, as they were poppy-less.

The processes of me encountering the poppy, taking photos, and writing provoked reflection upon specific emotions and behaviours which I could name as sadness-sorrow-loss-memory (real and imagined memory). I then compared these emotional behaviours with the emotional and behavioural disconnection I experienced at the Wellington memorial cenotaph. As I felt and behaved in a disconnected way, I confronted attachments I had to the Domain memorial cenotaph. Through reflection upon my diary entries, I could piece together how my attachments to the Domain memorial cenotaph were sometimes frustrated by feelings of disconnection and feeling out of place. How different places prompt specific embodied behaviours were thus always partial and incomplete. What I wanted to take from my diary entries and photographs in the field - and what I produced afterwards within - were implicated by the partiality and bias of what I remembered and felt in place, with what I felt and remembered changing over time and across different memorial landscapes.

The visit to the Wellington National Memorial and the sense of disconnection from the memorial landscape outside of Auckland revealed the intensity of my connection to one memorial space over another. Although the Wellington Memorial Park, Pukeahu, is New Zealand’s national commemorative site dedicated to remembering WW1, I felt out of place and disconnected to my sense of being an ANZAC descendant with strong connections to military service and my loved ones. What this experience revealed was how connections to

memory, emotion, and embodiment in certain seemingly homogenous spaces is never fully elastic or transferable.

In the last chapter of this thesis, I conclude with a summary of my research findings. The conclusion ends with discussion around areas for future research within memorial studies through autoethnographic methods of inquiry.

Chapter 9. Conclusion

9.1 The memorial cenotaph: Summarising my research journey

In this thesis, I have addressed the question of how people experience the Auckland Domain WW1 cenotaph both during and outside commemorative events. In this last chapter, I bring together the thematic threads of the thesis, reflecting on my research findings. This reflection is accompanied by a consideration of some limitations of the research process and suggestions regarding further research that could flow from this thesis. Ideas for future research are aimed at addressing gaps identified within the memorial studies literature.

9.2 Emotion and embodiment in memorial studies

Within memorial studies, and geographic inquiry generally, scholars such as Bondi (2005) and Davidson et al., (2012) have maintained that emotion and embodiment have largely been excluded from scholarship around how everyday places are experienced. As addressed in the literature review chapter of this thesis, the exclusion of emotions from scholarship has, until recently, flowed from criticisms of feelings being too deeply personal and subjective to add to academic scholarship. Inspired by the ‘emotional turn’ in geography, this thesis has contributed to re-instating and validating emotion in day-to-day encounters with place, using the WW1 memorial cenotaph as an empirical case study.

In this thesis, by reflecting upon embodiment and emotional experience at the memorial cenotaph, I took on Bondi’s (2005) challenge to engage in more emotionally experimental forms of research. I chose the memorial cenotaph as a site of analysis because of my personal ties to the ritual performances of Anzac Day at the Domain cenotaph. The World War 100 series in 2015-2016 also provided an unprecedented

focus on the display of memorial memorabilia. This focus made me aware of the large public events, displays, and activities that unfolded to mark the advent of Anzac Day in Auckland City where I lived,

As an ANZAC descendant, the memorial cenotaph is something that is deeply personal to my sense of Pakeha and national identity. In the thesis, I explored how, during both ceremonial and non-ceremonial visits to the memorial cenotaph, I felt emotional and embodied these emotions in forms of self-regulation. As emotion and embodied experiences of the memorial landscape are not well represented in memorial studies or geographic literature, I borrowed from geographies of emotion, memory studies, and autoethnography to explore my ceremonial and non-ceremonial encounters with the cenotaph in the field and retrospectively.

I found that, regardless of the ceremonial or everyday nature of my field visits, my emotional experiences in place were mixed. In chapter five, I discussed how on ceremonial days I felt I was a part of the Anzac civic service ritual and Anzac community of remembrance but also how I felt sickened by my inability to attend, and participate in, the Dawn Service. Feeling ‘sickened’ referring to my absence from the Dawn Service as an ANZAC descendant who annually took pride in attending the event to remember my family history and the love I carried for my forebears who served in WW1 and WW2. In the civic service, I remembered how I embodied each part of the Anzac Day ritual as I stayed silent, prayed, and remembered my forbears as if on cue. These behaviours, however, were always partial, and as I recounted how I felt, I had to really try to stay silent, holding back smiles and laughter, as I remembered my poppa and my deep love for our play-times together.

I felt similar mixes of emotion when I visited the memorial on non-ceremonial days. In chapter six, I recounted how once I had contemplated my ceremonial and non-ceremonial visits side-by-side I came to see the memorial landscape as a hybrid space. I refer to ‘hybrid’ in the sense that it transitioned, at times in seconds, from a wholly silent

and subdued space to somewhere that was full of micro-activities that would be out of place on Anzac Day. As I recorded in my research diary, these activities varied from swearing, selfie-taking, and laughter to more quiet activities such as graduation photographs, people playing Pokemon Go, and others sitting and eating their lunch in the sunshine.

Each activity I observed derived an emotional response varying from suppressed laughter to disapproval and anger. In chapter eight, I explored my sense of disapproval and anger with Helen. As a German citizen, Helen had very little knowledge of the memorialisation process or the role of the cenotaph in commemorating WW1. I reflected how I felt angry when she stated that the memorial square - with its sunny courtyard with epic views of the harbour - would make an ideal recreational space. The anger, on reflection, stemmed from my affiliations to traditional military remembrance at the cenotaph on Anzac Day. The interview revealed my specific positionality as an ANZAC descendant in studying the WW1 memorial, as I could not comprehend or accept that others may not feel the same connection to the space as I did.

In chapter eight, once I compared Helen's interview with Mary and Alice's, who had endorsed my feelings and strong emotional connections to place, my positionality was emphasised further. Mary and Alice expressed similar memories of how they emotionally experienced and embodied certain behaviours within their local memorial site. Mary and Alice had been participants in dawn or civic Anzac Day events and had been informed by family or at school about why remembering military service was so important, just as I had.

I came to realise through engaging with these participants that, although my emotional connection to place was derived from traditional performances of Anzac Day remembrance, my feelings in place were much more fragmented and complex. I realised how my feelings stemmed from partial memories of my past and my forbears, with the drunkenness, violence, and cowardice of my forbears silenced. What I did, how I saw

things, and how I emotionally connected to the Domain memorial landscape was informed by what Kerwin et al., (2016) and McConville et al., (2017) described as sanitised and homogenised accounts of the past. In agreement with these scholars, I found these sanitised and homogenised accounts of history are empowered by specific power bodies - such as the mainstream media and central government - to leave out the disturbing details of the past, including conscription, conscientious objection, ethnic difference, and discrimination.

Instead, these groups enable positive sentiments of national belonging and unity to become tied to military remembrance on ceremonial and non-ceremonial days. An enabling places lens allowed deeper reflection upon how these constructs of military service played out in everyday life (Duff, 2010). The memorial cenotaph as an enabling place actively facilitated reflection upon my own partial understanding of the memorial's role and function on my day-to-day field visits. An enabling lens revealed that the cenotaph and memorial square was a sacred space but was also a site where non-conformist activity such as laughter and play challenged the status quo.

By reflecting on the everyday activities at the cenotaph, I extended Standish's (2015 & 2016) work on the larger scale non-conformist activities at the memorial, including wearing the white peace poppy, and protest activities. I explored the micro-activities that challenged the space's sacred guise. These subtle behaviours and emotional sentiments occurred on ceremonial days and at other times. As I discussed in chapter five, non-conformist activities on Anzac Day included young children playing in the field of crosses, laughing and exploring the memorial site. Their playful activities occurred alongside families laying their own, non-RSA crosses in the official RSA field of soldiers. From seeing and then reflecting upon both instances, I felt a sense of happiness rather than abhorrence to these subtle challenges to the formal set-up of the Anzac Day remembrance landscape.

Through my visit to the Wellington memorial site (discussed in chapter eight), I also realised the importance of everyday encounters with place in how conformist activity manifests

and can be challenged in different memorial spaces. In my experience of the Wellington memorial landscape, I realised how I felt out of place and emotionless outside my home memorial at the Domain. I wrote in my diary and observed from photographs that I embodied behaviours of a tourist, snapping images of key landmarks over subtler spatial details or human activity. My emotions were also ‘out of sync’ with my experiences at the Domain, with my diary documenting my frustration at feeling so little in the Wellington site despite its national significance and mammoth size. In turn, I recounted in chapter eight how everyday encounters with the RSA poppy in the Auckland city landscape derived much stronger emotions such as feeling my great grandfather’s shoulder wound within my own body on seeing the vibrant redness of the poppy displays. Thus, where I was in relation to the Domain memorial site, and what specific Anzac features I encountered (such as the red RSA poppy) could transport or stunt my ability to feel emotionally connected to place.

Emotion, and embodiment through everyday encounters with the memorial cenotaph and landscape, were therefore just as significant as ceremonial visits. I found that the Domain cenotaph and memorial landscape came to represent a hybrid structure where multiple sensations, activities, and feelings were played out daily. The surrounding landscape - through recognition of the seemingly mundane activities that unfolded there - exposed the limitations of the emotionless accounts of the memorial landscape in memorial studies, revealing new spaces for scholarship outside of the site’s ceremonial existence.

As I discuss in the next section, autoethnography and the use of narrative diary entries and photographs were essential in teasing out my emotional and embodied experiences of place. My use of both approaches in the field, along with retrospection, added depth to my exploration of how everyday encounters with the memorial cenotaph were always informed by partial memories of each visit in retrospect.

9.3 Autoethnography: Embodiment and emotion in place

In researching the WW1 memorial cenotaph, I produced an autoethnographic account of my own experiences as part of a broader set of socio-cultural experiences of place. In producing my autoethnography, I found that keeping a research diary, taking photographs, and engaging three research participants provided a retrospective lens into the myriad processes of self-identification, embodiment, and emotion in place.

Through writing my diary entries and taking photographs, and reviewing these up to ten days after my field visits, retrospection provided an insightful research tool to question my experiences. Retrospection of what I saw, what I may have omitted, and why I had omitted certain aspects of my experiences of place provided deeper insights into the memorial cenotaph's everyday role and function. Deeper insights referring to my reflections (on both diary entries and photographs) revealing numerous activities, bodies and things existing in the memorial landscape at different points in time, varying from the excitement of Pokemon Go to the quite presence of litter and louder presence of various animals in the memorial square.

I found retrospection and rereading my diary entries meant I reflected more critically upon my experiences of the memorial landscapes, its everyday mundanity, and its ceremonial spectacle. Retrospective reflection prompted contemplation not just of what I had written but also the language I had used, why I had used it, and what had I potentially omitted from my diary entries. The implication of this approach was that I created an autoethnographic account which revealed the nuanced ways that embodiment and emotion manifest through non-ceremonial encounters with the memorial cenotaph and landscape. Diary entries, despite my inhibitions with being unable to write everything or to write well, meant that I captured in-the-moment experiences of place, which could then be comprehensively reflected upon in the field and during my write up of the research findings.

Photographs were invaluable in the retrospective reflection process. By extending Scarles' (2010) use of photographs to facilitate reflective discussion between the researcher and participants, I engaged photographs to prompt reflection on my own experiences as a researcher. The comparison of my diary entries with the photographs I took meant I could pick up on certain things I had omitted to enter in my diary - such as the model, selfie takers, and Pokemon Goers I had seen but had omitted to write about in chapter 6 (page 85 section 6.2). It was only through using both tools that I noticed what types of activities, language, and human-to-cenotaph encounters I had overlooked and the implications such omissions would have had on my research findings.

My autoethnography, through my diary entries and photographs, captured the complexity of place-based experience that occurs at the memorial cenotaph, as well as what kinds of emotions, sensations, and behaviours these inspired in me as an ANZAC descendant and commemorative agent. The experiences I had were thus one story of how different individuals experienced the memorial landscape on ceremonial days and in everyday life.

My experiences speak to how different bodies navigate and feel through encounters with, and remembering, the memorial cenotaph. Most of the feelings I had connected to broader understandings of the memorial landscape as something deeply sacred and important to Pakeha indigeneity and the construction of a New Zealand national identity.

Therefore, autoethnography provided a set of narrative and visual insights into what I had immediately seen, as well as what I had overlooked, during each field visit. The elements of my field visits which I did not write in my field diary were invaluable, as each component brought forth emotions and senses of place that framed my positionality as an ANZAC descendant and Anzac commemoration participant. Once I reviewed my photographs, I realised how certain behaviours were - in my mind - out of place (such as the model swearing) while others seemed more benign (Pokemon Go). In turn, when I

visited the Wellington memorial cenotaph and felt out of place, the photographs I took recognised the tourist-like behaviours I felt in that place as opposed to the deep emotion and connection I embodied on certain visits to the Domain memorial cenotaph.

To produce my autoethnography, reviewing my diary entries alongside my photographs provided much insight into the complexity of the non-ceremonial role of the cenotaph than Pini's (2004) autobiographical mapping. As I discussed in chapter five, I found that autobiographical mapping did not help to break down the complex networks of emotion, feeling, affect, and human, material relations in the memorial landscape. I thought each autobiographical map would assist in thematically organising what I had written alongside what I remembered and photographed at the memorial cenotaph. Instead, the mapping as I discussed in chapter five (page 72) turned out to be inadequate to pin down my experiences, and instead it muddied them further. I found that rereading my diary entries alongside looking at my photographs repeatedly, one week to ten days following my field visits, allowed me to comprehensively reflect upon my experiences and what I may have overlooked.

By engaging three participants, I also had the opportunity to reinforce as well as challenge the themes I derived from my experiences of place. The first two participants, Mary and Alice, allowed me to explore my personal connections to place as they validated the tradition, sanctity, and familial pride I attached to the memorial cenotaph. It was only through re-reading my diary entries that I could critically reflect upon how the Anzac Day ceremony, ritual, and memorial embedded specific emotions and behaviours within the memorial square. Through reflecting on the interview with Mary and Alice, my narratives from other visits were put into a new perspective. I came to realise that, at the cenotaph, the memories I had of my forbears were always partial, overlooking any of their pasts of violence, hardship, or abstention from military service. I remained immersed in the ritualised feelings of sorrow, pride, and gratitude - avoiding the realities of my family's past. These feelings tied into broader political and cultural memories articulated on Anzac Day at the cenotaph, where the brutality, rape, and destruction of

war are silenced. The realities of war, as Standish (2015 & 2016) articulated, were only being brought forth through counter-memorialisation structures like the Wellington Peace Pole, or protests against rape in wartime (Weaver, 2012). Helen reinforced these counter-memorialisation sentiments as she felt as a German citizen that there was never one way to remember and commemorate the past and use the memorial landscape. To Helen, memorialisation was delimited to memories of horror and destructiveness attached to the Nazi regime, which aligned with much of the literature on German military memorialisation.

On reflection, what Mary and Alice did was validate my experiences but also illuminate the limitations of engaging with like-minded participants. Based on their age and my knowledge of their professions (teachers) as well as their community involvement (in a small township), it crossed my mind that Mary and Alice's experiences of the memorial landscape could align with my own. However, I did not outline in my recruitment process that I would ask or exclude potential participants based on any criteria other than being over eighteen years of age. Future research could benefit from using a larger sample of participants. More participants' voices would add more depth to understanding how people experience the memorial landscape on ceremonial days and through everyday encounters with place.

In my autoethnography, the voice and experiences of participants added richness and depth to my narrative and visual extracts. Participants in autoethnography offer their experiences alongside the researchers, sometimes aligning and at others splintering the researcher's closely held beliefs and positionalities. Positionalities, however, need to be challenged to reflect upon how people come to understand or forget what place means to different individuals and groups over time. Such challenges can be overwhelming at a personal level but open new areas of academic reflection upon how place is studied.

This thesis captured one series of insights into emotion and embodiment in day-to-day encounters with the memorial cenotaph outside of its ceremonial role and function. Such insights are crucial as, in the past memorial studies have remained obsessed with the documentation of memorial sites' ceremonial grandeur rather than their day-to-day role in processes of self- and group identification. The memorial cenotaph, as a structure found in most New Zealand towns and cities, is a landmark that people would encounter as they drive to work, take their lunch break, or walk to the local park or museum. These encounters have therefore been taken for granted in terms of how people understand their place in the world and demarcate understandings of otherness and exclusion.

As I documented in this thesis, these feelings of exclusion and otherness can be just as strong as senses of belonging and feeling a part of the Anzac community of remembrance. When I visited the Wellington National Memorial Cenotaph, I wrote how I felt out of place at the mega-structure and that my behaviour felt more like that of a tourist than a commemorative agent. These feelings of exclusion, as part of my autoethnography, recognised the importance of Sumartojo et al., (2016), Kerwin et al.'s (2016) and Standish's (2015 & 2016), and McConville et al.'s (2017) work on exposing the ways in which military remembrance is homogenised. These scholars recognised the diversity of memory and lived experience in mainstream society, and the importance of uncovering this diversity to ensure alternative voices and ways of seeing the world are heard and respected rather than demonised or silences.

At times, I reflected that these out-of-place or emotionally diverse experiences of place made me feel uneasy or uncomfortable. As Ellis (2004) identified, it is often challenging for the autoethnographer to speak to all their experiences when some raise awkward or uncomfortable feelings which, if published, could open the writer to ridicule. In writing my diary entries, I was always challenged by feelings and memories of my family, work situation, or home life that intruded upon my ability to remember, focus, or exclude any reference to the uncomfortable parts of my family history in military service. What I

learned, however, was that autoethnography and self-reflection does not mean everything must be published and made public. Instead, as I did in the thesis, I only expressed what I felt comfortable with, leaving out certain details which could expose me to personal harm or criticism.

Thus, through autoethnography, the researcher crafts a narrative of lived experience which can be added to a broader research terrain. This thesis and my autoethnography represent one voice and one interpretation of the memorial cenotaph's everyday role and function. The challenge going forward is for new autoethnographies to be written to account for the diverse ways people experience place in daily life. In using mixed method autoethnography, memorial studies would begin to weave expressions (and what was repressed) of emotion and embodiment into how place is documented, interpreted, and reflected upon in the research process.

In the final section of the conclusion chapter, I reflect upon areas of future research that could flow from this thesis.

9.4 Pathways forward: Future research

This thesis focused on how people experience the memorial landscape on ceremonial and non-ceremonial days. The thesis therefore spoke to one gap within memorial studies where little scholarship exists about memorial spaces outside their ceremonial role and function. As my thesis provides only one autoethnographic account of the memorial cenotaph's ceremonial and non-ceremonial role, memorial studies would benefit from more autoethnographic scholarship.

It would be interesting to see how other researchers experience the memorial landscape, adding to memorial studies as well as geographic scholarship on how places produce, as

well as silence, emotions overtime. I regard the use of narrative approaches in memorial studies as essential, as there is still much work required around ethnic minorities', conscientious objectors' and women's experiences of memorialisation practices and experiences of the memorial landscape over time. Narrative approaches to research values these minority voices to challenge normative understandings of landscape features such as the memorial cenotaph, and the rituals which surround them.

This thesis engaged just three participants. Future research would benefit from engaging more participants and potentially narrowing the sample of participants to explore specific facets of place-based experience at the cenotaph. In this thesis, for example, I had one German participant, and two New Zealand-born participants who regularly participated in the dawn or civic service. To explore local and international experiences of memorialisation for WW1, it would be invaluable to speak to more people from a variety of different ethnic, cultural, and national backgrounds to get a fuller picture of how memorial landscapes inform lived experiences in New Zealand and abroad.

In future memorial studies, geography would also benefit from more intensive scholarship around how individuals and groups who do not fit within mainstream narratives of military memorialisation experience the memorial landscape. Work such as Standish's (2016) reflections on the potential of a white peace poppy over a red RSA poppy have made significant contributions to how war can be remembered within discourses of peace over death, violence, and sacrifice. However, more work is required in memorial studies to comprehend how everyday activities, emotions, and behaviours in the memorial landscape can inform counter-memorialisation movements and challenge normative understandings of place. Such work is already under way, with Muzaini and Yeoh's (2014) research on online memorialisation providing examples of new spaces where people can engage in traditional and counter-commemorative activities in a virtual and less rigidly regulated space.

As this thesis focused on geographies of emotion and embodiment in studies of place, future memorial studies would benefit from engaging in memory work. Although the thesis explored some elements of memory, including its partial and slippery nature, it did not comprehensively engage with the potential benefits of memory work within memorial studies. Memory work in memorial studies is important, as memorials are structures which can facilitate cross-temporal encounters with the past - pasts that at times were never experienced by the person imagining them. Memory work, as Kuhn (2010) describes, is vital to ruminate upon how people come to imagine and then re-imagine the past in particular ways. Such work adds to traditional studies of self- and group identification such as Anderson (1991), Standish (1995), Curti (2008), and Tamm (2013), deepening the scholarship on the politics of exclusion and belonging over time.

Overall, this thesis focused on how the memorial landscape facilitates embodied and emotional experiences of place on ceremonial and non-ceremonial visits. The thesis emphasised the significance of more emotion-focussed scholarship within memorial studies and geographic inquiry generally, to challenge the everyday and taken-for-granted significance of spaces - such as the memorial cenotaph - in how people identify themselves and situate others in context. More work is required in this area of memorial studies, and this thesis aims to prompt more reflective and emotionally engaged scholarship around memorialisation in New Zealand, specifically addressing the everyday significance of the memorial landscape that has, for too long, remained silent.

Appendix 1. Consent form and Participant Information Sheet



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The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Project Title: Processes of memory and place making: The Auckland Memorial Cenotaph

Name of the Researcher: Emma Amy O'Neill

Researcher Contact: eone007@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Name of Supervisors: Dr Robin Kearns and Dr Meg Parsons

Supervisor Contact: Robin Kearns r.kearns@aucklanduni.ac.nz and Meg Parsons meg.parsons@aucklanduni.ac.nz

I have read the Participant Information Sheet, and I have understood the nature of the research and why I have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to participate in this research.
- I understand that the interview will take approximately one to one and a half hours to complete.
- I understand that the interview notes will be stored as scanned pdf copies for 6 years after this interview after which time this information will be destroyed.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw participation at any time without giving a reason and to withdraw any information traceable to me by April 30th 2017.
- I understand that my identity will be kept confidential as outlined in the participant information sheet, unless I have stated that my name may be used in the research. I understand that my name can be withdrawn at any time by contacting the researcher Emma O'Neill by email.
- I wish to receive by email a copy of any summary findings at this address.....

Name: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____
APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS
COMMITTEE ON 3/06/2016 For (3) years, Reference number (Our Ref. 017216):



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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Project Title: Processes of memory and place making: The Auckland War Memorial Cenotaph

Research Supervisors: Dr Robin Kearns, Dr Meg Parsons
Researcher: Emma O'Neill

About the Researcher

My name is Emma O'Neill and I am a student at the University of Auckland enrolled in the Master of Arts programme in Geography 2015/2017 in the School of Environment. I am conducting my thesis to explore how people have experienced the World War One memorial at the Auckland Domain in everyday life. I am interested in understanding how people, think, feel, remember and engage or ignore the war memorial as a landscape feature and how it does or does not impact their everyday experiences of place. An important part of this research involves talking to four adult participants about how they understand the World War One cenotaph when they are in everyday life and on days of national significance such as Anzac.

The Project

This project seeks to investigate the role of the Auckland Domain War Memorial cenotaph in everyday experiences of place. Through my research I seek to understand the role the war memorial plays in everyday experiences of place and on days of national significance such as Anzac Day 2016. The aim of my research is to use my diary notes, field observations and four participant semi structured interviews at the memorial site to understand what thoughts, feelings, experiences and personal silences the memorial may facilitate in the Auckland Domain context in 2016. My research is scheduled to unfold between July 2015 and July 2017 but the interview I am asking you to participate in runs for one hour only.

From participating in my research I expect that as participants I hope you will gain a sense of self awareness and improved understanding of how you yourselves understand the WW1 memorial in everyday life and on days of national significance, and please know your thoughts and communication with me benefits the memorial and memory studies literature as the WW1 memorial has rarely been studied for its everyday role as a landscape feature in the 21st century. Please know my research is not funded by an outsider organisation and the gift voucher and complimentary beverage are provided from my own funds.

As we sit at the Domain cenotaph for our interview we will likely see people of all ages visiting the museum, tourists and other community groups (such as school groups) but none of these groups will have access to the notes I take during our interview with all information being fully private and confidential.

Invitation to Participate

I seek to ascertain your permission to interview you and ask you about how you understand the role of the Auckland Domain War Memorial Cenotaph in everyday life and on days of national significance such as Anzac. You were chosen as you are over 18 years of age and were known to a family member or friend of mine who believed you would be interested in participating in this research project (Emma O'Neill). I also sourced participants through other participant's contacts if they believed they knew someone over 18 years old who would wish to participate in my research interviews.

Participation in this project is voluntary. Participation will involve a one on one interview conducted by the researcher at the Auckland War Memorial cenotaph on either August 6-7th or September 6-7th and will be for 1-1.5 hour(s). Participants have the right to withdraw from participation at any time and can withdraw their interview material up until two weeks after the interview.

As well participants will be entitled to a \$20 gift voucher for JB HIFI or Farmers Department store following the completion of the interview process.

Project Procedures

During the interview I wish to ask you the following questions;

- 1) What are you thinking or feeling at this moment as we sit here near the Domain cenotaph?
- 2) Do you have any personal ties to the Auckland cenotaph or WW1 in general through your ancestry?
- 3) What do you understand the role of the WW1 cenotaph is at this moment? Does this differ at all from what you perhaps see, hear, feel or have heard about in the past about Anzac Day?
- 4) Do you have any material possessions at home or with you that provoke or you feel promote particular feelings or memories of the memorial landscape (at the Domain or elsewhere)?

I expect the interview process may take about 1-1.5 hour(s), but if all questions are asked before the hour you will be free to leave and the gift voucher will still be provided.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

The interview will not be audio recorded. Any notes taken during the interview can be requested by the participant at any time and a copy can be provided to your email account on request. A summary of the research will be made available to participants on completion of the research.

The information gathered from the interview will be used for research purposes only and securely stored in electronic form as scanned pdf's of my hand written notes for 6 years. After 6 years the information will be destroyed. A copy of my research can be made available to you by email request following the project's completion on July 30th 2017.

Information about who participates in this research and who does not is confidential. If the participant wishes to be identified they may do so with permission in the consent form. Otherwise participants will be named by pseudonym as participant 1, 2, 3 or 4. The information will be used for academic purposes only. If any further use of the information is to be utilised the consent of the participants will be sought.

Counselling and Support Services

As the interview involves discussion of your personal thoughts and feelings at the Domain WW1 memorial cenotaph the details below provide the information of the University Health and Counselling Service Centre. As a participant feel free to contact the centre for any reason after the interview process.

Phone: +64 9 923 7681

Fax: 09 373 7501

Email: uhsinfo@auckland.ac.nz

The University of Auckland offers emergency and by appointment counselling services Monday to Thursday 8:30am-6pm and Friday 8:30am-5pm.

For out of hours counselling and support please contact New Zealand Depression Assistance Centre on **0800 111 757** (24 hour free hotline).

Rights to Withdraw from Participation

You have the right to withdraw from the interview at any time without giving a reason and you can withdraw your interview data up to two day prior to the interview taking place. However, on withdrawing you will no longer be entitled to a gift voucher or beverage.

Contact Details and Approval Wording

Researcher	Supervisor	Co-Supervisor	Head of Department
Emma O'Neill School of Environment eone007@aucklanduni.ac.nz	Dr Robin Kearns School of Environment University of Auckland r.kearns@auckland.ac.nz +64 9 373 7599 ext 88442	Dr Meg Parsons School of Environment University of Auckland meg.parsons@auckland.ac.nz +649 3737599 ext 89263	Professor Paul Kench School of Environment University of Auckland p.kench@auckland.ac.nz +649 3737599 ext 88440

For any concerns regarding ethical issues you may contact the Chair, the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, at the University of Auckland, Research Office, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373-7599 ext. 83711. Email: ro-ethics@auckland.ac.nz”

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 03/06/2016 For (3) years, Reference number (Our Ref. 017216):



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UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

(UAHPEC) 03-Jun-2016

MEMORANDUM TO:

Prof Robin
Kearns
Environment

Re: Application for Ethics Approval (Our Ref. 017216): Approved

The Committee considered your application for ethics approval for your project entitled **Processes of memory and place making: The Auckland War Memorial Cenotaph.**

We are pleased to inform you that ethics approval is granted for a period of three years.

The expiry date for this approval is 03-Jun-2019.

If the project changes significantly, you are required to submit a new application to UAHPEC for further consideration.

If you have obtained funding other than from UniServices, send a copy of this approval letter to the Research Office, at ro-awards@auckland.ac.nz. For UniServices contracts, send a copy of the approval letter to the Contract Manager, UniServices.

In order that an up-to-date record can be maintained, you are requested to notify UAHPEC once your project is completed.

The Chair and the members of UAHPEC would be happy to discuss general matters relating to ethics approvals. If you wish to do so, please contact the UAHPEC Ethics Administrators at ro-ethics@auckland.ac.nz in the first instance.

Please quote reference number: **017216** on all communication with the UAHPEC regarding this application.

(This is a computer generated letter. No signature required.)
UAHPEC Administrators
University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee

c.c. Head of Department / School, Environment

Miss
Emma

Additional information:

1. Do not forget to fill in the 'approval wording' on the Participant Information Sheets and Consent Forms, giving the dates of approval and the reference number, before you send them out to your participants.
2. Should you need to make any changes to the project, please complete the online proposed changes and include any revised documentation.
3. At the end of three years, or if the project is completed before the expiry, please advise UAHPEC of its completion.
4. Should you require an extension, please complete the online Amendment Request form associated with this approval number giving full details along with revised documentation. An extension can be granted for up to three years, after which a new application must be submitted.
5. Please note that UAHPEC may from time to time conduct audits of approved projects to ensure that the research has been carried out according to the approval that was given.

Appendix 2. Reference List

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Author's Own 3, The Auckland Domain Memorial Cenotaph Winter Fun 2016, Photo Collage, June 18 2016.

Author's Own 4, After the Anzac Civil Service 12pm April 25th, 2016, Photo Collage, April 25 2016.

Authors Own 5, Wet winter cenotaph visit late June 2016, Photo Collage, June 26th 2016.

Author's Own 6, Anzac traces April 20th-April 24th Auckland CBD, Photo Collage, April 20-24 2016.

Authors Own 7, Visit to the Wellington National Memorial September 2 2016, Photo Collage, September 2nd 2016.

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Appendix 3. Family History

In this appendix, I provide an overview of my family tree - laying out my whakapapa and where I come from. The genealogy is limited to my forebears - Frank Shirley in particular - within and following the First World War. Focusing on Frank Shirley was deliberate, as he fought at Gallipoli and is my own direct connection to my ANZAC lineage.

Shirley Lineage

Frank Albert Shirley was born in 1892 in New Plymouth. He lived at home until age eleven when he left home to live in the a local Marae, where he became fluent in Maori. Frank trained as a painter in his late teens and early twenties. In October 1914, aged twenty-two, he enlisted in the army and trained in Wellington before embarking for Gallipoli on the Arawa or Limerick AWMM as a Private in the Wellington Infantry Battalion.

Shortly after landing at Gallipoli in April 1915, Frank was shot in his right shoulder. He was transported to Egypt and then to hospitals in England where his shoulder was reconstructed. In hospital, seen in Figure 14, he wrote to his mother about his time at Gallipoli and meeting the King and Queen (the King being interested in his metal shoulder) and Lord and Lady Plunket. Following his recovery, Frank worked in a London munitions factory.

Figure 14.English Hospital where Frank Shirley received his new shoulder and meet the King and Queen



While working in the munitions factory, Frank meet and eventually married Ethel (seen in Figure 14). After the war, Ethel and Frank settled in New Plymouth and had five children: Frank Patrick (Pat), Joan, Gwendolen, Olive Joyce (Joy), and Donald (Don). Gwendolen Shirley, my grandmother worked as a herd tester in WW2 while the men were away at war.

Figure 15: Frank and Ethel Shirley Wedding Photo, Frank in uniform for Anzac Service post war (age unknown)



As well as Frank's military service, four of his brothers: Norman (Norm), Hercules (Herc) seen below, Sydney (Syd), and William (Bill) also served. All brothers served in Europe and returned by 1918. Brothers Herc and Norman (seen in Figure 16) went on to marry and have children and worked as farmers or as painters.

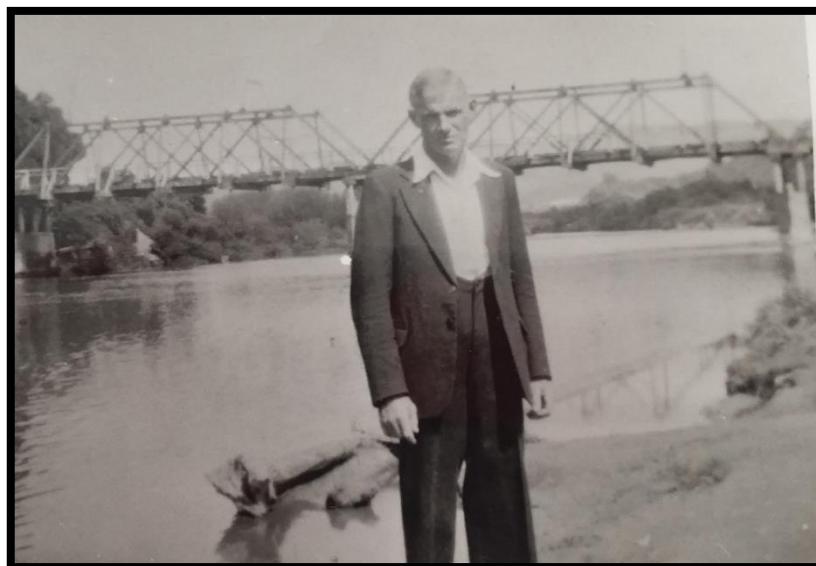
Figure 16. Norman and Hercules Shirley



O'Neill Lineage

In our family history, we know little about our O'Neill heritage. William O'Neill, my great great grandfather (see Figure 17), abandoned his wife Gladice, and his four sons, including my grandfather (Reginald O'Neill) by 1920, and we know only that he worked in the New Zealand railways until 1940 where his personal records stop.

Figure 17. Only photo of William O'Neill (date unknown)



William and his brother served in WW1 as privates, leaving for war from New Plymouth in 1917. Both returned home in 1918.

William met my great-grandmother Gladice sometime between 1912 and 1914, and they were married when she was just fifteen years old. While still aged fifteen, fifteen Ethel gave birth to their first child, Ted. After four more children were born (Joan, Reginald, Claude, and Curly), William left the family for good. This resulted in Joan being adopted out and the four boys put in a Catholic orphanage in Auckland.

Reginald, my poppa, seen in Figure 18, enlisted in the Second World War at age 19. He served as a wireless operator doing the navigation work for aircraft operators. Reginald served in the air force until 1944 when he was discharged due to his mental health.

Following the war's end, Reginald O'Neill married Gwendoline Shirley in New Plymouth in a double wedding with Joy Shirley. Ten years after they married, Gwendoline gave birth to my father, Kevin O'Neill, in 1956. Reginald was a builder by trade and built their family home in Taupo, as well as most of their furniture.

I grew up with Reginald as my poppa who loved and cared for me as my most special friend. I miss him and my nana Gwen (seen as I knew them in Figure 18) to this day.

Figure 18. Reginald O'Neill 19 years in uniform and Nana and Poppa 1999



Appendix 4. Scheduled visits to cenotaph 2016

Figure 19. Field visits to the Domain Cenotaph 2016

Date of Visit	Type of Visit	Purpose	Sensory Elements
April 20 th , April 22 nd , and April 23 rd .	Pre-Anzac field visits to see the Anzac displays seen around the Auckland CBD.	Documented Auckland's local build up to Anzac Day in the CBD and at the Domain cenotaph.	Commented on the sounds, sights, emotions, memories, commemorative practices and performances at the cenotaph and in the Auckland CBD.
April 24th and 25 th and April 28 th , May 6 th and May 22 nd .	Pre-Anzac ceremonial and post Anzac ceremonial visits.	I wrote about my experiences of place at the cenotaph around Anzac ceremony.	Commented on the sounds, sights, emotions, memories, commemorative practices and performances at the cenotaph and in the Auckland water front.
June 18 th and June 26 th .	Everyday winter visits.	Wrote about my experiences of place on a Commonwealth public holiday.	Observed and wrote about the sounds, sights, emotions, memories and thoughts that arose around the cenotaph.
29 th and 31 st of July, August 6 th .	Participant observation visits 1 (Mary) and 2 (Alice)	Undertook two of my three participant interviews at the Domain cenotaph.	I wrote about the various sounds, sights, emotions, memories, commemorative practices and performances the participants spoke about.
August 27th, October 23 rd and 24 th .	Everyday visit.	Undertook two everyday trips to sit at the cenotaph.	I commented on the sounds, sights, emotions, memories and experiences of place at the cenotaph.
September 1 st .	Visit to Wellington National Memorial Museum and Cenotaph.	I undertook a field trip to the WW1 National Memorial to explore a second national memorial mega-structure.	I commented on the sounds, sights, emotions, memories and experiences of place at the National War Memorial cenotaph.
October 22 nd .	Participant interview number three (Helen).	I conducted what would be my last participant interview.	I wrote about the various sounds, sights, emotions, memories, commemorative practices and performances the participant spoke about.
11 th November	I visited the cenotaph on following International armistice day.	I wrote about my experiences of place on a commonwealth public holiday.	I commented on the sounds, sights, emotions, memories, commemorative practices.

