

## Chapter 2

# International Civil Religious Pilgrimage: Gallipoli and Dialogical Remembrance

In this chapter I further the argument that global forces can work to re-enchant national identity by examining a new form of transnational commemoration, what I refer to as international civil religious pilgrimage. This pilgrimage rite, as will be explored within a case study of Australian travelers touring the WWI Gallipoli battlefields in Turkey, involves the act of visiting a site sacred within the history of the traveler's nation but which is located outside its sovereign territory. In classifying this ritual I adopt Bellah's (1967) notion of civil religion to refer to the quasi-religious character of enchanted nationalism, without assuming that this quality is either inherent or universal. Pilgrimage has often been used in considering the ritualistic aspects of contemporary travel, most commonly in differentiating tourist experiences from everyday social life (Cohen 1992). I refer to pilgrimage in a different manner, as a type of travel ritual that needs to be distinguished from the general act of travel and tourism. However, international civil religious pilgrimage in a significant way works to re-enchant national history by being shaped by the cultural logics of international travel and tourism, including its orientation to remember history in more engaging and pacifist ways. We begin exploring this pilgrimage rite by considering how pilgrimage generally promotes what in Bakhtin (1986) terms dialogical discourses.

### Pilgrimage and Dialogical Discourse

On 25 April 1915, the 'Anzacs'—an acronym for the all-volunteer Australian and New Zealand Army Corps—attacked the Gallipoli peninsula in Ottoman Turkey. Unlike many other national mythologies in Western nations this event resonates with younger generations and continues to act as a potent myth, with popular culture engagements with its history prompting new pilgrimage led official commemorations by the state. This chapter analyses the central role of the international travel

in this development and considers what this tells us about the role of transnational memorialisation and tourism in the re-enchantment of nationalism.

International civil religious pilgrimage is inclusive of a variety of ritual forms that involve both individual travel experiences and participation in formal ceremonies at a sacred site distant from one's homeland. As a ritual both types of experiences differ from the traditional modern ways of engaging with national history and encourage the formation of new collective memories of the past. As flagged in the previous chapter, the cultural anthropologist Victor Turner argued that pilgrimage has an inherent liminal quality (Turner 1974, 1979), referring to the ambiguous and fluid nature within times of ritual. This is distinctive from other collective rituals such as state sanctioned rites involving mass participation that social scientists are most familiar with analyzing. Turner argues that even when looking at institutional religion "... there is something inherently popularist, anarchical, even anticlerical, about pilgrimages in their very essence" (Turner and Turner 1978, p. 32). However, for the most part Turner sees pilgrimage promoting social integration through the emotional energy created by this ritual form. This involves a temporary suspension of dominant cultural codes and the sanctioning or celebration of what is normally considered deviant or lowly appreciated. In this way Turner's thesis reflects the Durkheimian idea of ritual reinforcing solidarity through social effervescence.

To appreciate the power of pilgrimage to re-enchant history we also need to give attention to one of Turner's other major insights into this ritual form, that it is influential in the actual shaping of collective memory. This principally occurs through the breaking down regional attachments and creating broader fields of identification. As pilgrimage involves actors being literally outside of everyday surrounds, exposed to a wide range of differing geographic, climatic and social conditions (Turner 1979, p. 132), pilgrimage has been thought to facilitate the forming and sustaining of transnational identities. For example, Turner notes that the Hajj to Mecca and Medina has served to support an idea of transnational Islam (1974, p. 174). Turner famously illustrates the power of this pilgrimage to challenge isolated nationalisms in the case of Malcolm X, whose experience of Mecca prompted a radical rethinking of his militant Afro-Americanism, widely thought to have been a contributing factor in his assassination. Consider his newly found cosmopolitan philosophies outlined in a letter written from Saudi Arabia following his participation in the Hajj on April 20, 1964.

You may be shocked by these words coming from me. But on this pilgrimage, what I have seen and experienced has forced me to *rearrange* much of my thought-patterns previously held and to *toss aside* some of my previous conclusions.... During the past eleven days here in the Muslim world, I have eaten from the same plate, drunk from the same glass, and slept in the same bed (or on the same rug)- while praying to the same *God*—with fellow Muslims, whose eyes were the bluest of blue, whose hair was the blondest of blond, and whose skin was the whitest of white. And in the words and in the actions and in the deeds of the "white" Muslims, I felt the same sincerity that I had felt among the black African Muslims of Nigeria, Sudan, and Ghana. We were *truly* all the same (brothers)- because their belief in one God had removed the "white" from their minds, the "white" from their behavior, and the "white" from their attitude (Malcolm 1966, p. 325).

In a similar vein various postcolonial theorists have for several decades been arguing that international travel is a key social force that heralds in a new era of global identifications (Kaplan 1996). Clifford, for example, has argued that travel is “a figure for different modes of dwelling and displacement, for trajectories and identities, for storytelling and theorizing in a postcolonial world of global contacts...” (Clifford 1989, p. 177). Deleuze and Guattari (1987) see travel as producing “deteritorialization”, where national attachments are weakened by knowledge of alternatives cultural values.

The role of pilgrimage in creating wider fields of identification can be acknowledged without assuming the demise of national consciousness. Postcolonial and other scholars rightly theorize travel as producing cultural anomalies that challenge insular parochial nationalism. They are wrong though to think that there is only one way that these can be resolved. As Mary Douglas (1966, p. 38) has pointed out in her analysis of the classification systems of culture, there are several possible responses. We can simply choose to ignore and not perceive them. A long tradition of tourism literature, for example, has noted how travellers exist in a kind of environmental bubble when experiencing foreign cultures (Greenblat and Gagnon 1983; Turner and Ash 1975, p. 130). Another option is to condemn or dismiss the opposing beliefs. Various theorists have highlighted how the age of exploration, and arguably much international travel since, was based on a perception of local cultures as being romantically barbaric and uncivilised. Oriental discourses in the West, for example, have marginalised Eastern societies as child-like and immature (Prakash 1995; Said 1978). However, the fall of communism and increased global engagement has significantly depleted the viability of such traditional responses to cultural difference. This has prompted Ulrich Beck and others to question how national solidarity can exist in a world ‘without enemies’ (Beck 1998, 2000). Rather than the West defining itself against a clearly defined Other, we see in tourism how many engagements with foreign culture have involved a complex search for authenticity by both guests and hosts involving various forms of cultural innovation, liminal and carnivereaque experiences and re-engagements with the local as part of a unprecedented global circulation of people, images and commodities (Edensor 1998, 2002; MacCannell 1976, 2001; Gotham 2005; Urry and Larsen 2012).

There is another option for confronting anomalies that does not so much involve ignoring or rejecting existing positions but incorporating it with others to create “a new pattern of reality” (Douglas 1966, p. 38). This is not nationhood being replaced by a revolutionary cosmopolitan citizenship (Beck 2009) but a reimagining of existing cultural beliefs and institutional practices. As Clifford Geertz (1973) notes, new cultural traditions, even those that make no reference to the past, typically draw on existing cultural resources and are an outcome of established cultural patterns. This is principally what occurs today within international civil religious pilgrimage. It involves travel challenging existing dominant understandings of the past. However, as this occurs within a ritual environment, new enchanted understandings emerge that incorporate the foreign context and in turn ritually sanction it. As Geertz explained in reference to early Indonesian participation of the Hajj: within pilgrimage actors believe they are seeing the world “through an undarkened glass” (Geertz

1968, p. 67). This is not to argue that pilgrimage involves a simply adoption of the Other but that within this ritual form the sacred itself becomes projected and interpreted in ways that account for different audiences.

The insights of Maurice Halbwachs (1941) on travel and the spatial dimensions of collective memory are helpful in thinking through the ways in which pilgrimage deconstructs and subsequently reconstructs national narratives. Halbwachs is widely thought of as the founder of collective memory studies. The majority of interest amongst North American and British scholars though has been on his book *Collective Memory* ([1951] 1980) and particularly his theories regarding temporal factors in the social construction of history. Much less attention has been given to his earlier *The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land* (1941) in which he also conceptualizes the role of spatial variables in the process of remembering the past. According to Halbwachs, the “group not only transforms the space into which it has been inserted, but also yields and adapts to its physical surroundings. It becomes enclosed within the framework it has built.” (1941, p. 130). For Halbwachs, space does not merely reflect memory but “place and group have each received the imprint of the other” (1980, p. 130).

Collective memory scholars have long recognized that collective memory utilizes immediate spatial environments that anchor meaning and provide contexts of remembrance (Barber 1972; Warner 1959). However, Halbwachs understood that there often simultaneously exists a greater distant and imaginary spatial focal point where memory and space have more combative relations. Halbwachs states that “we are acquainted with this place not because we have seen it but because we know that it exists and could be seen” (1941, p. 154). For Halbwachs, such is the importance of these distant places that he notes it may even “be difficult to evoke the event if we do not think about the place itself”, albeit often in a highly mystical way (1941, p. 154).

These sites are above and more powerful than local places of remembrance. Despite local shrines being the frequent sites of worship and remembrance, these distant foci endure for, just as with memory there is a tendency to sanctify origins (Elaide 1963; Shils 1975), the definite location of events have extraordinary significance (Halbwachs 1941, p. 222). From this perspective local, regional and national shrines are in many ways surrogates with the distant sacred acting as the broader point for projecting remembrance. Drawing on the case of the Holy Land of Palestine for Christianity, Halbwachs notes that knowledge of this place emerges from scripture, but importantly also through living witnesses, pilgrims to the hallowed ground, and through telling their accounts. As with other forms of commemorative ritual, we can hypothesize that greater emphasis will be put on these rites during particular periods of anomie. However, unlike rituals internal to the nation-state, the significance of pilgrimage is also determined by technological and geo-political forces that determine access to the sacred site.

What occurs to belief when such distant sacred sites are revealed to a new generation? According to Halbwachs, while space is generally dialectically consistent with memory in a restricted locale, when the sacred is located outside this zone it is more likely to establish itself as a context of difference and disorientation. The

traditional relationship between memory and space is problematized as the mythology and space onsite has developed under different social conditions, particularly when located abroad and in differing religious and cultural contexts. Halbwachs' analysis of the Crusades illustrates this social process. As the Crusaders had been spiritually close but geographically isolated from the Holy Land there existed a disjunction between the perceptions of the sacred formed from the community's collective memory and the Crusaders' corporeal experience of the sacred. The Crusaders' initial direct interaction with the hallowed ground was not simply awe inspiring but demystifying as they experienced Jerusalem in its contemporary social-spatial reality. Consider Halbwachs' description of the Crusaders and how distance from the sacred results in complex interactions when it is engaged with in a corporeal way.

For the Christian world, Jerusalem was the holy city par excellence ... But this image vastly differed from the actual city of the epoch, with which the Christians who lived there were familiar ... Time was at work here as elsewhere to erase more and more traces of the past. But when the Christians living in Europe talked of Jerusalem, they had quite different mental representations: a supernatural city where the majesty of the Son of God had never ceased to radiate; an external city where what had been the framework and the support of the events told in the Gospels was expected to be miraculously preserved. It seems that they never doubted for an instant that the city would appear to them just as it had appeared in the past ... What did they know of successive sieges that had left no stone unturned, of reconstructions, of changes in the direction of streets, in the situation and appearance of houses or districts? They knew very little of these matters (Halbwachs 1992, pp. 230–231).

The anomalous emotions of the Crusaders not only emerged from the disjunction between the mythologizing of place in pilgrims' collective memories and the act of witnessing but also from the social and environmental changes that had occurred there since such legends were established. The Crusaders attempted to resolve these anomalies by physically reconstructing Jerusalem not only to be consistent with historical accounts but also contemporary collective memories within Christendom. As Halbwachs describes, the Crusaders were:

...inspired whenever possible by the traditions that still remained in regard to Christian monuments, if not also by the traditions pertaining to evangelical facts that could still be invoked at the time of Constantine ... But they were not content with rebuilding the ruins in this manner. They instituted new localizations, guided no doubt by the Gospels, but also by apocryphal writings and legends that had circulated for some time in the Christian lands, and even by a kind of inspiration ... The Crusaders behaved as if this land and these stones recognized them, as if they had only to stoop down in order suddenly to hear voices that had remained silent ... (Halbwachs 1992, pp. 231–232).

I argue that today a somewhat similar process plays itself out through international civil religious pilgrimage. Travel experience of the distant sacred challenges established national collective memories. This in turn results in a transformation, and possible re-enchantment, of national history. Where it was the case that the Crusaders achieved resolution through military occupation and transformation of the built environment, today problematic collective memories for the pilgrim are more likely to be dealt with through the politics of dual historical consciousness. Following Bakhtin (1981, 1986) I refer to this as dialogical national remembering.

In the age of mass global travel collective memory narratives are increasingly impacted upon by Bakhtin's idea of the "dialogic" (Bakhtin 1981) involving an appreciation of the double-voicedness of discourse and social life. For Bakhtin "every word is directed toward an answer and cannot escape the profound influence of the answering word that it anticipates..." (1981, p. 280). "The word in language is half someone else's" (Bakhtin 1981, pp. 293). From this perspective the meaning of discourse needs to be understood not only from analysing its internal structure and context, what Bakhtin refers to as a monological approach, but that which it stands in relation to. In its broadest sense, Bakhtin views dialogism as a universal principal of language and social life. He argues that "[R]esponsive understanding is a fundamental force, one that participates in the formation of discourse" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 280).

Applying this dialogical perspective to collective memory, we gain an avenue through which to appreciate that the national mythologies of one country are not simply established through the actions of elites, internal pressures, or narrative constraints to reinterpret the past. In this vein it is important to recognise that nationalism itself is largely a product of global forces. As Liah Greenfeld's (1992) work on the history of nationalism points out, the spread of nationalism in the eighteenth century emerged in a global context where an English model that had arisen during the Tudor era was adopted and indigenised by other nations against a backdrop of international competition and military hostility. Benedict Anderson (1983) similarly points to the emergence of nationalism as a response to globalisation processes such as colonialism. For Anderson, nationalism initially arose not in Europe but the colonies where it was advanced by Western immigrants who came to abandon their cultural ties to the homeland and sought a new solidarity in the lands where they had originally migrated to in order to advance their economic capital.

Bakhtin also sees dialogicism as a historically and situational specific variable. This aspect of dialogism is best illustrated by Bakhtin's (1981) contrast of "dialogic" with "monologic" discourse and his division between poetic and novelistic genres. Bakhtin starts by noting that poetry, historically, has been the privileged form of literature. Its language was considered to be free and plural with the signifier and signified being most disconnected. By contrast, novels have negatively been thought of as highly ideological and determining, attempting to connect signifiers to "real" signifieds. Bakhtin argues quite the opposite, that poetry is "centripetal", containing a fixed "monologic" discourse that limits differences amongst languages. Poetry's self-referential character, what Bakhtin refers to as "autotelic", means it operates as if it were a "hermetic and self-sufficient whole", "it presumes nothing beyond the borders of its own context (except, of course, what can be found in the treasure-house of language itself)" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 671). The novel, by contrast, is "completely shot through with dialogized overtones" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 671). They are characterised by "centrifugal" dialogic relations and "heteroglossia" forces of multiple sign systems. According to Bakhtin, dialogism is not restricted to the literary forms but is also heavily evident in everyday speech. Here there are clear multiple voices and utterances inevitably taken into account by the listener. This not only relates to individuals but has a broader significance for international communication and relations.

The historically specific notion of the dialogic is significant is understanding both the foundational nature as well as future possibilities for national attachment. Various scholars have argued that the novel was an important medium in the development of nationalism by reducing the diversity of language and creating larger fields of fixity and belonging (Lewis 2000). For example, through the novel, Anderson (1983) argues, individuals imagined themselves belonging to a national community where its members could “never know or even hear of most other members, and yet ... conceive of themselves as co-members of the same over-riding important unit...” (Anderson 1983, p. 16). Given the historical connection between the nation and the novel it is tempting to suggest that the nation too has dialogical origins, and as such has been misunderstood as a closed system of identification. It is the contemporary dynamics of the nation though which is the focus of this study and where the situational definition of the dialogic is most significant in explaining how national history becomes re-encharmed under the conditions of postmodernity.

The analytic focus of the chapter is on the role of international travel in producing dialogical discourses, however, these have broader socio-political ramifications beyond the sphere of tourism. This includes altering official international relations and facilitating the reshaping of popular and official histories. In relation to Gallipoli, it is the argument of the chapter that the historical meanings promoted on the battlefields cannot simply be read in a structural manner in reflecting a contemporary ethos, but is the outcome of the way tourism empowers certain, and in many cases non-typical, individual social actors to provide powerful narrative understandings of the past. In the Gallipoli case study below, it is young Australians in their 20 s and 30 s, the first to travel to Gallipoli and who remain the most frequent visitor type, who have been most influential in influencing historical meaning. Today more older and mainstream Australian tourists visit Gallipoli. However, the original generational narratives endure and emanate from on the battlefields, a development that provides insights into the relationship between the established stages of global travel development and national collective memory. Before we can start to consider the experiences of these tourists, however, we need to look further back at the Gallipoli campaign itself as this provides much of the raw material for reimagining the campaign, helping to naturalise what I will argue is characteristic of a contemporary cosmopolitan remembering.

## **Gallipoli and the Tyranny of Distance**

The Gallipoli campaign holds an important place in the history of military strategy, being an ambitious but ultimately flawed Allied plan by Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, to take the Dardanelles Strait and create a vital supply line to embattled Russia, potentially breaking the stalemate on the Western Front. It began with an unsuccessful British led naval attack in March 1915, abandoned following the loss of several battleships to resistance. For Turkey this event is the traditional commemorative focus in remembering the Gallipoli campaign. It is the

subsequent Allied ground invasion involving a 35,000-strong Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (Anzac) to secure the Dardanelles that holds salience in the Australian national memory, the commemoration of which is the empirical focus of this chapter. The campaign failed to achieve its aim with the Anzacs evacuated after nine months being bogged down in trench warfare, never advancing more than a kilometre inland. Yet, there is a popular consensus that it is the most important historical moment for Australia, widely seen as providing a baptism of fire for the recently independent country. Ever since the battle ended it has been a core component of Australian national mythology, associated with a national character of courage, ingenuity and mateship. The anniversary of the landing on the 25th of April is Australia's state memorial day, Anzac Day, which is traditionally marked by veteran marches and services. Its significance is etched into the urban landscape with every town and city in Australia having an Anzac memorial, which as Bruce Kapferer notes, have acted as totems of Australia's civil religion (Kapferer 1988).

As with other national mythology in the West, the engagement with the Gallipoli/Anzac tradition has been effected by the postmodern incredulity toward grand narratives. In particular, far smaller crowds were seen at Anzac Day ceremonies throughout the 1980s as a consequence of the Vietnam War and peace movements. Unlike many other national mythologies, however, engagement with the Gallipoli battle unexpectedly turned around in the late 1990s, with significant growth in the numbers attending Anzac Day dawn services and veteran marches. In the capital city of Melbourne, for example, newspaper reports of Anzac Day crowds grew from approximately 25,000 spectators in 1989 to 50,000 in 1999. Davison (2003, p. 79) has estimated that the number of spectators at Anzac Day parades across Australia in 1984 was a mere 50,000 and national figures remained relatively low until 1995, when they reached about 200,000. Whereas Australian social commentators continue to be puzzled by this patriotic turn (McKay 2003a), typically looking for explanations in a supposed growth in political conservatism amongst youth, I argue that much of the newfound interest in Anzac flows from the emergence of international civil religious pilgrimage to Gallipoli.

The relevance of pilgrimage to the commemoration of Gallipoli though begins much earlier than the late twentieth century. This conception of pilgrimage was a core component of commemoration during and in the immediate aftermath of WWI. However, as we will see this has been important in facilitating the rapid rise of international civil religious pilgrimage in recent decades by providing material infrastructure for dialogical relations. Against the backdrop of the Allies policy on non-repatriation in WWI, Anzac soldiers surrounded by bloodshed were comforted with the belief that if they died national pilgrims in the future would come to pay homage. This sentiment is evident in the *Anzac Book*, a collection of writing and drawings by Australian soldiers at Gallipoli in the weeks before the evacuation (Bean 1916). For example, the soldier Hector Dinning wrote:

The day is far off (but it will come) when splendid mausoleums will be raised over these heroic dead. And one foresees the time when steamers will bear up the Aegean pilgrims come to honour at the resting places of friends and kindred, and to move over the charred battlefields of Turkey (Bean 1916, p. 21).



The notion of pilgrimage was also influential in the Allied memorialization of the battlefields at the end of WWI. Charles Bean, Australia's official war correspondent and later official national historian of WWI, was particularly influential in the planning of the cemeteries at Gallipoli, having travelled to Gallipoli in 1919 leading a team of Australians to report on the state of the graves and make recommendations concerning the establishment of memorials (Bean 1952, p. 12). In Bean's official report 'On Graves at Gallipoli and the Future of Anzac', cabled to the Australian Department of Defence on 13th March 1919, the first recommendation was that Anzac graves should not be located in a central cemetery but remain in their present locations, marking the battles of the campaign (Bean 1952, p. 385). As Bean notes, the whole Gallipoli area would become:

...one big graveyard, which would probably be visited by thousands of Australians and others yearly, and the dead, merely by being buried where they fell, or where their comrades had carried them, would commemorate their achievements ... (Bean 1952, pp. 327-8).

The Allied graves came to be marked by low rectangular slightly curved plaques measuring 2 ft, 8 in in height. Every headstone contains the emblem of the soldier's religion, typically a cross. These headstones differ to those erected in France by the United States where the headstone itself constitutes a cross. Aside from accounting for imperial religious diversity, it was decided that the rectangle headstones better represented the view that the Commonwealth soldier's principal identity was not religious but rather national, and one of Empire (Inglis 1998, p. 255). In addition the graves were marked with the soldier's rank, name, age at death, battalion or unit, badge of service, date of death and an inscription from the soldier's relatives. The family inscriptions are varied, defying any unified message, spanning nationalist, imperialist, personal and religious sentiments. Some samples of these inscriptions are provided below:

Died the way he wished, To die for his country  
 He died for righteousness and Empire, But as a soldier  
 Death divides but memories cling  
 He followed in his saviour's steps—nobly he lived, bravely he died

As one of the first civilians to visit the battlefields after the withdrawal, Bean's experiences there are instructive in understanding the consequences of later mass pilgrimage to the battlefields by Australians. While Bean had reported from the battlefield during the campaign, being a central figure in the initial mythologising of the heroic qualities of the Anzac soldier at Gallipoli, upon his return to Turkey he began to appreciate what occurred on the other side of the front line. Being able to roam and view the Australian trenches from the Turkish position gave him "a strange thrill" (Bean 1952, p. 50). Bean's unexpected meeting with a Turkish military official, Major Zeki Bey of the Ottoman General Staff, though provides us with insight into the dialogical relations which would make Gallipoli one of the most visited battlefields in Europe (Bean 1952, p. 327). Bean writes "I had never dreamt of being able to obtain information of the Turkish side from an authority with such experience" (Bean 1952, p. 126). Zeki Bey told Bean about Turkish military logistics but also of the heroism and honour of Turkish soldiers during the campaign.

Particularly prominent were the legendary stories he heard about Mustafa Kemal at Gallipoli, later to be known as Atatürk, the founding President and ‘father’ of modern Turkey (Bean 1952, p. 224). These accounts encouraged Bean’s sympathetic portrayal of Turkish foes in the *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914–18* (Bean 1924). This discourse helped address public concern and fear about the Turkish treatment of Allied graves in the two decades following WWI (Ziino 2006). Paradoxically, for many years it also allowed Turkey to be ambiguously absent from Australia’s remembrance consciousness, not easily cast as either a friend or foe (Fewster et al. 1985).

There were other Turkish accounts that Bean encountered which did not end up in his official history. Zeki Bey told Bean how the Turks were not expecting them to land at Ari Burnu due to the precipitous terrain (Bean 1952, p. 131). From the Turkish perspective the Anzac landing was relatively uninterrupted with only one of their battalions located in that area (Bean 1952, p. 131). Even following the news of the landings, only one other battalion from 19th Division was ordered to Ari Burnu, as the German and Turkish officials thought that the main landings would still be taking place at Gaba Tepe (Bean 1952, p. 352). This countered the perception in Australia at the time that after landing in the wrong location, the Anzacs overcame daunting odds under extraordinary heavy firing from Turks in superior firing positions.

With the Turkish War of Independence and then WWII, pilgrimage to Gallipoli became a largely neglected commemorated form. There were some visits to the battlefields by Australians in between the wars. The first in 1924 was by S.M. Bruce, the Australian Prime Minister and Gallipoli veteran, to check that the Turkish were respecting Allied graves and memorials (Bean 1952, p. 342). A few Australians did take part in a British pilgrimage in 1926 and 1929 (Lloyd 1998, p. 197). However, these exceptions aside the commemorative focus on Gallipoli by Australians has been of state sanctioned memorials and anniversary remembrances within the nation. These commemorative forms have tended to privilege a parochial and isolationist form of nationalism (Inglis 1987, 1999; Winter 1995). During this time Anzac mythology came to reinforce dominant Australian ideologies about frontier masculinity (Lake 1992; Connell 1995) and Eurocentric conceptions of citizenship (Castles et al. 1988; Curthoys 1999). Representative of such accounts Buchanan and James (1998) argue that the myth of Gallipoli is essentially conservative, masking “such issues as rape in war, the betrayal of our war-time ally East Timor, and the wars of ‘settlement’ on our soil when colonisation of the Aboriginal peoples of this country allowed for the original ‘forging of a nation’” (1998, p. 26). The problem with such a conception of nationalism is that it does not appreciate the possibility of ritual and collective memory reimagining national history in more global and cosmopolitan ways (West 2008a, 2008b). As outlined below the actual experiences of Australian tourists on the battlefields since 1990 and the accommodating of these by local tourist operators have had a significant effect on broader national understandings of Gallipoli and as a consequence national identity generally. However, unlike the postmodern conception of tourism and its consequences (see Chap. 1), the origins of tourism at Gallipoli are closely intertwined with actions of the state



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Re-enchanting Nationalisms

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