

# **International Civil Religious Pilgrimage and the Enchantment of National History in a Global Era**

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**Abstract.** Over recent decades the acceptance of many postmodern tropes within cultural sociology has provided a significant challenge to established theories of collective memory that assume through ritual the past is realigned with contemporary consciousness. Instead of a belief in the power of ritual to ultimately maintain modernist belief structures, cultural sociology has increasingly privileged an evolutionary conception of social change where a cosmopolitan internationalism replaces identification with the nation-state. Examining the rite of international civil religious pilgrimage, this paper considers the nexus between ritual and belief, arguing that it is possible for ritual, as an independent variable, to ‘recover’ an enchanted past from national history. This is predicated, however, on it being commemorated in liminal ritual forms that facilitate dialogical engagement with the Other and cosmopolitan re-interpretations of national history.

## **Postmodernity and history**

In recent years the growing scholarly popularity and acceptance of the postmodern thesis has provided a significant challenge to the established sociological theories of collective memory. For scholars such as Durkheim, Geertz and Shils, engagement with the past is conceived of as a universal social condition where history necessarily becomes relevant in light of contemporary cultural needs. These constructed histories, it is thought, are then enchanted through cyclical ritual emersion in social effervescence, providing a ‘model for’ society and a driving mechanism for action. From the postmodern perspective, however, these primordial connections between individuals, the nation and its past have been severed by societal trends such as the growth in global markets, the shift from production to consumption logics and the recognition and inclusion of other cultures. As a consequence we have witnessed an erosion of Western grand narratives, which postmodernists argue, has left contemporary social life constituted by isolated presents with only fragments of the past remaining in stylistic and depthless nostalgic representations.

Working between the established sociological and more recent postmodern literature, this paper contends that in contemporary Western nations neither is the past irreconcilably lost or automatically reconstructed to enchantment. The ‘recovery’ of an enchanted national past is rather predicated on it being commemorated in rituals that facilitate its alignment with contemporary consciousness. While ritual is not absent from collective memory scholarship, as will be examined later in the paper, classical as well as recent analysis has concentrated on its role in creating or undermining solidarity and sentiment, with debate focusing on the levels of consensus in the community required for these to occur. By contrast, the role of ritual in transforming mythology and what people believe has been ambiguously conceived. While ritual is generally thought to facilitate the process of collective memory its precise role within or independent of the broader process of collective memory is not clear. This paper will argue that contributing to this indifference has been an empirical research concentration on conventional modernist state based cyclical rites of mass

and simultaneous participation where there is a relatively close connection between belief and ritual. This is reinforced by a theoretical emphasis, following Durkheim, on the universals and commonalities of ritual forms rather than their distinctive functions and character.<sup>1</sup>

In outlining the centrality of ritual to the possibility of a re-enchantment of the national past, this article will explore the distinct logics of the contemporary leisure based mnemonic ritual of, what I term, international civil religious<sup>2</sup> pilgrimage. This is a visit of a site sacred to the actor's nation but which lies outside the sovereign territory of that nation-state. Drawing on Maurice Halbwachs' neglected work *La Topographie Légendaire des Evangiles (The Legendary Topography of the Gospels)*<sup>3</sup> and Victor Turner's various writings on religious pilgrimage<sup>4</sup> the principal characteristics of this rite are identified: a privileged embodied experience of the holy in a differing cultural and spatial context where institutional controls and cultural structures are weakened. While in various ways this ritual form provides a challenge to the traditional collective memories of nations, something postmodern and postcolonial literatures rightly identify, it will be argued that in a global era such liminal commemorative forms can often encourage cosmopolitan reinterpretations of the national past which in turn facilitates its enchantment.<sup>5</sup> In making this point I contend that national civil religion need not necessarily be in conflict with cosmopolitan sentiment, that particularist and international sympathies are not antithetical or exist in a zero-sum. Where national collective memory is typically thought to reflect and change in reference to the socio-political circumstances within a particular bounded nation state, it also has a strong narrative basis which allows it to exist and thrive in various dialogic ways with other national histories and collective memories. From this basis I demonstrate how within the rite of pilgrimage the principal qualities of postmodern culture and postmodern society can enhance, rather than oppress, a connection to the past for members of nation states, reactivating it as a source of guidance and identity in society.

To begin to understand the dynamics of international civil religious pilgrimage, and how certain postmodern forces can strengthen national sentiment, we must first appreciate the neglected spatial dimensions of collective memory. Following on from this the paper examines the centrality to and connections between international travel and nationalism, and their role in the growth of international civil religious pilgrimage. Finally these issues will be examined in a case study of the burgeoning activity of young Australian independent travelers, aged between 18 and 35, touring the WWI Gallipoli battlefields in Turkey. It will be argued that the battle of Gallipoli and its history of commemoration provides us with a strategic research site for understanding the origins, future growth and implications of international civil religious pilgrimage more broadly.

### **Collective Memory, Space and Travel**

Collective memory scholarship has an extensive and diverse history. The sociologist seen as the doyen of the field, and the scholar who coined the concept collective memory, is Maurice Halbwachs. A student of Durkheim's, his third book *La Memoire Collective (Collective Memory)*<sup>6</sup> provides a classical reference for contemporary collective memory studies, a key field within the increasingly popular perspective of cultural sociology.<sup>7</sup> In particular, his programmatic essays theorizing the relationship between "collective memory" and "historical memory" have been

highly influential to the constitution of the field. According to Halbwachs, in this dualism 'history' records and sequences the past into distinct eras where 'collective memory' provides the thread for the past to connect to our present cultural needs and organizational requirements.<sup>8</sup> In the context of the rapid social changes in industrial society it is believed to provide a basis to see continuity between past generations and our own, which for the nation-state creates mythologies of descent without the requirements for blood kinship.

Halbwachs' dualism of 'history' and 'memory' has also been used as the conceptual framework to distinguish between pre-modern and modern relations with the past. In this scenario societies of memory are believed to be essentially a pre-industrial phenomenon where the slow rate of social change results in an intimate interaction with the past. Eric Hobsbawm, for example, argues that such societies have a strong adherence to precedent which allows for gradual adaptation and change, thus always being tied to an organic socio-historical context.<sup>9</sup> In contrast, societies of history are a product of the industrial era where capitalist logics and rapid social change problematize the primordial relationship with the past. These societies are characterized by the 'acceleration of history' where even the relatively recent past seems lodged in a distant era. While this potentially makes history open to contestation, and a site of conflict between members of the nation, the same dynamics promote integration by allowing the past to transform in light of present concerns. In this context, it is argued that the past is recovered and enchanted through 'imaginary' connections and 'invented' histories.<sup>10</sup> The constitution of the past in societies of history is also countered by a strong state hegemony in official histories and commemorations.<sup>11</sup>

Empirical studies into collective memory have generally followed this dualism, accounting the transition of events from memory to national history or, in Halbwachs' original sense, from history to collective memory. Beginning with something sacred to the nation, research typically traces the variability and, at times, consistency of its meaning to the society. For example, in recent decades scholars have mapped national collective memory's interaction with internal pressures of broad social change,<sup>12</sup> conflict between center and periphery groups,<sup>13</sup> inheritance of cultural patterns,<sup>14</sup> the interest of elites<sup>15</sup> and even accidents and incompetence.<sup>16</sup> This work has concentrated on particular entrepreneurs, or the national community more broadly, recovering the past through such phenomena as history books,<sup>17</sup> national centennial and bicentennial celebrations,<sup>18</sup> and the building of public monuments and memorials.<sup>19</sup>

This tradition of collective memory scholarship, despite its vast scope and worth, has significant limitations for the understanding collective memory in an era of global travel and, in particular, our conceptualization of the dynamics of international civil religious pilgrimage. I do not refer here simply to the commonplace critique of sociological research's concentration on social phenomena within the bounded nation-state. In itself this does not devalue utilization of the established sociological paradigm, as it is quite possible that broadly conceived the dynamics of collective memory within the nation are the same trans-nationally. Rather, as is argued below, the focus specifically on the nation is representative of a broader and more significant limiting characteristic, the evolutionary principal in collective memory research and the associated privileging of the temporal aspect in collective memory over its spatial dimensions. The theoretical assumption of the memory/history nexus, as it is widely

conceived, is that the nation and its members are continuously in transitory periods to a more ambiguous and disconnected interaction with the past. For the sociological field of collective memory studies this is thought to prompt reinterpretations of the past, which are sanctified, but not actively formed, through ritual.

Postmodernists also privilege the temporal, seeing a clear trajectory away from intimate connections with the past. By contrast to the established collective memory paradigm, though, they argue that the social changes away from the origins of national histories are so great that it cannot be made relevant through reinterpretation and, as a consequence, a disjunction has been formed with the past as a source of identity and meaning in society. From this understanding postmodernists point to the irony of sociology, a product of enlightenment, being concerned with political transitions, state based power struggles and national commemorations during a period when globalisation, from their perspective, has made these of little relevance. A time when, as Jean-Francois Lyotard famously notes, the national historical narrative is “losing its functors, its great heroes, its great dangers, its great voyages, its great goal.”<sup>20</sup> Pierre Nora exemplifies this caricature, arguing that collective memory scholars’ concentration on educational contexts and official remembrances of the past is because these “are the rituals of a ritual-less society; fleeting incursions of the sacred into a disenchanted world; vestiges of parochial loyalties in a society that is busily effacing all parochialisms...”<sup>21</sup> This argument, of course, stands in contrast to the Durkheimian belief that the past’s constitutive narrative exists latently in such ritual structures, becoming activated when needed and most visible during times of heightened ‘social effervescence’.<sup>22</sup>

A multi-dimensional appreciation of the spatial dimension of collective memory provides a counterpoint to both the sociological and postmodern assumption that interactions with the past are linear and increasingly abstract. In privileging the spatial we are pressured to acknowledge the qualitatively different ways we interact with history and how these are shaped by external forces and the ritual structures they allow us. As will be explored below, the process of collective memory is not limited to the highly ‘imaginative’ search for a lost past in surrogate state based rituals. While the founding moments of nations are certainly of a distant age, it is still possible to ‘witness’ them through an embodied experience of historical place. Such interactions are of course no less ‘imaginary’ or necessarily provide a more accurate portrayal of the past, particularly in the present age of tourism and popularist ‘heritage’.<sup>23</sup> They do, however, often provide an intimate and extremely heightened connection to history, a social effervescence which encourages a belief amongst actors that they have witnessed the holy “through an undarkened glass.”<sup>24</sup> They thus encourage an engagement with history, but also with local understandings and social conditions which further reveals the ‘backstage’ to actors. It will be argued that this is particularly the case in societies where sites of national sacred events are located abroad and where, through geographic periphery, members of the nation have traditionally only interacted with them through surrogate rituals and shrines.

### **The Foreign Country and the Past**

To begin our discussion of the interrelation of time and space as they relate to the corporeal experience of national sacred ground abroad, and the interpretation of history in an era of global travel, I draw on L.P. Hartley’s phrase “the past is a foreign country” which begins the novel *The Go-between*.<sup>25</sup> For Hartley the past is a foreign

country because “they do things differently there.”<sup>26</sup> *The Past is a Foreign Country* is often cited in discussions of the past and is also the title of David Lowenthal’s often read book on collective memory.<sup>27</sup> While this source to the casual observer would seem useful for the purposes of this paper, like the majority of works on collective memory, it has little directly to say about the relationship between the past and the foreign country or between travel in space and travel into the collective memory. Hartley’s phrase, however, is helpful in initially thinking through how travel might impact upon collective memory. In giving prominence to its spatial analogy we can think of the past, and thus history in Halbwachs sense, establishing itself spatially as a context of difference and disorientation. Where spatial domains of history within the nation are normally commemorated in a way making them consistent with the dominant interpretation of the past, the foreign country is more likely to be inconsistent, working against and restricting a nation’s collective memory as the spatial and commemorative context exists and has been developed under different social and cultural traditions.<sup>28</sup> Yet as we will see below, this is not to suggest that the foreign country is not functional for enchanting connections between individuals and the national past in the contemporary age.

As noted earlier, the theoretical templates I draw on for understanding this process, and its implications for the nation-state, are Maurice Halbwachs’ *La Topographie Legendaire Des Evangiles en Saint-Terre* (*The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land*) and Victor Turner’s writings on religious pilgrimage. I begin by examining a neglected dimension of Halbwachs’ scholarship on collective memory, the influence of physical settings and access to the distant sacred as a consequence of changing geopolitical conditions. While Halbwachs, the doyen of collective memory studies, is highly cited in the field, the focus has been on his book *La Memoire Collective* (*Collective Memory*).<sup>29</sup> Much less attention has been given to his earlier works, the most notable being his two major manuscripts *Les Cades Sociaux de la Memorie* (*The Social Frames of Memory*)<sup>30</sup> and *La Topographie Legendaire Des Evangiles en Saint-Terre* (*The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land*). In the latter Halbwachs outlines the ways in which space is an inherent component of collective memory. 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.”<sup>31</sup> For Halbwachs, space does not merely reflect memory but “place and group have each received the imprint of the other.” Space thus is a more enduring reality than memory, it attenuates its functioning and in so doing promotes tradition in Shils’ sense as “persistence within change”.<sup>32</sup>

While it has long been recognized that collective memory utilizes immediate spatial environments that anchor meaning and provide contexts of remembrance, 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.”<sup>33</sup> Drawing on the case of the Holy Land of Palestine for Christianity, he notes that knowledge of this place emerges from scripture, but importantly also through living witnesses, pilgrims to the hallowed ground, and their telling accounts. 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.<sup>34</sup> These sites are

above and more powerful than local places of remembrance. Despite regional authorities encouraging worship at and focus on local and controlled shrines and sites, these distant foci endure for, just as with memory there is a tendency to sanctify origins,<sup>35</sup> the definite location of events have extraordinary significance.<sup>36</sup> From this perspective local, regional and national shrines are often surrogates with the distant sacred a context for projecting remembrance, as will be explored later in the paper.

International civil religious pilgrimage is an exception to this traditional commemorative context though it is conditional upon particular socio-political conditions. Yet, if Halbwachs is correct that accounts of witnessing such sacred places is a central component of upholding the belief in its existence, then we can also think of visits there as a universal and latent ritual form. Just as memory needs to be periodically sanctified through community ritual, so too could we hypothesize that societies at times desire for its members to re-establish direct contact to the primary sacred ground. For example, contact may be positively sanctioned, as I will argue is the case with Gallipoli, as one generation of witnesses passes away and the community is in need of spiritual enrichment. The act of bearing witness though not only re-establishes ties, but it effects collective memory through re-interpretation of the holy. Less than is the case within the nation this reworking of the past is 'not done in conditions of our own choosing'.

What occurs to belief when distant sacred sites are revealed to a new generation? According to Halbwachs, where 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.

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. The local inhabitants knew how difficult it was to save buildings, churches, and chapels from the devastations that had ruined so many quarters and houses of the city. 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.<sup>37</sup>

Halbwachs highlights the complexity of how travel to a highly imagined sacred place creates a dilemma for the pilgrim. At once they are empowered as well as disfranchised by the holy. This anomalous feeling emerges from two principal sources. First, it develops from the disjunction between the mythologizing of place in the pilgrims' collective memory, reflecting the needs and logic of their community, and actual embodied experience. Second, from environmental changes that have occurred since such legends were established. Far from being dysfunctional these factors can be understood as a catalyst for reinterpreting mythology and transforming space with pilgrims seeking to resolve the anomalies posed during this heightened time of raw contact with the sacred, opening up history for significant reinterpretation and perhaps enchantment. In the case of the Crusades this prompted a reconstruction of Jerusalem. 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...<sup>38</sup>

The possibilities of resolving such anomalies in the contemporary world will be discussed later in the paper.

Palestine provides a further insight into the interactions between the distant sacred and pilgrimage, this time in the work of the cultural anthropologist Victor Turner. As Turner outlines in his extensive mapping of institutional religious pilgrimage systems, distant pilgrimage exists under particular social-geographic conditions and commands and promotes different forms of social controls. The cutting off of distant pilgrimage by Western Christians to Palestine in the middle ages, for example, saw the emergence of local shrines, often associated with the 'cult of the saints', and the flourishing of corruption in the Catholic church.

[S]pecific historical factors expedited pilgrimage saturation. When Islam closed off the holy places of Palestine to almost all Christian pilgrims... the center of gravity of Christendom shifted to France, Germany, and northern Europe.... The result was... many shrines were founded, in many linguistic and cultural regions, as though to compensate for the lost compact shrine cluster in Palestine... This multiplication of shrines in Europe in time became subject to great abuses – competition among shrines for pilgrims and relics, the multiplications of relics to the point of absurdity, the growth of an indifferent attitude toward holy doctrines, and so forth.<sup>39</sup>

While noting how regional or low-level pilgrimage systems work to strengthen local institutional authorities, Turner contends that traditionally pilgrimage does not occur in local or central places, with part of the spirituality of the sacred site being that its location is on the periphery of societies, removed from the more mundane everyday forces and objects. As Mary Douglas reminds us, the root of holiness literally means to 'set apart'.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, it is distance that establishes pilgrimage as essentially different to other forms of ritual, and according to Turner accounts for its various liminal characteristics. Like Halbwachs, Turner emphasized the radical character of pilgrimage, arguing that "... there is something inveterately popularist, anarchical,

even anticlerical, about pilgrimages in their very essence.”<sup>41</sup> For Turner, though, pilgrimages are functional for institutional religions as they promote intensely emotional threshold experiences that are removed from the structure and institutional power of mundane society. They help to challenge local and regional affiliations, working to create and sustain broader fields of meaning.

In comparison to other rituals, pilgrimages typically have a voluntary and individualistic nature that allows for personal motivation in their commencement. Turner notes that while obligation is stressed in many pilgrimage systems, such as the Hajj, many categories of people are exempt from this duty and dispensations can be granted on grounds of insecurity of the pilgrimage route, illness, and lack of money to care for your family while away.<sup>42</sup> Due to their voluntary nature, pilgrimages are typically not institutionally organized. In fact Victor and Edith Turner argue that voluntarism is the principal reason why the orthodox of most institutional religions have always been ambivalent towards pilgrimage.<sup>43</sup>

Distance and the weakening of institutional controls also allow for a closer and more personal contact with the sacred. This differs from orthodox rituals where the sacred is only experienced either through or under the guidance of the institutional or religious hierarchy. In these cases the elite not only regulate access to the sacred but reinforce authority by their proximity to it. In contrast, Turner states that pilgrimage is not only to be directly in the presence of the holy object, it frequently is to touch it, walk around it and perhaps take a relic home. Without such institutional controls the pilgrims to distant shrines are more likely to be able to go ‘backstage’, achieving a sense that they have experienced the sacred in its entirety. The pilgrim feels that they are attaining an experience that is pure, raw and anti-structured.

Pilgrimage, however, is not simply a ritual of release that allows actors temporary access to a normally protected sacred. As it is for Halbwachs, Turner conceives of it as an experience above that typically offered at home by the institutional authority. In traveling to these sacred sites the pilgrim is participating in a ritual that not all members of their society, even high status ones, have partaken in or fulfilled recently. It is from this Turner argues that the pilgrim experiences status elevation upon their return home. While it is a ritual which would seem to privilege elites who can afford to travel, Turner in various historical contexts demonstrates its egalitarian character. While wealth allows greater opportunity to undertake distant pilgrimages, and relieve the burdens of travel, elites are also discouraged as a consequence of their ties and commitment to home.<sup>44</sup>

What relevance does Turner’s analysis have for understanding international civil religious pilgrimage and the possible renewal of national history in the contemporary age? While we obviously take away insights into the embodied experience of the sacred and the constitution and character of pilgrimage systems, from the established literature on the nation it would seem difficult at first to see how the disorientating function of pilgrimage could be functional for civil religion and the nation. Institutional religious pilgrimage magnifies and enriches spirit by breaking down local and national traditions and through interaction with the sacred and the Other, heightening its universal and spiritual character, reminding the pilgrim that they belong to a larger whole. While civil religion has a sacred basis and religious character, membership is still thought to rely on the strict maintenance of and



attachment to territory in one nation-state.<sup>45</sup> The ideology of nationalism is overwhelmingly understood as being reliant on a system of borders and a belief in the distinctiveness of 'race' and territory, something which globalizing forces such as international travel are believed to undermine.

There are questions though over the extent to which we should consider the nation as an insular social grouping. Liah Greenfeld, for example, in her comparative and historical work on nationalism demonstrates the significant problems in thinking about the rise and constitution of nations in isolation. According to Greenfeld nationalism, largely based on a template from England during the Tudor era, spread internationally through coping, competition and resentment.<sup>46</sup> More recently the assumption that particularist and cosmopolitan views are necessarily antithetical has also been criticized with calls for cosmopolitanism to be understood as embedded in structural conditions defined by citizenship and the nation-state.<sup>47</sup>

As will be explored later in the paper, in the case of young independent travelers at Gallipoli we find something similar to what occurs in religious pilgrimage with the establishment of new discourses and larger identities. This however occurs simultaneously with a reinvigoration of national commitment. In the case of Gallipoli this occurs for an educated and critical Generation 'X' that we have associated with disillusionment and anti-nationalism.<sup>48</sup> As we will explore in the final section of the paper this dynamic forces us to appreciate the narrative and dialogic dimensions of national collective memory. For its many functional and dysfunctional similarities international civil religious pilgrimage is not simply religious pilgrimage in a contemporary guise but rather has emerged as a consequence of and is framed within the historical and contemporary social conditions of the nation, specifically the rise of global travel and tourism in the twentieth century. The next section of the paper considers this context for prompting embodied experiences of the sacred and its role in the portrayal and appreciation of the Other.

### **International Civil Religious Pilgrimage and the Travel Revolutions**

In this article so far I have suggested that by privileging the power of ritual it is possible for national historical narratives to provide guidance and meaning in the contemporary (postmodern) world. For the past to manifest itself in relevant and enchanting ways, however, it must move outside the traditional state based forms in which history lingers. One such ritual of enchantment is travel experience of sacred ground abroad or what is referred to here as international civil religious pilgrimage. Its expansion in recent decades is in large part due to the intersection of two travel revolutions in the twentieth century. While international civil religious pilgrimage takes a number of forms, and of course can focus on any site that is sacred to the nation, as we will see below, in many cases it focuses directly on the first form of mass international travel, the emergence of total war or citizen warfare early in the century, exemplified by the world wars. Unlike previous military engagements these were unparalleled in international participation and deployment, death tolls, the number of nations involved, and the infiltration of militarism within civil society. Where before the eighteenth century, wars in the West had largely been fought by mercenaries on behalf of elites, in the age of democratic nationalism sacrifice became associated with patriotic duty and the logics of egalitarianism and nationalism. Where international travel had previously been restricted to an elite, total war had provided the first instance of a relatively democratic global travel. In doing so it sanctified the

ground where blood was spilt and policies of non-repatriation created a void in the traditional link between the “living and the dead.” This was no more the case than for young nations such as Australia that were not born out of civil war and before the onset of total war had not yet, but were eager to, prove themselves in a ‘baptism of fire’ on the world stage.

Following WWII, increased social-political stability and advances in travel and communication technology, largely consequences from the war years, saw the second travel revolution of the twentieth century, the emergence of global tourism. Based around leisure and business needs, the tourism industry experienced exponential growth with international stay-overs increasing more than 24 times between 1950 and 1998, from 25 million to 635 million.<sup>49</sup> International tourism receipts increased approximately 200 times over the same period, from US\$2.1 billion to US\$447 billion. With the development of international tourism we also saw its dispersion from the metropole to the periphery. For example, until the 1970s more developed countries accounted for over 90% of international stay-over arrivals. This had steadily declined to 73.5% in 1998, with lower developed countries having an 85-fold increase in their stay-over arrivals between 1950 and 1998, from 2 to 168 million.<sup>50</sup> It is this increased global travel and movement to regions and countries previously closed to tourism, but in many cases not to total war or colonialism, that is accounting for the development of many of the new sites of international civil religious pilgrimage and, I would argue, the most consequential developments in national remembrance rites.

While international travel has attracted little collective memory scholarship, it has been an important site for postmodern and postcolonial literatures and the established critical perspective in tourism studies. A brief review of this work helps us to explore the connections between international civil religious pilgrimage and global travel and tourism. From the postmodern perspective international travel is a key process through which actors transgress and erode boundaries, problematizing and disabling national identity.<sup>51</sup> Along with other globalizing forces, travel is understood as a crucial dynamic that develops alternate and hybrid identities that transcend the nation-state, and as a consequence are believed to undermine patriotic narratives of history. As Clifford argues, 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...”<sup>52</sup> According to Bauman, tourist experiences are similarly deconstructing, with tourists wandering with little purpose or motivation other than to attain freedom and avoid commitment, transforming home into a “mix of shelter and prison,” a transitory place to recharge batteries before the next journey.<sup>53</sup>

In comparison, the critical perspective sees international travel firmly within the organized tourist industry where international travelers cocoon themselves from new experiences and cultures. Their experience of the foreign is believed to be limited to experiences of “staged authenticity” which acts to reinforce their previously held national stereotypes of places and peoples.<sup>54</sup> On the few occasions during their visit where travelers are removed from their ‘environmental bubble’ the local culture will be rejected as uncivilized or dismissed as exotic. International tourism is thus thought to be an “[E]scape from uniformity and complexity in search of the exotic and the simple... directed towards other cultures in so far as they are seen to be more *primitive* than the home culture...”<sup>55</sup> From this perspective, travel is governed by a kind of pleasure principle where the traveler will only seek out and accept the

elements of the foreign culture that fit agreeably within their previously held worldview. While experiencing difference is a major part of international travel, according to the critical perspective, “for many people the crucial element... is that it should not threaten, or allow them to feel uncomfortably deprived of the comforts of home.”<sup>56</sup>

The failing of the critical perspective on international tourism is that it has concentrated on hedonistic travel experiences of cultures and places alien to guests’ national history and identity where the actor is passive. In defining tourism purely in terms of a search for simplicity this literature also ignores recent trends in global tourism. It stereotypes international tourists as members of the old middle class whose economic capital permits travel overseas, but whose cultural capital does not afford them the ‘correct’ appreciation of it. Research increasingly indicates, however, that the majority of international travels, particularly to the periphery, are now from the educated new middle class who is dramatically less inclined to want to participate in holidays marketed towards the ‘mass’.<sup>57</sup> They rather regularly seek trips and adventures where boundaries between tourism and seemingly ‘everyday’ regularized activities such as education have become ‘fuzzy’. Rather than being docile bodies, ‘new tourists’ seek embodied sensual experiences where they engage with the ‘foreign’ environment and culture. Within a context where Western grand narratives have lost much of their transcendental qualities, many travelers use travel to seek authenticity through a personal and intimate experience of a foreign culture.<sup>58</sup> As we will see, while anti-patriotic forces may encourage international travel, engagement with the Other while abroad can to re-new appreciation and engagement with the nation.

In contrast to the critical perspective, postmodern and postcolonial literature on global travel privileges the traveler’s engagement with the foreign culture. It has though other failings. Principally, it assumes that the creation of trans-national identities will inevitably and automatically result in the erosion of patriotic sentiment. The research findings that support this thesis are, however, focused on travel by figures on the fringe of society, such as the intellectual, the immigrant and the nomad, who are predisposed to dual consciousness and highly receptive of foreign culture.<sup>59</sup> This emphasis locates the postcolonial and postmodern literature on international travel firmly within the cosmopolitan tradition that has long predicted and longed for a universal moral community based on some form of world citizenship. Drawing on the philosophy of Kant, this cosmopolitan doctrine argues that national attachments need to be abandoned and replaced by a more natural state where allegiance is pledged to the worldwide community of humanity. Nationalism and cosmopolitanism from this perspective exist in a zero-sum-game where one can only advance to the detriment of the other, something I demonstrate is not the case.

Whether from the postmodern, postcolonial or critical perspective, scholarship on international travel and tourism has focussed on the interaction with the foreign. Global tourism, however, is not limited to experiences of cultures and places alien to the guest’s national history and identity. Frequently it also becomes an avenue where the traveler attains access to sites that are part of and, at times, sacred to their own national culture and history. This is not to suggest that these are always actively sought out. As we will see in the examination of the WWI Gallipoli battlefields, it is something largely encountered as a consequence of a broader travel itinerary. In either

case the traveler witnesses the projection and interpretation of their culture by Others. Within the new tourist aesthetic this occurs at a time when the actor is most receptive to foreign culture. It is within this context that I examine contemporary international civil religious pilgrimage and the workings of national collective memory in a global age. I am not considering the fate of national collective memory by examining mere contact with the Other, but in a 'battlefield' where nationalist and cosmopolitan sentiments come into direct contact.

There are numerous cases that illustrate the increase in travelers visiting sacred war ground abroad. Since the 1970s individual as well as group pilgrimages to foreign battlefields and war cemeteries have substantially grown. One indicator of this is the number of personal enquires to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission which manages Commonwealth cemeteries around the world. In the mid 1960s they totaled less than 1500 per annum.<sup>60</sup> Twenty-five years later they had increased twenty fold with 4,500 in 1970, 8,000 in 1980 and 28,000 in 1990.<sup>61</sup> In recent decades tourism has also begun to develop around sacred sites in countries previously closed to travel. While Gettysburg and other American civil war sites have long been significant domestic tourist attractions, with the opening of Vietnam to trade and tourism, increasing numbers of Americans, and members from other participant countries, including veterans, are touring 'American War' tourism sites such as the Cu Chi tunnels and De-militarized Zone.<sup>62</sup> School trips also are more frequently visiting national sacred sites abroad. For example over 100,000 Israeli school children participated in government sponsored youth missions to the ruins of the Shoah in Poland between its inception in 1988 and 1990.<sup>63</sup>

With Australia's commemoration of the WWI battle of Gallipoli we have also seen how sacred sites abroad can become centers for once home bound memorial day rites. Beginning in 1990 growing numbers of Australians and New Zealanders, including their prime ministers and military dignitaries, have been attending Anzac (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) Day services on the Gallipoli battlefields in Turkey. On special anniversaries these have also attracted a live television audience in Australia, with the onsite dawn service being viewed mid-morning. In 1996 these memorial services attracted 4000 visitors.<sup>64</sup> For the 85<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the battle in the year 2000 there were reported to be between 10,000 and 15,000 Australians and New Zealanders in attendance.<sup>65</sup> As will be explored below, an even greater number of travelers, the majority being young Australian travelers, visit the battlefields outside of this commemorative date, the focus and sample in the below case study.

### **Backpackers at Gallipoli: A Case Study**

In Britain, Europe and Australasia young independent budget travelers are most commonly referred to as backpackers. They have a preference for extended trips that are frequently supplemented by paid work while overseas. Much like the travel of British and American youths in the grand tour of Europe between in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, backpacking is as much a rite of passage to a worldly identity and a source of cultural capital as it is a form of escape. We do not typically associate either independent travel or Generation X with patriotic rituals. Yet in the case of the WWI Gallipoli battlefields in Turkey, it was Australian backpackers who first started visiting them *en masse* in the early 1990s and continue to constitute the vast majority of visitors, being the first generation to see the battlefields since the Australian soldiers evacuated in November 1915 following nine months of trench warfare. From

Turkish government reports on tourism in the area we can estimate that more than 15,000 Australians tour the battlefield annually outside of the annual memorial Anzac Day, the vast majority being backpackers being between the ages of 18 and 35. Drawing on a variety of data, including field interviews and participant observation between 1998 and 2002, I will explore the meanings these participants take away from their tour of the battlefields and the effect this burgeoning ritual of international civil religious pilgrimage has on established meanings of Gallipoli. While I do not argue that either the Gallipoli campaign or subsequent travel and interpretations of the battlefields are typical or representative of international civil religious pilgrimage, the case of backpackers at Gallipoli, as outlined below, is illustrative of broader changes in tourism and the recognition of the Other in historical narratives. Gallipoli also has a unique commemorative history involving of anti-authoritarian narratives and isolation from former foes which makes it strategic for thinking about the variety of national metanarratives and their role in the future of the nation-state in the postmodern world.

Where Australian social commentators and politicians puzzle over the reasons why increasing numbers of their youth are visiting Gallipoli, it becomes clearer if we understand that their motivations are little, if anything, to do with any generational shift of increasing patriotism. It is likely that they are visiting as part of a larger itinerary or in many cases only decided to visit Gallipoli, or in some cases realized Gallipoli was located in Turkey, once they were there or started to plan their trip. Importantly the majority of those who did deliberately plan a visit to Gallipoli, as part of their 'grand tour', did so following the advice and on the basis of stories told by their friends and fellow Australian backpackers. In contrast to the ideal of the pious religious pilgrimage, for Australian backpackers their visit to Gallipoli is more likely to emerge as a consequence of traveling through Turkey on their way to or back from one of the Greek Islands or visiting the cultural sites of Istanbul or the ruins of Ephesus.

Turkey as a country is an attractive place to visit and then you are there and you suddenly realize, Oh I'm only a couple of hundred kilometers away from Gallipoli and that's when you start, that's when I started thinking of coming to Gallipoli.

*(Nick, Age: 28, Management Consultant)*

We wanted to go to Turkey for a number of reasons. First of all my wife teaches a lot of Turkish adults, teaches them English, and they talked about how nice Turkey was and people I work with said Turkey was fantastic. So because of that and because it was cheap and we are going overseas for six months so we needed to go to some cheap places as well. So not specifically for Gallipoli but we thought it was something that we would definitely do while we are here.

*(John, Age: 31, Postgraduate University Student)*

Yeah, everyone says, oh, you've got to go to Gallipoli. Gallipoli, it is a big pilgrimage really isn't it. Yeah and you're in the country so you might as well pop up and have a look.

*(Angie, Age: 25, News Camera Operator)*

Despite the less than devout motivations for travel to Gallipoli the tour of the battlefields overwhelmingly results in a significantly enhanced connection with the Gallipoli legend and, as a result, a renewed sense of being Australian. As introductory illustration of this consider some self-reports of the messages backpackers wrote in the Visitors Book at the Lone Pine Memorial.

I wrote: I can feel them walk with me as we tread in the footsteps of the past. Their spirit reunites and ignites the Australian passion. A magnificent place.  
(Narelle, Age: 25, Primary School Teacher)

I wrote: Thank you, God bless, I shall always remember what you have given up for the future generation.  
(Susan, Age: 26, Registered Nurse)

Where Gallipoli may have formed a minor part of a larger travel itinerary, following the tour it takes on major subjective proportions.

I almost felt last night that if I had only come to Turkey for that one reason, or if I had only come to this side of Europe for that one reason, it would have been worth it. It's that special.  
(Lizzy, Age: 35, Receptionist)

How do we explain these transformations? Following Maurice Halbwachs and Victor Turner we can understand that unlike the traditional national rituals which would typically commemorate such events, the Gallipoli pilgrimage in most part is not a result of social gathering and common action but derives from its participants being able to locate the Anzac legend in geographic place. In a literal as well as metaphoric sense, the Gallipoli mythology is grounded for Australian pilgrims. This is evidenced with frequently the most emotional places being those areas of the battlefield most well known in Australian collective memory: Anzac Cove, The Nek, Lone Pine and the Anzac trenches.<sup>66</sup>

I must admit walking over that, Ali told us the grassed area there of the Nek, in front of the trenches was where they fell and we were over one side and he said the grass is where they fell and when I walked past the grass, the hairs on the back of my neck stood up. It was really, probably the most emotional part of the day for me was that and being in those trenches where they jumped out.  
(Bernie, Age: 31, Electrician)

The natural surrounds and cemeteries marking renowned Australian battles promote heightened emotional states. Here the backpackers feel they are receiving a privileged memorial viewing of the Gallipoli legend, something that was denied to the majority of grieving relatives at the end of WWI, and still only seen by a small percentage of their elders. Unlike the Anzac memorials in Australia that had to serve as substitutes for individual soldiers' graves<sup>67</sup> or the later established unknown Australian soldier memorial,<sup>68</sup> the rows of engraved headstones enhance the portrayal of the soldiers as individuals. The numerous headstones with a diversity of names, ages and messages from relatives make them less removed figures for the backpackers. In contrast to the aged Gallipoli veterans who until recently formed the central part of Anzac commemorations, the dead at Gallipoli are frozen in time. There are details to greatly enhance empathy and project image, with backpackers drawing similarities between the characteristics of the soldiers and their own lives. This is particularly the case with graves of young soldiers.

I felt emotional at Lone Pine because we were reading the memorial plaques, things like that. Because they are really personal messages. These aren't just soldiers they were brothers of, you know brothers and sisters and they had sons and I think that makes you

go: Oh these are real people, they are not just numbers.  
(Angie, Age: 25, News Camera Operator)

I do miss home and I think that's partly, that's the thing that got me today as well, so many Australian, young Australian blokes and women who died here and they are not even, they never, they never got back home. So far away, even their remains are here and that sense of distance and loss is just huge. I mean I feel it when I am homesick about being so far away... I mean if I died somewhere overseas, not that it's likely, but if I did I would really hope that my remains could at least go back from where they came from.  
(Sarah, Age: 28, Registered Nurse)

The above quotes not only evidence the fostering of generational connections through pilgrimage but also the ability of relatively ordinary historical figures to be seen as national heroes. Current approaches to collective memory have highlighted its role either in democratizing and modernizing the 'great men' of history<sup>69</sup> or how re-interpretations have undermined Enlightenment's grand narratives. These models though frequently do not easily fit with national heroic narratives born in the twentieth century which are to a greater degree based in the modern logics of egalitarianism and anti-authoritarianism than those in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This more anomalous mythology certainly contributes to establishing a greater resonance in contemporary society, and as we will see, alternative interpretations and a basis for incorporating the Turkish perspective into Australia's collective memory.<sup>70</sup> It also suggests that distinctions should be drawn between national 'grand narratives' of the Enlightenment and metanarratives, which I argue can still provide answers to questions over the origins and role of the nation.

The locating of the Gallipoli legend in place provides Australian pilgrims with greater appreciation of its status. The backpackers believe they have seen Gallipoli in its pure state, in Geertz' words, "through undarkened glass."<sup>71</sup> The embodied experience and direct contact with the sacred has brought a 'reality' to Gallipoli for backpackers that was absent from either their active or passive participation in larger, distant, and more 'imaginary' Anzac rituals in Australia.<sup>72</sup>

It's made it, it's made it more real. It's now like a place and there are people and you know families that were affected and things like that. It's not just a ceremony anymore and a day in April sort of thing.  
(Jacky, Age: 26, Accountant).

In all these ways international civil religious pilgrimage promotes a general shift to a more active mental commemoration with Gallipoli amongst a generation in Australia that were generally ambiguous to its traditional state-based and veteran-dominated commemorative form. The experience is likely to be enduring for them and have a wider impact on other Australians. School teachers in the interview sample, for example, committed themselves to telling their students of the experience next Anzac Day. For those who had previously participated in attending Anzac Day services there was frequently a renewed dedication to attend these rites. In the majority of cases, though, the outcome of this experience lies in telling others of their experience and thinking back to what they learnt here when Gallipoli is mentioned either on Anzac Day or in general public discourse.

And even going as so far as back teaching again. The passion you have got now is much greater and I think I could portray information better now than I could before.

*(Helen, Age: 25, Primary School Teacher)*

Before [visiting Gallipoli for the first time] I never really participated [in Anzac Days] and I must admit since I have never really participated, but visiting it has changed the way I think about Anzac Day and the Anzac spirit. In a sense I think it has actually changed my life in a certain sort of way. Not that I have had a major revelation or anything but just seeing it and understanding it just adds something to I guess your character and to the way you identify with Australia and its history...I found myself remembering it more often. As the news came up when the last digger died I could see myself recalling back, basically every time you hear reference to Anzac or Gallipoli you think back to the time you did the tour and visited. It's something that just doesn't come about on Anzac Day, it just happens much more frequently now.

*(Mark, Age: 27, Public Servant)*

On what beliefs and realities, however, does this reactivation of the past rest? The Anzac spirit these backpackers refer to is not simply that of traditional Australian mythology or one mirroring their generational worldview or Australia's current socio-political climate. Rather it is principally a result of the ritual of pilgrimage which through the spatial domain of collective memory promotes a discourse between competing narratives of the sacred. In the case of the Gallipoli pilgrimage this is between the constitutive narrative of Gallipoli and both the corporeal experience of Gallipoli and Turkey and the Turkish portrayal and interpretation of the battle and their culture. To use the literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin's interpretive framework, this new Anzac legend developed within the battlefield pilgrimage is one of 'dialogic' relations. While Bakhtin has a number of meanings for the dialogic, at the heart of its schema is an appreciation for 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..."<sup>73</sup> "The word in language is half someone else's."<sup>74</sup> As he notes in *The Problem of Speech Genres*, discourse anticipates and attempts to act in accordance with an expected response: "I parry objections that I foresee, I make all kinds of provisos."<sup>75</sup> This approach differs from the structural approach which examines texts "as if they were a hermetic and self-sufficient whole, whose elements constitute a closed system presuming nothing beyond themselves, no other utterances."<sup>76</sup> In the following section we will see how dialogic relations work to reshape the traditional Australian interpretation of Gallipoli, refashioning it to simultaneously meet the needs of both Australian and Turkish audiences.

### **Our Friend the Enemy: National Narrative Alliances**

As was outlined above, since pilgrimage locates collective memory in a spatial terrain that differs from where the majority of population reside, there is an inevitable disjunction between perceptions and reality. In the case of the Gallipoli battlefields this difference has been minimized by Australian and other Allied cemeteries and memorials which provide an interpretive framework for the pilgrim. The meaning that the Australian backpackers attain from Gallipoli, however, also derives from their former foes: information they are told on their tour, their experience elsewhere in Turkey and from personal interactions with locals. The central Turkish figure within the pilgrimage is the tour guide who, in addition to telling the Anzac legend, will propagate his own nation's perspective on Gallipoli. This is done in a number of



ways. In providing a historical orientation to WWI the guide explains Turkey's involvement in the war. Tourists are told of the demise and vulnerableness of the Ottoman Empire (but little about its rise and former strength) of which Turkey was part during WWI. As far as possible Turkey's alignment with the ultimately defeated German Austrian Hungarian Alliance is underplayed, an emphasis we will come back to later in the paper. Where the Ottoman's decision to join the German side is portrayed as nationally strategic or even accidental, the motivation of the Turkish soldier at Gallipoli is seen as more local and primordial. Far from being driven by nationalist propaganda, the Turkish soldiers at Gallipoli are characterized as innocent victims with primary concern for their families and villages. The tour guide Ali illustrates this when he asks "[W]hat was that reason of that bitter resistance realized by the Turkish soldier?" He answers:

... it was a trick made by the Turkish high command... the soldiers fighting during the campaign on the peninsula, Turkish soldiers they were purposely chosen one by one from small small towns and small small villages on the peninsula... During the battles, thinking or believing that they were trying to defend, to protect their homes, their families namely, and then Turkey

*(Ali Efe, Tour Guide for Anzac House Hostel)*

Hearing such interpretations many Australian backpackers for the first time realize that Australians were the invaders at Gallipoli, and more so the apparent aggressors.

Yeah I think that's the big thing, it brings home that they were defending their motherland sort of thing. When you are in Australia and you hear about it at Anzac Day it's Australia took on Turkey and Germany at Gallipoli but it doesn't really sink in that they were defending from an invasion but now you can see it first hand and you know they gathered as many locals as they could and fought very hard and died to protect their families and their homeland.

*(Mark, Age: 27, Public Servant)*

Yeah I guess their role I feel more was like defending their land where as before I guess I thought they were more part of the German ideals and stuff like that.

*(Luke, Age: 35, Music Teacher)*

For the first time I've sort of thought that it has worked out for the best that we lost. They were defending their own country. There are not too many battles that you think that!

*(Geoff, Age: 29, Public Servant)*

For Australian backpackers, hearing the Turkish perspective on Gallipoli is an essential element of the authenticity of their pilgrimage. Just as standing on the sacred ground seemed to be the missing piece of the puzzle in understanding Gallipoli, so too finding out about the Turkish side, gives them a greater sense of involvement with the legend. In many ways the local Turkish tour guide replaces the Australian Gallipoli veteran for gaining an 'authentic' insider's understanding of the campaign. As a result, for the first time, many Australians are considering Gallipoli not principally from the Allied side of the front line. They feel relieved to be interpreting it in relation to their foes. The Turkish have been being marginalized within Australia's collective memory of the campaign which has concentrated on the relationship between Australian and British soldiers and officers. Reflexively, the backpackers find it remarkable that they had not previously considered the Turks as an essential part of the Anzac legend.

I think two things perhaps best summed up by the guide, he being Turkish. I am very impressed by the warmth of the Turkish people towards Australians and the mutual respect and I think that his presentation of the tour really brought out to us the fact that there is two sides to this rather than one. And that was just a huge eye opener for me, it really improved my knowledge so much.

(Jeff, Age: 33, Finance Officer)

One of the core factors in the willingness of backpackers to overwhelmingly reconsider the Turks' role in the war is their experience of Turkish culture before traveling to Gallipoli. As many backpackers decide to travel to Turkey first and Gallipoli second, it is not surprising that stories of Turkish heroics are warmly accepted as part of the search for authenticity and desire to vicariously experience the host culture.

I've got a lot more respect for them now and from hearing what Ali told us yesterday and a few of the stories. Just being in Turkey the people are so friendly anyway and I think that one statue where the Turkish soldier, there is a statue of a Turkish soldier who actually waved the white flag and walked out and picked up a wounded English captain I think and took him back to the trenches. I thought that was just, that's more or less what Turkish people are like you know. They are just really beautiful people. That was an incredible act of courage by one particular man but that sort of, you know that's how I feel about the people, that's how they would feel anyway, you know they are sort of that way inclined.

(Bernie, Age: 31, Electrician)

Where Australia has commemorated itself as the principal, if not sole martyr, at Gallipoli, many backpackers now find this interpretation hard to sustain, particularly in light of the reported Turkish death toll. While some will forget the exact figures, the impression of being told that Australia's fallen being just under ten times less than that of the Turkish is remembered. This is emphasized by the guides who provide a conspiracy-like account of the difference between the official and unofficial figures in the number of Turkish fatalities.

Another thing that I found interesting was that I knew that a lot of Australians had been killed just especially from the movie *Gallipoli* but I didn't realize it was almost equal, the amount of Turks which died.

(Joy, Age: 28, Secretary)

From the interview data we have seen two seemingly contradictory interpretations of the Gallipoli pilgrimage by Australian backpackers. On the one hand the battlefield experience brought about strong feelings of patriotism due to backpackers' exposure to the sacred. However as the pilgrimage occurs within a larger travel itinerary in which backpackers want to experience the local culture, the Turkish perspective on Gallipoli is also accepted, even where it seemingly contradicts the Anzac legend. Postcolonial and postmodern literature argues that this disparity will lead to the questioning and then rejection of the traditional patriotic understanding. This though is not the only possibility. Postmodern and postcolonial scholars have rightly argued that international travel breaks down national mythology by highlighting anomalies between competing discourses. The question though is whether within pilgrimage the process of collective memory can also 'repair' and 'reactivate' the national historical narrative. Mary Douglas (1966) has pointed out in her analysis of the classification systems of culture that:

[T]here are several ways of treating anomalies. Negatively, we can ignore, just not perceive them, or perceiving we can condemn. Positively we can deliberately confront the anomaly and try and create a new pattern of reality in which it has a place. It is not impossible for an individual to revise his own personal scheme of classifications. But no individual lives in isolation and his scheme will have been partly received from others.<sup>77</sup>

Up to the present Australia has negatively dealt with the Turkish perspective by generally ignoring, rather than condemning, their former foes. This is becoming less realistic due to the growth in international, particularly independent, travel and other globalizing forces. To remain relevant Australian mythology will need to transform, either by condemning the Turkish perspective, unlikely in relation to the existence of a postmodern consciousness of recognition and inclusion, or somehow incorporate it into the Australian legend. The latter is what occurs in the Gallipoli pilgrimage with a narrative alliance between Australian and Turkish collective memories. As will be demonstrated below using Bakhtin's concept of the dialogic, commitment to the Anzac legend is developed at the same time that a sympathetic inclusion of the Turkish perspective occurs. The two themes not merely run in parallel, but rather the Turkish narrative is integrated with the traditional Australian story, forming a new metanarrative for the Australian pilgrims.

For initial evidence of this consider the italicized quotes below by backpackers, where the Turkish and Anzac interpretations of Gallipoli are thought of as highly similar.

I have the utmost respect for them. You pretty *much feel the same way about them as you do the Australians*. You feel sorrow for them and the lives that they lost, *just as much as you do the Australians*. The utmost respect for them, they were fighting for their land.  
(Geoff, Age: 29, Public Servant)

What really surprised me I think was the whole attitude of the Turkish people now and then, and the fact that they were almost drawn into the war, not against their own will but *by a political accident as well. And that they were fighting for no apparent reason either!* ... It all just seems so pointless after hearing what both sides were fighting a war that wasn't truly their problem to begin with, you know... now Britain have become the enemy.  
(Lizzy, Age: 35, Receptionist)

... I didn't think much of the other side because you always think of your own side, probably had a negative, as you would, I mean it was your country against, their killing our ancestors type thing but ... The thing that struck me yesterday, that truce for you know six or eight hours or whatever and then to have a truce then they all wandered out and they picked up their men and carried them off and then the next thing they're shooting each other again. And I don't know if it was the documentary or not or something TJ said but you know how they, when the Anzacs left they left them food and all sorts of stuff, so yeah there was respect on both sides. So it has definitely changed my opinion *and I see them more as one now you know, rather than Anzacs and Turks*.  
(Narelle, Age: 25, Primary School Teacher)

The numerous Turkish memorials that have been established on the battlefields since 1983 certainly aid this narrative. One of the most emotional sites for Australian backpackers is a Turkish monument to the Allies, unveiled in 1985 (a plaque to the memory of Ataturk was unveiled in Canberra on the same date) with Ataturk's

translated speech to Allied pilgrims in 1934.<sup>78</sup> It reads:

Those heroes that shed their blood and lost their lives... you are now lying in the soil of a friendly country. Therefore rest in peace. There is no difference between the Johnnies and the Mehments to us where they lie side by side here in this country of ours... You, the mothers, who sent their sons from far away countries, wipe away your tears; your sons are now lying in our bosom and are in peace. After having lost their lives on this land they have become our sons as well.

How has Australia's Gallipoli mythology integrated a cosmopolitan understanding of their former enemy? It is not simply a case of the existence of cosmopolitan revisions of history. Empathetic similarities also need to be woven between the Australian involvement in the campaign and that of Turkey. On the surface these are difficult to conceive. Australia was an Anglo-colonial nation, part of an invasion force and the Islamic Turks are portrayed as defending their homeland and heritage within a wider struggle for independence. Compatible genres in the politics of memory, and the effect of dialogic relations in collective memory, however, which are displayed and emphasized in the Gallipoli pilgrimage, have meant both Turkey's and Australia's understanding of the campaign have become aligned.

Central to the Australian-Turkish alliance that emerges from the Gallipoli tour is the establishment of an enemy stereotype pair of Britain and Germany. While the Turkish guides describe the Anzacs as gentlemen, brave soldiers and, as we will see, even friends with Turkish soldiers, the same courtesy is not extended to the British who commanded and fought at Gallipoli. Consistent with the anti-British sentiment of the traditional Australian understanding of Gallipoli, the guides indicate that due to British incompetence, Australians needlessly were required to "sacrifice their lives."

When those Australians soldiers were sacrificing their lives for the safety of the British troops, the British troops down below were safe enough even to enjoy themselves having a good swim in the blue waters of the Aegean Sea. That is a tragedy!

*(Ali Efe, Tour Guide for Anzac House Hostel)*

On the 6th of August 20,000 fresh British troops landed over there at Suvla Bay... Their objective was to take the ridge on the first day when there was little opposition. They waited three days. Three days, and weren't able to capture it, in fact they were driven back almost to the sea. To support those landings a diversion attack took place here at the Nek. There was naval barrage at 4am on the 7th of August but it stopped seven minutes too early, giving the Turks time to return to their trenches. When hundred and fifty men of the 8th Light Horse went over the top they were shot down almost immediately. Three more waves each of 150 men also carried on with the attack with the same result. 372 men were killed or wounded.

*(Ilhami Gezici ('TJ'), Tour Guide for Yellow Rose and Down Under Hostels).*

The separation and distancing of Turkey's role in the campaign from Germany is done similarly. The stories by the guide about locals defending their families and homes from invasion are reinforced with the tour guides emphasizing that Turkey had wanted to join the Allies or remain neutral in the war. They argue that it was only out of mere necessity, or in TJ's account German trickery, that they could not. Both guides argue that in a secret protocol, Britain had agreed that with victory they would not oppose a Russian invasion of Turkey.

Turkey wanted to align with the British before the First World War declared but British government has already made an agreement with the Russians that if they had gained the victory at the end of the First World War then Russia would have captured, invaded and an extra key to their homeland like Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria. So Turkey had no choice but to align with the Germans to defend their country against the main threat.

*(Ali Efe, Tour Guide for Anzac House Hostel)*

Now, why did Turkey join the German side in the First World War instead of the Allies?... during the 1914, actually Turkey, Turkey they tried to be neutral. Turkey had paid Britain for two battleships for the defense of their country but Britain didn't send them. Alright? And after Germans sent to Turkey two battleships, just a present... they bombarded two Russian harbor... Actually Russia blamed Turkey. They didn't actually realize on the battleships German commanders and German officers. Also, they feared Russia, who wanted to seize Istanbul to give them a warm water port.

*(Ilhami Gezici ('TJ'), Tour Guide for Yellow Rose and Down Under Hostels)*

Both the Turkish and Australians are portrayed as reluctant, tricked or forced into their participation at Gallipoli. For the above statements to work though they require a reciprocal interpretation of the past, that both nations are innocent martyrs. Turkish appreciation of Australia's involvement in the invasion of their country emerges from an understanding that both Turkey and Australia are reliant on upholding a certain history of Gallipoli where victory is rescued from defeat. For Australia this is defeat at Gallipoli and the need to emphasize their competence, and increasingly humanity. For Turkey it is defeat in the war and the need to maintain the credibility of their independence from Germany. In the Gallipoli battlefield tour this was also achieved by the tour guides concentrating on and developing some reported and documented compassionate and friendly acts in the later part of the campaign. In particular, stories of the exchange of gifts successfully worked to evidence the emotional relationship between the Anzac and Turkish soldiers, as well as seemingly evidencing the fact they lacked violent intent against each other.<sup>79</sup>

A sense of respect grew between the Anzac and Turkish soldiers in the trenches... Sometimes you know Turkish would throw them fresh water, milk, bread, cheese or everything. During the war Anzacs and Turks they were really friendly. They did not ever hate each other... Anzac soldier did not know why they were here. They didn't know why they were fighting here. Just here for a holiday.

*(Ilhami Gezici ('TJ'), Tour Guide for Yellow Rose and Down Under Hostels)*

Yeah, I think so because I think the thing I found most amazing, which I didn't realise before was the incredible good feeling between the Turks and the Anzacs. To carrying the British soldier or the Anzac whatever. I just thought that was phenomenal. I couldn't believe that there wasn't, there wasn't that hatred between them. Because I just assumed in war that you kill each other, you hate the enemy's guts you know and that you know I think was the most amazing thing about coming here and checking it all out is all the memorials to each other and dedications to each other and I thought, that just completely floored me, I couldn't believe it. Because I was not aware of that before I came.

*(Sheree, Age: 27, Freelance Journalist)*

On the tour the propagation of the revisionist Turkish perspective is not antithetical to the promotion of an Australian narrative. As we have seen, just because Turkey

moves from the profane closer to the sacred, does not mean conversely that Australia's involvement becomes more profane. Where the collective memory of nations is thought to emerge from a variety of forces within the nation state, it is the argument of this paper that these only become understandable and powerful through being framed within narratives and genres. While historical circumstances and internal pressures on collective memory are unique to different nations, narratives and genres have much less respect for geographic boundaries. A consistency of genre between the mythologies of divergent nations can be an avenue through which appreciation for Otherness can be created while sustaining solidarity within nations. In the case of Gallipoli, it is the dialogic relations which results in the sharing of an anti-authoritarian genre of interpreting Gallipoli that facilitated the otherwise isolated national identities of Australia and Turkey being understood within one metanarrative. The integration of narratives, however, only occurred once collective memory was altered and historical factors could be seen to evidence the contemporary conciliatory relationship between Australia and Turkey. The ability of these divergent nations and former foes to interpret themselves in this way circumvented the need to reject Australia's understanding of Gallipoli in accepting the Turkish perspective.

## Conclusion

This paper challenges the assumption that national history is inherently incompatible with global forces and cosmopolitan consciousness. Postmodern and postcolonial perspectives are correct in arguing that international travel will frequently enhance empathy to the host culture and force the actor to reflect upon their collective memory. They are incorrect though in believing that this will lead to the abandonment of patriotism and nationalism, rather than their transformation. In the case travels to the Gallipoli battlefields by Australian backpackers we do not see a disintegration of Australian nationalism. We find something similar to what occurs in religious pilgrimage with the establishment of new discourses and larger identities, but not to the detriment of national commitment. How this is possible forces us to rethink our conception of the role of ritual in the process of collective memory, in addition to nationalism and cosmopolitanism. The first factor that needed to be considered in this regard was the dual ability of international civil religious pilgrimage to simultaneously invigorate and disorientate national collective memory. The next puzzle was to explain how this anomaly was resolved by backpacking pilgrims to Gallipoli.

Contemporary international civil religious pilgrimage will not always eventuate in nationalist and cosmopolitan narratives combining, as has been the Gallipoli case study. This pilgrimage form, however, does create new dialogic relations and anomalies that travelers and national collective memories need to confront. As Mary Douglas highlighted, there are a number of different ways anomalies can be resolved, however, only some of these fit with the wider socio-political climate. As a liminal rite international civil religious pilgrimage provides contexts where history can be shifted to be consistent with contemporary consciousness, and as a consequence the re-invigoration of national history.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Exemplary of this is the high citation rate of one of Emile Durkheim's concluding remarks in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1968[1915], 427): "What essential difference is there between an assembly of Christians celebrating the principal dates of the life of

Christ, or of Jews remembering the exodus from Egypt or promulgating the Decalogue, and a reunion of citizens commemorating the promulgation of a new moral or legal system or some great event in national life?" While some ritual theorists have proposed categories of ritual forms, for example those outlined by Mircea Eliade et al in *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1987, Vol 12, 412-14), these have failed to be used as a template for empirical research or the theorising of civic ritual forms. Instead, more general classification models of ritual are typically drawn upon. Emile Durkheim's positive and negative rites (ibid) and Victor Turner's life-crisis rituals and rituals of affliction typologies (*Forest of Symbols* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967) are some examples of these.

<sup>2</sup> The term is adopted in this article from the Durkheimian ontological assumption on the enchantment of social life, but it is used in a specific sense signifying national ideologies of identity. A working definition of civil religion for this study is it being the sum of ideas, symbols, myths, values and discourses that over time become understood as distinct and sacred characteristics of the nation. This conception differs from the formulation of the term by Rousseau (*The Social Contract* New York: Dutton, 1955[1913]) who conceived of it as a "third sort of religion", made up of a mixture of state and institutional religious loyalties. It also contrasts to the use of the term by Robert Bellah (*Beyond Belief* London: Harper & Row, 1970) who in addition to theorising it in a strictly Durkheimian sense, seeing national cultures as essentially religious in character, also uses it to refer to a "third sort of religion" where national sentiment is infused with direct reference to God and Judaeo-Christian themes. It is from this use that Bellah's account of civil religion has been criticised as being specific to the American context. This direct mixing of the state and institutional religions, for example, is not a significant characteristic of Australian civil religion.

<sup>3</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *La Topographie Legendaire des Evangiles (The Legendary Topography of the Gospels)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1941).

<sup>4</sup> Victor Turner's work on pilgrimage systems include "The Center Out There: Pilgrim's Goal" *History of Religions* 12(3): 191-230, (1973); *Drama, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974); "Death and the Dead in the Pilgrimage Process" In M. G. Whisson and M. West (eds) *Religion and Social Change in Southern Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip and Rex Collings: 1975, 107-127); *Process, Performance and Pilgrimage* (New Delhi: Concept, 1979); Turner, Victor and Turner, Edith. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).

<sup>5</sup> As Durkheim reminds us, in bounded ritual forms "[T]he divisions into days, weeks, months years, etc., correspond to the periodical recurrence of rites, feasts, and public ceremonies... [expressing] the rhythm of the collective activities, while at the same time its function is to assure their regularity" (Durkheim op cit.:23). Pilgrimage rituals are different. While certain pilgrimages such as the Hajj need to be undertaken during a specific time period, the majority of others can be fulfilled at any time and thus are likely to occur outside of the 'collective clock'.

<sup>6</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *La Memoire Collective (Collective Memory)* (Edited by Mary Douglas, New York: Harper and Row, 1980 [1950]).

<sup>7</sup> The contours of this field in North America are outlined in Philip Smith's (ed) *The New American Cultural Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and in Lyn Spillman's (ed) *Cultural Sociology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002). For the beginnings of a cultural sociology in Australia and Britain see Philip Smith and Brad West "Cultural Studies, Australian Studies and Cultural Sociology" in Ian McAllister, Steve Dowrick and Riaz Hassan (eds) *Cambridge Handbook of the Social Sciences in Australia* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 638-653).

<sup>8</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, op cit. 1941:7.

<sup>9</sup> Eric Hobsbawm. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions" in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds) *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, 1-14).

<sup>10</sup> The concept of 'imaginary' relations is taken from Benedict Anderson's highly cited work *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983). 'Invented' histories was first coined by Ernest Gellner in *Thought and Change* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1964) to show how nationalism is not the primordial awakening of nations to self-consciousness. The term though is more popularly assigned to Eric Hobsbawm (ibid).

<sup>11</sup> For useful reviews of the national hegemonic tradition in collective memory studies see Michael Schudson's article "Culture and the integration of national societies" *International Social Science Journal* 46,1, 139, (1994): 63-81). For a history of the critical perspective's critique of the nation see Edward Tiryakian's "Wild Cards of Modernity" *Daedalus* 126, (1997).

<sup>12</sup> For example, Barry Schwartz, "Social Change and Collective Memory: The Democratization of George Washington", *American Sociological Review*, 56 (1991): 221-236.

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- <sup>13</sup> Exemplary work in this tradition include Steven Lukes. "Political Ritual and Social Integration" *Sociology* 9 (1975): 289-308; Edward Shils *Center and Periphery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).
- <sup>14</sup> Important works for collective memory researchers have been Clifford Geertz "Religion as a Cultural System" *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1975, 87-125); Michael Schudson "The Present in the Past versus the Past in the Present" *Communication* 11(1989): 105-13; and Edward Shils *Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).
- <sup>15</sup> Exemplary of the 'interest' scholarship is Eric Hobsbawm (op cit). Another popular example of this perspective is John Bodnar *Remaking America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).
- <sup>16</sup> This is a more recent development in collective memory scholarship which is illustrated by Philip Smith "The Elementary Forms of Place and their Transformations" *Qualitative Sociology* 22,1 (1999): 13-36; and Gary Alan Fine "Reputational Entrepreneurs and the Memory of Incompetence: Melting Supporters, Partisan Warriors, and Images of President Harding" *American Journal of Sociology* 101(1996):1159-93.
- <sup>17</sup> The classic reference for this work remains Frances FitzGerald *America Revised* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1979).
- <sup>18</sup> An innovative comparative study in this tradition is by Lyn Spillman *Nation and Commemoration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- <sup>19</sup> Exemplary studies on the 'production' of public monuments and memorials are Bernard Barber "Place, Symbol and the Utilitarian Function in War Memorials" in Robert Gutman (ed) *People and Buildings* (New York, Basic Books, 1972, 327-334); Ken Inglis "Men, Women, and War Memorials" *Daedalus* 116 (1987): 35-59; Robin Wagner-Pacifici and Barry Schwartz "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial: Commemorating a Difficult Past" *American Journal of Sociology* 97 (1991): 376-420.
- <sup>20</sup> Jean-Francois Lyotard *The Postmodern Condition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).
- <sup>21</sup> Pierre Nora "Between Memory and History" in Pierre Nora (ed) *Realms of Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996, 7).
- <sup>22</sup> The Durkheimian belief that the sacred is latent and waiting to be revealed and reinforced in ritual has been influential in a number of key empirical studies. These include Sidney Verba "The Kennedy Assassination and the Nature of Public Commitment" in Bardley S. Greenberg and Edwin B Parker (eds) *The Kennedy Assassination and the American Public* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965, 348-360); and Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz "Articulating Consensus: The Ritual and Rhetoric of Media Events" in Jeffrey C. Alexander (ed) *Durkheimian Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 161-186).
- <sup>23</sup> For cases on how tourism and heritage has affected sacred sites see Chris Rojek's *Decentering Leisure* (London: Sage, 1995).
- <sup>24</sup> This phrase is used by Clifford Geertz in his book *Islam Observed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968, 67) describing the experience of a generation of Indonesians who had undertaken the pilgrimage to Mecca in the nineteenth century. According to Geertz the growing pilgrimage tradition to Mecca laid the foundations for Islam in Indonesia with a number of the pilgrims founding large religious boarding schools upon their return to instruct what they believed to be the "true and neglected teaching of the Prophet."
- <sup>25</sup> L.P. Hartley *The Go-between* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1953).
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.
- <sup>27</sup> David Lowenthal *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- <sup>28</sup> The connections between collective memory and the foreign country date back to the origins of "nostalgia" which comes from the Greek *nostos*, meaning to return home, and *algai*, a painful condition. In the late seventeenth century the word was coined by a Swiss physician as a medical condition relating to the homesickness of Swiss mercenaries fighting far from home.
- <sup>29</sup> Halbwachs op cit 1980 [1950].
- <sup>30</sup> Maurice Halbwachs *Les Cadres Sociaux de la Memoire (The Social Frames of Memory)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1926).
- <sup>31</sup> Halbwachs 1941 op cit., 130.
- <sup>32</sup> Shils 1981 op cit.
- <sup>33</sup> Halbwachs 1941 op cit., 154.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid*
- <sup>35</sup> Notable references for this point are by Mircea Eliade *Myth and Reality* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963, 34) and Edward Shils 1975 op cit., 198.
- <sup>36</sup> Halbwachs 1941 op cit., 222.



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- <sup>37</sup> Maurice Halbwachs *Maurice Halbwachs on Collective Memory* (edited and translated by Lewis A. Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992, 230-231).
- <sup>38</sup> Ibid, 231-232.
- <sup>39</sup> Turner and Turner op.cit., 233.
- <sup>40</sup> Mary Douglas *Purity and Danger* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966, 49).
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid., 32.
- <sup>42</sup> Turner 1974 op cit., 174.
- <sup>43</sup> Turner and Turner op cit., 31.
- <sup>44</sup> Cf. Jonathan Sumption *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975, 123-5).
- <sup>45</sup> For example Anthony Giddens has argued that with the advent of the state, what were previously considered frontiers became borders (*The Nation State and Violence* Cambridge, Polity Press, 1981, 120). These borders frequently define the unity of the nation, particularly when the nation is ethnically or culturally diverse. It is this compartmentalising that establishes international travel as an inherently dangerous activity.
- <sup>46</sup> Liah Greenfeld *Nationalism* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- <sup>47</sup> Skrbis, Z., Kendall, G., and Woodward, I. "Locating Cosmopolitanism: Between Ideal and Grounded Social Category" *Theory, Culture & Society* (forthcoming).
- <sup>48</sup> The concept of Generation X is popularly associated with Douglas Coupland's novel *Generation X: Tales From an Accelerated Culture* (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1991). It follows the lives of Claire, Andy and Dag, providing a vision of middleclass 18-29 year olds who had given up on the American Dream and who believed their Baby Boomer parents have destroyed their chance for prosperity and fulfilment. The idea of a Generation X has since been attached to a wide variety of youth consumption styles and cultural products associated with disenchantment and critical reflexivity.
- <sup>49</sup> World Tourism Organisation. 1998 *Yearbook of Tourism Statistics* Volume 1, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Madrid: WTO, 1998).
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid
- <sup>51</sup> In postcolonial and postmodern literature the term travel is used to describe human geographic mobility as well as being a metaphor of the movement of ideas, objects and discourses. In this paper I only refer to it in the former traditional sense.
- <sup>52</sup> James Clifford "Notes on Travel and Theory" *Inscriptions* 5 (1989): 177-88.
- <sup>53</sup> Zygmunt Bauman "From Pilgrim to Tourist" in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (eds) *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London, Sage, 1996, 30-31.
- <sup>54</sup> The concept of 'staged authenticity' is from a pioneer of theoretically informed studies of tourism, Dean MacCannell (*The Tourist* New York, Schocken Books, 1976).
- <sup>55</sup> Louis Turner and John Ash's comments from their now classic text *The Golden Hordes: International Travel and the Pleasure Periphery* (London: Constable, 1975, 130) remains representative of the critical scholarship in tourism studies.
- <sup>56</sup> This quote from Priscilla Boniface and Peter Fowler's book *Heritage and Tourism in the "Global Village"* (London: Routledge, 1993, 7) illustrates the point made in the above note.
- <sup>57</sup> A recent example of this argument is Ian Munt "The 'Other' Postmodern Tourism: Culture, Travel and the New Middle Classes" *Theory, Culture & Society* 11 (1994):101-123.
- <sup>58</sup> For a brilliant account of the role of tourism in youth's search for an authentic self see Erik Cohen, Nachman Ben-Yehuda and Janet Aviad. "Recentring the world: the quest for 'elective' centers in a secularised universe" *Sociological Review* 35 (1987): 320-46.
- <sup>59</sup> Representative studies in this tradition include Paul Gilroy *The Black Atlantic* (London, Verso, 1993); Edward Said "Intellectual Exile: Expatriates and Marginals" in *Representations of the Intellectual* (New York, Pantheon Books, 1994).
- <sup>60</sup> This figure is taken from Philip Longworth *The Unending Vigil: A History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission* (London: Constable, 1967, 237).
- <sup>61</sup> Developing Longworth's (ibid) figures these calculations are from Tony Walter "War Grave Pilgrimage" in Ian Reader and Tony Walter (eds) *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1993, 63).
- <sup>62</sup> A recent article on the development of war tourism in Vietnam is by Joan C. Henderson "War as a Tourist Attraction: the Case of Vietnam," *International Journal of Tourism Research* 2 (2000): 269-280.
- <sup>63</sup> Jackie Feldman "'Above the Death-pits and With the Flag of Israel Waving on High': The Structure and Meaning of Israel Youth Missions to Poland of the Shoah" in Helmut Schreier and Matthias (eds) *Never Again! The Holocaust's Challenge to Educators* (Hamburg, Kramer, 1990, 117-133).

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- <sup>64</sup> This statistic is taken from a Turkish government report authored by Raci Bademli, *Gallipoli Peninsula Peace Park International Ideas and Design Competition* (Ankara, General Directorate of National Parks and Wild Life of Turkish Ministry of Forestry, 1997, 38).
- <sup>65</sup> This figure was generally quoted by Australian journalists in Turkey, for example Michelle Gratton's article "Emotional Dawn for Pilgrims at Gallipoli" *The Sydney Morning Herald* (April 26, 2000,4).
- <sup>66</sup> For a cultural analysis of Gallipoli and the Anzac legend in Australia see Bruce Kapferer *Legends of People, Myths of State* (London, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988).
- <sup>67</sup> Ken S. Inglis "Men, Women, and War Memorials: Anzac Australia" *Daedalus*, 116 (1987):36.
- <sup>68</sup> Ken S. Inglis "The Unknown Australian Soldier" *Journal of Australian Studies* 60 (1999): 8-17.
- <sup>69</sup> Barry Schwartz "Social Change and Collective Memory: The Democratization of George Washington" *American Sociological Review* 56 (1991): 221-236; Barry Schwartz "Collective Memory and History: How Abraham Lincoln Became a Symbol of Racial Equality" *The Sociological Quarterly* 38, 3 (1997): 469-496.
- <sup>70</sup> For the link between liminal interpretation of the past and their resonance in contemporary society see Robin Wagner-Pacifici "Memories in the Making" *Qualitative Sociology* 19, 3, (1996): 301-321.
- <sup>71</sup> Geertz 1968 op cit.
- <sup>72</sup> Anderson op cit.
- <sup>73</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin *The Dialogic Imagination* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1981, 280).
- <sup>74</sup> Ibid., 293.
- <sup>75</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1986, 95).
- <sup>76</sup> Bakhtin 1981 op cit.,668.
- <sup>77</sup> Douglas op cit., 38.
- <sup>78</sup> Ulug Igdemir *Ataturk and the Anzacs* (Ankara, Turk Tarih Kurumu Basimeri, 1978).
- <sup>79</sup> Cf. Marcel Mauss, *The Gift* (London, Cohen and West, 1969).