

# Masters of Research

Pilgrimages, Memory and Millennials: An investigation of the latest  
wave of Australian Pilgrims to Gallipoli

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# Table of Contents

<b>1</b>	<b><i>Chapter One – Introduction</i></b>	<b>7</b>
1.1	Introduction	7
1.2	Literature Review	8
1.2.1	ANZAC's Rise, Fall and Revival	8
1.2.2	Wanderlust and Gallipoli Pilgrimages	12
1.3	Methodology	15
1.3.1	Introduction	15
1.3.2	Oral History	15
1.3.3	Oral History Framework	17
1.3.4	Reconstructive cross-analysis	18
1.3.5	Sample	19
1.4	Thesis Structure	21
<b>2</b>	<b><i>Chapter Two – The Millennial Pilgrim</i></b>	<b>23</b>
2.1	Introduction	23
2.2	The Millennial Pilgrim	23
2.3	Are these millennial journeys a pilgrimage?	27
2.4	Motivations	29
2.4.1	Nationalistic Motivations	30
2.4.2	Travel Motivations	33
2.4.3	Spiritual Motivations	35
2.4.4	Friendship Motivations	36
2.4.5	Family Motivations	37
2.4.6	Educational Motivations	39
2.4.7	Multifaceted Motivations	39
2.5	Conclusion	40
<b>3</b>	<b><i>Chapter Three – Constructed Pilgrim Experience</i></b>	<b>41</b>
3.1	Introduction	41
3.2	History of Packaged Battlefield Tours	41
3.3	Modern Group Package Tours	46
3.3.1	Excursion Tours	46
3.3.2	Inclusive Package Tours	46
3.4	Benefits of Group Packaged Tours	48
3.4.1	Convenience and Ease of Travel	48
3.4.2	Economies of resources	49
3.4.3	Safety and Security	49
3.4.4	Social Aspects/Experience	50
3.5	The constructed pilgrim experience	51
3.5.1	How package tours construct the pilgrim experience	53
3.6	Conclusion	57
<b>4</b>	<b><i>Chapter Four – Millennial Pilgrims Historical Engagement</i></b>	<b>58</b>
4.1	Introduction	58
4.2	Historical Engagement of Millennial Pilgrims	58

4.2.1	The Gallipoli Campaign .....	59
4.2.2	The Landings .....	61
4.2.3	Individual Anzacs.....	63
4.2.4	Conscription .....	63
<b>4.3</b>	<b>Ahistorical Engagement.....</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>4.4</b>	<b>Millennial Anzac Engagement at Gallipoli .....</b>	<b>67</b>
4.4.1	Exploring Gallipoli .....	67
4.4.2	Reflective Program.....	72
<b>4.5</b>	<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>74</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Chapter Five – Conclusion.....</b>	<b>75</b>
	<b>References.....</b>	<b>78</b>
	<b>Figure List.....</b>	<b>88</b>
	<b>Appendix I: Ethics Approval.....</b>	<b>89</b>
	<b>Appendix II: Interview Questions.....</b>	<b>90</b>
	<b>Appendix III: Participant List .....</b>	<b>91</b>
	<b>Appendix IV: Contiki Anzac Odyssey Itinerary .....</b>	<b>92</b>
	<b>Appendix V: Contiki “Anzac Day Walk” .....</b>	<b>93</b>

## Abstract

This project explores the experiences of Australian millennial travellers to the battlefields of Gallipoli during Anzac Day commemoration services. It extends Bruce Scates' work in *Return to Gallipoli* (2006) by looking at the motivations and experiences of young Australians today. The project employs Thompson's reconstructive cross-analysis approach to oral history. It uses testimony collected through semi-structured interviews with millennial pilgrims conducted in situ with participants undertaking a pilgrimage to Gallipoli during the 2019 Anzac commemorations. The research found that millennial pilgrimages share much in common with the young Australian travellers of the 1990s and early-2000s, especially the nationalistic motivation to travel there. The evolution of the Anzac Dawn Service into a tightly controlled and structured event, though, has led to commercial tour companies and event organisers shaping the pilgrim experience and influencing how millennials engage with the site.

# Statement of Originality

## Declaration

I declare this work is substantially my own, and where any part of this work is not mine I have acknowledged the source of that part of the work. This thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution. My ethics approval is Reference Number: 5201938797048

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# 1 Chapter One – Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

Upon returning to Gallipoli in 1919, Charles Edwin Woodrow Bean, Australia's official correspondent of the First World War, reported back to his superiors that the former battlefield was "one big graveyard, which would probably be visited by thousands of Australians and others yearly, and the dead, merely by being buried where they fell, or where their comrades had carried them, would commemorate their achievements".<sup>1</sup> A century on, Bean's prophesy continues to hold, with thousands of Australians making their way to Gallipoli each year. The aim of these travellers is clear. They are participating in what is arguably a Gallipoli pilgrimage: a secular tradition to journey to the site of Australia's first significant military engagement. This now peaceful and tranquil site is ingrained in the consciousness of Australian society as the place where Anzac, one of the country's most influential legends, was born. These travellers are following in a tradition that can be traced back to the 1920s, when the families of soldiers killed in the war travelled from Australia to the final resting place of their loved ones. The historical experience of pilgrimage is one way in which Australians actively engage with Anzac and the memories of war.

Presently Bruce Scates provides the most comprehensive investigation of this unique tradition in his book *Return to Gallipoli*.<sup>2</sup> Beginning with the first pilgrims in the 1920s and their journeys of grief, it follows successive generations of Australians up until the backpacker travellers of the early 2000s. He has masterfully intertwined traditional historical research, that gives voice to pilgrims long past, with ethnographical methods, predominantly through the analysis of written testimony, to capture the experience of those still alive.<sup>3</sup> Scates seeks to understand the complex motivations of Australians who have undertaken such journeys; the significance that these sacred sites hold and the collective feeling of belonging to the site which is at the emotional core of any pilgrimage.

This research project, in essence, looks to pick up from where Scates left off by investigating the latest generation of pilgrims to visit Gallipoli: Millennials, or the generation born between the

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<sup>1</sup> C.E.W. Bean, *Gallipoli Mission* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1948), 327-8.

<sup>2</sup> Bruce Scates, *Return to Gallipoli: Walking the Battlefields of the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> Bruce Scates, 'In Gallipoli's Shadow: Pilgrimage, Memory, Mourning and the Great War', *Australian Historical Studies* 33, no. 119 (2002): 3.

mid-80s up until the late-90s, early 2000s. Using pilgrims' testimony and other corroborating evidence, it looks to explore their unique pilgrim experiences. This includes examining their motivations and links with national identity; how their pilgrim experience differ or relate to those of previous generations; their historical knowledge of the Gallipoli campaign; the manner in which they engage with Anzac; why Anzac continues to appeal to yet another generation; and how external influences shape and construct their experiences. By providing a greater understanding of the millennial pilgrim experience, an insight can be gained into how younger Australians identify with the memory of the war, Gallipoli, the Anzac legend and its inherent links to what it means to be Australian.

## 1.2 Literature Review

### 1.2.1 ANZAC's Rise, Fall and Revival

To investigate how millennials engage with Anzac, it is important to establish why it holds a place in the consciousness of Australian society. For a nation conceived in the nineteenth century and born in the early twentieth, at a time when the martial prowess of a country was a defining attribute, it is understandable how Gallipoli and the Anzac legend it spawned, entranced the nation. The early wartime reports from Ashmead-Bartlett praised the Australians, comparing them to the men of Mons and Waterloo. Australians now had the battle honours that they had been yearning for.<sup>4</sup> However, it was Charles Bean, official war correspondent for the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) throughout the war, writer/editor of its official histories, and party to the establishment of the Australian War Museum, who played the most crucial role in the initial development of the Anzac legend.

Employing the archetypal rugged colonial bushman as his template, Bean's Anzacs were courageous, strong, competent warriors, whose upbringing in the untamed Australian environment had transformed the already superior British soldier into something greater.<sup>5</sup> Kent has suggested that Bean's most influential work in developing this image was as editor of *The Anzac Book*. Published in 1916, it contained a collection of drawings, jokes, stories, and articles from the soldiers about their experience at Gallipoli and by war's end could be accessed by nearly

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<sup>4</sup> Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, 'Australians at Dardanelles: Thrilling Deeds of Heroism.', *Argus (Melbourne, Vic.: 1848 - 1957)*, 8 May 1915. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1515516>; Carolyn Holbrook, *Anzac, The Unauthorised Biography* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2014), 8-31.

<sup>5</sup> Marek Haltof, 'In Quest of Self-Identity: Gallipoli, Mateship, and the Construction of Australian National Identity', *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 21, no. 1 (1993): 29-31.



every Australian household. As the editor, Bean selected what was included, only choosing those pieces that helped perpetuate his vision of Anzac.<sup>6</sup>

However, his most revolutionary contribution was placing the common soldier at the heart of the story. The ordinary “Digger” were the heroes; their exploits were the ones to be immortalised. Although this approach resembled the cultural-military history practices of half a century later, Bean’s sentiment was not grounded in democratic ideals but instead, nationalism.<sup>7</sup> The Anzacs and their deeds which were the foundations of Australia as a nation: a theme that continues to prevail within the Anzac legend today.

Bean’s nationalistic Anzac legend prevailed in Australian society over the next four decades, buoyed up by another world war, the RSL, and the veterans themselves. However, in a post-Second World War Society, Anzac, based upon the racial superiority of the British race became untenable. As early as 1953, disagreements surrounding the role of Anzac Day were beginning to form between veterans of the First World War and veterans of the Second. By the mid-1960s, wider Australian society did not seem to connect with Anzac as it once did. The Vietnam War, the conscription debates, anti-war and feminist protesters have all been given as reasons for this. Even though veterans of the Great War were given the respect that their service deserved, they were increasingly passing away.<sup>8</sup> Davison, Beaumont, and Gammage were a notable few of many Australians historians who believed that with the passing of the veterans, Anzac adherence would slip into obscurity. Their prediction was understandable; Anzac commemoration was a national habit and like any habit, one that could be forgotten.<sup>9</sup>

The resurgence of Anzac in the public consciousness of Australians since the 1980s indicates how incorrect they were. Anzac 2.0, as termed by Holbrook, had replaced Bean’s narrow-based martial nationalism, although it should be noted that contemporary critics of Anzac still believe it

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<sup>6</sup> C.E.W. Bean, *The Anzac Book* (London: Cassell, 1916); David Kent, ‘The Anzac Book and the Anzac Legend: C.E.W. Bean as Editor and Image-Maker’, *Historical Studies* 21, no. 84 (1985): 376-90; see also Sarah Midford, ‘Bean’s Anzac Book Shaped How Australians Think about Gallipoli’, *The Conversation*, updated April 9, 2015. <http://theconversation.com/beans-anzac-book-shaped-how-australians-think-about-gallipoli-38203>.

<sup>7</sup> Holbrook, *Anzac, The Unauthorised Biography*, 46; for an overview of the development of military history in the 20<sup>th</sup> century see W. E. Lee, ‘Mind and Matter - Cultural Analysis in American Military History: A Look at the State of the Field’, *Journal of American History* 93, no. 4 (2007): 1116-42.

<sup>8</sup> Holbrook, *Anzac, The Unauthorised Biography*, 116-43.

<sup>9</sup> Graeme Davison, ‘The Habit of Commemoration and the Revival of Anzac Day’, *Australian Cultural History* 22 (2003): 73-82.

prevails. In its place arose a new, gentler, inclusive Anzac, based on the values of mateship, courage, sacrifice, perseverance, egalitarianism, and anti-authoritarian sentiments.<sup>10</sup>

Holbrook and Macleod argue that two academics played a significant role in the emergence of Anzac 2.0. Firstly, Inglis through a series of lectures and essays in the mid to late 1960s helped rediscover Bean, who along with military history, in general, had been largely neglected by the academy.<sup>11</sup> Secondly, Gammage, wrote his ground-breaking book *The Broken Years*.<sup>12</sup> Using the letters and diaries of the men who served in the AIF, he took Bean's approach and overlaid a contemporary social-historical view, which highlighted the multiple and conflicting ways that soldiers responded to the experience of the First World War. The result removed Bean's martial element of Anzac, humanised the soldiers of the AIF, exposed their flaws and re-cast them as tragic victims of a horrendous traumatic experience.<sup>13</sup> The book's success and that of Adam-Smith's, *The Anzacs*, published shortly after illustrates both the academic and public interest in the bottom-up approach to Anzac.<sup>14</sup>

Although the success of *The Broken Years* is unquestionable, its most important contribution may have been its influence on the creation of Peter Weir's film *Gallipoli*.<sup>15</sup> Reynaud argued that the film "probably had more impact on contemporary attitudes towards Anzac than any other single source".<sup>16</sup> It was both a critical and commercial success, effortlessly capturing the mythical attributes of Anzac 2.0.<sup>17</sup> Portraying strong anti-British sentiments, it re-cast Britain and British Officers as the real villains of Gallipoli.<sup>18</sup> The poignant final scene personifies Australia's "baptism

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<sup>10</sup> Carolyn Holbrook, 'Family History, Great War Memory and the ANZAC Revival', *Social Alternatives* 37, no. 3 (2018): 19.

<sup>11</sup> Holbrook, *Anzac, The Unauthorised Biography*, 127; Jenny Macleod, 'The Fall and Rise of Anzac Day: 1965 and 1990 Compared', *War & Society* 20, no. 1 (2002): 160; Ken Inglis, 'C.E.W. Bean, Australian Historian', in *ANZAC Remembered: Selected Writings by K. S. Inglis* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, Department of History, 1998), 40-60; Ken Inglis, 'The Anzac Tradition', in *ANZAC Remembered: Selected Writings by K. S. Inglis* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, Department of History, 1998), 14-28.

<sup>12</sup> Bill Gammage, *The Broken Years: Australian Soldiers in the Great War*, Illustrated ed. (Carlton: Melbourne University Publishing, 2010).

<sup>13</sup> Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend*, New edition. (Clayton: Monash University Pub, 2013), 320; Macleod, 'The Fall and Rise of Anzac Day', 16.

<sup>14</sup> Patsy Adam-Smith, *The Anzacs*. (Melbourne: Nelson, 1978); Holbrook, *Anzac, The Unauthorised Biography*, 136.

<sup>15</sup> Peter Weir, *Gallipoli* (Roadshow Film Distributors, 1981).

<sup>16</sup> Daniel Reynaud, *Celluloid Anzacs: The Great War through Australian Cinema* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2007), 185; Macleod, 'The Fall and Rise of Anzac Day', 165.

<sup>17</sup> Reynaud, *Celluloid Anzacs*, 187.

<sup>18</sup> Haltof, 'In Quest of Self-Identity', 32; Macleod, 'The Fall and Rise of Anzac Day', 164-5; Holbrook, *Anzac, The Unauthorised Biography*, 139.

of fire” by freezing on the protagonist, Archy, being shot and killed with his arms outstretched in a Christlike pose.<sup>19</sup>

Alistair Thomson’s oral histories of First World War veterans, *Anzac Memories*, provides another substantial contribution to the bottom-up approach to Anzac. Investigating how veterans remember both wartime and post-war experience, Thomson explores the evolution of the Anzac narrative and how veterans’ memories complicate the Anzac legend. His work highlights the complex relationship between Anzac’s constructed public myth and the private memories of the men on whom it was based.<sup>20</sup> Thomson paved the way for a corpus of important works, most notably Ken Inglis’ *Sacred Places*, Joy Damousi’s *The Labour of Loss* and Stephen Garton’s *The Cost of War*, on the impact and social costs of war on Australian society in the twentieth century.<sup>21</sup> He also conveys the difficulty that living with the Anzac legend has on veterans, something that persists to this day within the ranks of the actively serving members of the Australian armed forces.<sup>22</sup>

Various other reasons have been advanced for Anzac’s revival. Lake et al. provide a strong critique of the role Anzac plays in contemporary Australian society, asserting that the nation’s obsession with Anzac has led to the “militarisation of Australian History” with Australian war history overshadowing other important aspects of Australia’s past. Moreover, they argue that the Australian Government has played a decisive role in Anzac’s revival through numerous supportive prime ministers and politicians; increased funding of educational resources through the Department of Veteran Affairs (DVA); and by recasting Anzac Day as Australia’s premier national holiday.<sup>23</sup> Clark also indicates the role to the role government funding had in shaping the teaching of history in Australian classrooms.<sup>24</sup> The explosion of family history and genealogy has led to Holbrook suggesting that it, too, is a factor in Anzac’s revival.<sup>25</sup> For Bongiorino the malleable

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<sup>19</sup> Haltof, ‘In Quest of Self-Identity’, 34.

<sup>20</sup> Thomson, *Anzac Memories*.

<sup>21</sup> Ken Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, 3rd ed. (Carlton: Melbourne University Publishing, 2008); Joy Damousi, *The Labour of Loss: Mourning, Memory, and Wartime Bereavement in Australia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Stephen Garton, *The Cost of War: Australians Return*. (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996).

<sup>22</sup> James Brown, *Anzac’s Long Shadow: The Cost of Our National Obsession* (Collingwood: Redback, 2014), 107-24.

<sup>23</sup> Marilyn Lake et al., *What’s Wrong With Anzac?* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010).

<sup>24</sup> Anna Clark, *History’s Children: History Wars in the Classroom*. (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2008), 44-66.

<sup>25</sup> Holbrook, ‘Family History, Great War Memory and the ANZAC Revival’, 19-25.

nature of Anzac has made it possible to include non-Anglo/Celtic minorities into the legend.<sup>26</sup> Macleod has explored the role that public influencers, including historians, the Australian War Memorial (AWM), and RSL, have played on the explanation and communication of the Anzac legend to the Australian public in what she has termed the “Anzac education industry”.<sup>27</sup> Seal argues that in an increasingly secular society, Australians have searched for sacred rituals that were ultimately found through Anzac.<sup>28</sup> Twomey adds that changing ideas about trauma and victimhood in the 1980s helped to rejuvenate Anzac.<sup>29</sup> Davidson, though, believes the most parsimonious explanation for its revival is due to increased promotional activities of the RSL and a sympathetic media.<sup>30</sup> The wanderlust of the young has also been suggested as a reason for Anzac’s revival, an area that aligns most closely with this research project investigation of millennial pilgrims to Gallipoli.<sup>31</sup>

### 1.2.2 Wanderlust and Gallipoli Pilgrimages

Australians typically are a well-travelled group — young Australians in particular. One may assume that it is a recent phenomenon brought on by economic travel and globalisation; however, the desire of Australians to visit distant lands is not new. As White explored, the original Anzac’s motivations to enlist may have been due to the possibility of travelling and seeing the world. Serving in the AIF provided the most significant opportunity for Australians to travel to Europe, which was not replicated again until after the advent of jetliners.<sup>32</sup>

Bruce Scates has provided the most definitive analysis of Australian pilgrimages to Gallipoli. His comprehensive exploration seeks to understand the complex motivations of why Australians have undertaken such journeys and the significance that these “sacred sites” hold for these travellers. Starting with the first pilgrims in the 1920s and the personal journeys of grief, it follows

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<sup>26</sup> Frank Bongiorno, ‘Anzac and the Politics of Inclusion’, in *Nation, Memory and Great War Commemoration: Mobilizing the Past in Europe, Australia and New Zealand*, ed. Ben Wellings and Shanti Sumartojo (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014), 81-91.

<sup>27</sup> Macleod, ‘The Fall and Rise of Anzac Day’, 149-68.

<sup>28</sup> Graham Seal, ‘ANZAC: The Sacred in the Secular’, *Journal of Australian Studies* 31, no. 91 (2007): 135-44.

<sup>29</sup> Christina Twomey, ‘Trauma and the Reinvigoration of Anzac: An Argument’, *History Australia* 10, no. 3 (2013): 85–108.

<sup>30</sup> Davison, ‘The Habit of Commemoration’, 73-82.

<sup>31</sup> West, ‘Independent Travel and Civil Religious Pilgrimage’; Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*; Jim McKay, ‘A Critique of the Militarisation of Australian History and Culture Thesis: The Case of Anzac Battlefield Tourism’, *PORTAL Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies* 10, no. 1 (2012), 1-25.

<sup>32</sup> Richard White, *On Holidays: A History of Getting Away in Australia* (North Melbourne: Pluto Press, 2005), 88-89; see also Bart Ziino, ‘A Kind of Round Trip: Australian Soldiers and the Tourist Analogy, 1914–1918’, *War & Society* 25, no. 2 (2006): 39-52.

successive generations of Australian pilgrims up until the backpacker travellers of the early 2000s. Throughout his work, Scates employs two distinct approaches to his exploration of Gallipoli pilgrimages. Firstly, he takes a traditional historical approach by exploring the trials and trauma that families encounter after being notified of the death of their loved ones; the manner in which these “sacred” memorials and landscapes were created; and the initial family journeys. Although the exploits of the Anzacs were well documented, the same could not be said for the first waves of pilgrims. In order to reconstruct and understand these experiences, Scates used the “frail” voices that they left through newspaper reports, photographs, Red Cross files and long-forgotten correspondence with military authorities. He masterfully revealed how pilgrim’s motivations were tied to an Edwardian mourning tradition to visit the graves and memorials of loved ones killed in the war, and the difficulty that many had achieving this goal. Furthermore, Scates highlighted the interconnection between private family journeys of pilgrims and the wider public memorialisation of the war.<sup>33</sup>

Scates’ second approach, is one that he himself acknowledges “owes as much to ethnography as it does to history”.<sup>34</sup> It is arguably his most significant contribution to the scholarship as it represents the first major study of modern Australian pilgrimages to Gallipoli. His self-confessed difficulty in reconstructing the original pilgrims’ stories, led to his desire to capture the testimonies of the current travellers.<sup>35</sup> In total, Scates has dedicated four chapters to the subjective, individual perceptions of four unique segments of Australian pilgrims: living relatives; Australian service personnel; school children and young independent travellers. Each segment highlights the complexity of the Anzac legend in modern Australian society.

Scates’ work proved somewhat controversial, with the most prominent critique coming from McKenna and Ward. Although they acknowledge the value of Scates’ chapters about the early family pilgrimages, they hold an apparent disregard for Scates’ ethnographic examination of later Australian pilgrims. It is especially problematic they argue, in the chapters involving backpackers and young Australians visiting the site. They accuse Scates of being under the spell of Gallipoli and being too sympathetic to his young subjects, and therefore unable to analyse his collected archive critically.<sup>36</sup> Further, they argue that the young Australians Scates investigates were not motivated

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<sup>33</sup> Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*.

<sup>34</sup> Scates, ‘In Gallipoli’s Shadow’, 3.

<sup>35</sup> Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*, xxi.

<sup>36</sup> Mark McKenna and Stuart Ward, “‘It Was Really Moving, Mate’: The Gallipoli Pilgrimage and Sentimental Nationalism in Australia’, *Australian Historical Studies* 38, no. 129 (2007): 143-144.

to visit Gallipoli because of “history’s resilience” or an emotional connection to the landscape, rather it was due to “the commerce and politics of nationalism in John Howard’s Australia”.<sup>37</sup> Scates provides a retort to their critique, where he vehemently defends both his position and the methodology he employed.<sup>38</sup>

Additionally, Ward and McKenna have homogenised all backpackers into the clichéd trope of the drunken nationalistic backpacker.<sup>39</sup> While in some cases this may be accurate, both Scates and others suggest it is not the case across the board, with pilgrims holding various motivations, desires, views, and knowledge pertaining to Gallipoli.<sup>40</sup> This diverse and multi-faceted engagement of millennial Australians with Gallipoli is at the core of this research.

Numerous others have investigated the phenomena of Gallipoli pilgrimages. McKay investigates the recent reinvigoration of Anzac by exploring why Gallipoli has become a popular destination for tourist from Australia, New Zealand and Turkey. Using tourist’s testimony, he examines the experiences of individuals visiting Gallipoli and challenges the view that Anzac is merely an Antipodean nationalistic military obsession.<sup>41</sup> Sociologist Brad West explores the transformative impact visiting Gallipoli has on Australian Backpackers. Central to this transformation has been a greater understanding of the campaign; the realisation of the shared traumatic experience of both sides; and immersion within the Turkish culture.<sup>42</sup> Cheal and Griffin, whose own study investigates tourist engagement with Gallipoli, show that this was primarily the result of local Turkish tour guides.<sup>43</sup> McQuilton explores how Gallipoli is a contested memorial site, both in the literal and symbolic sense, for Australians visiting the site.<sup>44</sup> Slade found that nationalism, not thanatourism, or the desire to visit sites associated with death, was the main pull factor for Australian pilgrims.<sup>45</sup> It aligns with Hyde and Harman’s results in their investigation, where they

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<sup>37</sup> McKenna and Ward, ‘It Was Really Moving, Mate’, 144.

<sup>38</sup> Bruce Scates, ‘The First Casualty of War: A Reply to McKenna’s and Ward’s “Gallipoli Pilgrimage and Sentimental Nationalism”’, *Australian Historical Studies* 38, no. 130 (2007): 312-321.

<sup>39</sup> McKenna and Ward, ‘It Was Really Moving, Mate’; See also Lake et al., *What’s Wrong With Anzac?*

<sup>40</sup> Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*; West, ‘Independent Travel and Civil Religious Pilgrimage’; Anna Clark, ‘The Place of Anzac in Australian Historical Consciousness’, *Australian Historical Studies* 48, no. 1 (2017): 19-34; McKay, ‘A Critique of the Militarisation of Australian History and Culture Thesis’.

<sup>41</sup> Jim McKay, *Transnational Tourism Experiences at Gallipoli* (Singapore: Springer, 2018).

<sup>42</sup> West, ‘Independent Travel and Civil Religious Pilgrimage’, 23-30.

<sup>43</sup> Felicity Cheal and Tony Griffin, ‘Pilgrims and Patriots: Australian Tourist Experiences at Gallipoli’, *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* 7, no. 3 (2 August 2013): 227-41; see also Kadir Çakar, ‘Experiences of Visitors to Gallipoli, a Nostalgia-Themed Dark Tourism Destination: An Insight from TripAdvisor’, *International Journal of Tourism Cities* 4, no. 1 (2018): 98-109.

<sup>44</sup> John McQuilton, ‘Gallipoli as Contested Commemorative Space’, in *Gallipoli: Making History*, ed. Jenny Macleod (London: F. Cass, 2004), 150-8.

<sup>45</sup> Peter Slade, ‘Gallipoli Thanatourism’, *Annals of Tourism Research* 30, no. 4 (2003): 779-94.

identified five motivational factors as to why Australians travel to Gallipoli: nationalism, the spiritual, family, friendship, and travel.<sup>46</sup> Finally, Hawkins investigates the role that commercial enterprises have played in the transformation of the Gallipoli dawn service from its inception in the late 1980s up until the centenary anniversary in 2015. She argued that “mass-market tourism democratised travel to Gallipoli” leading to thousands of Australians visiting the site in order to attend the event. Additionally, she highlights the rise of the dawn service from its origins as a small intimate event, throughout its rise and peak in 2005, and its subsequent fall in popularity since.<sup>47</sup>

## 1.3 Methodology

### 1.3.1 Introduction

As this research looks to extend Scates' work in *Return to Gallipoli*, the decision was made to employ a similar methodological approach to the one he used to investigate contemporary pilgrims in his study. Scates used testimony, captured through a series of written surveys, as the basis for his qualitative analysis. Like Scates, this research will also use pilgrim's testimony to investigate the pilgrimages of the latest cohort of young travellers to Gallipoli. However, where Scates used ethnographic analysis of written sources, this qualitative research will employ oral history as the primary method for the collection and interpretation of pilgrim's testimony.

### 1.3.2 Oral History

The genesis of oral history can be found in the ancient traditions of tribal storytelling, where the history of a tribal culture was handed down from one generation to the next. Historians themselves used oral testimony as historical evidence before the advent of recording technology. Thucydides based his account of the Peloponnesian Wars "partly on what I saw myself, partly on what others saw for me".<sup>48</sup> Jules Michelet, the mid-nineteenth-century French historian, stated, "My inquiry among living documents taught me many things that are not in our statistics" when

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<sup>46</sup> Kenneth F. Hyde and Serhat Harman, 'Motives for a Secular Pilgrimage to the Gallipoli Battlefields', *Tourism Management* 32, no. 6 (2011): 1343-51.

<sup>47</sup> Jo Hawkins, *Consuming Anzac: The History of Australia's Most Powerful Brand* (Crawley, Western Australia: UWA Publishing, 2018), 65-85.

<sup>48</sup> Cited in Donald A. Ritchie, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3.

producing his work on the French Revolution.<sup>49</sup> However, with the rise of history as a profession in the nineteenth century, heavily influenced by Leopold von Ranke's academic training and his insistence on using documentation as the primary source of historical evidence, oral history came to be characterised as unreliable.<sup>50</sup> This stigma persisted up until the end of the Second World War when oral testimony once again emerged as a valid source of historical evidence.<sup>51</sup>

It was during the 1960s and 1970s that the scope of oral history widened, as historians started to investigate and record the testimonies of marginalised minority groups and individuals. It became a method to record the experience of these people, democratising the historical record and giving a literal voice to "history from below". Over the course of the next four decades, advancements in recording technology and analytical practices sparked a resurgence in the number of academic practitioners and the perceived value of oral testimony.<sup>52</sup> Today it is widely employed by social historians, who use oral sources to investigate a wide variety of topics from historical events, cultural constructs, personal motivations, and individuals' experiences.<sup>53</sup>

Alistair Thomson's *Anzac Memories* is an excellent example of the strengths of oral history. Through extensive interviews with Australian First World War veterans, he focuses on their pre-war lives and their experiences both during the war and as returned servicemen. He highlights the evolution of the Anzac narrative, how personal identities were interwoven with national identities, and how memories were shaped and influenced by the Anzac legend. It is only through oral history that he was able to capture the testimony of these men, building the foundation of his whole analysis.<sup>54</sup> Importantly, he illustrates how the perceived unreliability of memory and the subjectivity and bias of oral testimony can be overcome. He uses this inherent weakness of oral history to explore the complex relationship between the Anzac legend and veterans' memories. Using collaborative evidence, he illustrates how these men used the Anzac legend to help compose their own memories in order to make sense of their past and present lives.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Cited in Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 49.

<sup>50</sup> Robert Crawford and Matthew Bailey, 'Cousins Once Removed? Revisiting the Relationship between Oral History and Business History', *Enterprise & Society* 20, no. 1 (March 2019): 6.

<sup>51</sup> Andrea Hajek, *Oral History Methodology* (London: SAGE Publications, 2014), 2; Ritchie, *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, 97.

<sup>52</sup> For a review of the development of oral history since the 1970s see Alistair Thomson, 'Four Paradigm Transformations in Oral History', *The Oral History Review* 34, no. 1 (2007): 49-70.

<sup>53</sup> Hajek, *Oral History Methodology*, 3.

<sup>54</sup> Thomson, *Anzac Memories*, 10-15.

<sup>55</sup> Thomson, 11; J Hannon, 'Preserving Life History Research as an Empirical and Collaborative Method', *Sociological Imagination*, no. 40 (2004): 134.



This project similarly focuses on the subjective understandings of its participants. As Scates states in his methodological justification, “I do not expect my respondents to be objective or even particularly accurate in their recall; arguably that is immaterial to the pursuit of such highly subjective and self-reflexive history”. Similar to Scates, at the core of this analysis is each individual’s personal perspective, knowledge and their own unique thoughts on a given subject, theme and experience.<sup>56</sup> All interviews were conducted in situ with participants while undertaking their journey to Gallipoli. This approach differs from Scates as all his testimony was predominately collected through post-pilgrimage surveys, which in some cases were years after participants’ visit to Gallipoli.<sup>57</sup> While this suited Scates’ comprehensive investigation, by interviewing participants during their pilgrimage, the issues associated with memory were mitigated, and responses were reflective of the feelings and ideas that pilgrims held at that particular moment in time.

### 1.3.3 Oral History Framework

Paul Thompson provides four analytical frameworks that historians can employ to interpret oral sources. Firstly, the single life narrative story, based solely on the accounts and memories of one individual, who provides a comprehensive and rich account that can be used as a standalone source. Secondly, a collection of stories, similar to the first framework, however with a combination of interviews which in themselves are less rich but combined provide a cohesive narrative. Thirdly, narrative analysis, typically a single interview or a small number of subjects. The focus is on the interview in itself as an oral text to be analysed and what can be gleaned from the language that was used, pauses, enunciation, themes, or repetitions. Importantly it highlights the experiences of the subject, how they remembered and retold events, and how this may be reflected in the broader society that they were a part of. Finally, a reconstructive cross-analysis where oral testimony collected through interviews is treated “as a quarry from which to construct an argument about patterns of behaviour or events”. It compares testimony collected from one interview with that of the testimony given in others. Notably, it provides the opportunity to incorporate additional sources to provide further evidence in the cross-analysis and

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<sup>56</sup> Bruce Scates addresses the same methodological issue in his own research, see Scates, ‘In Gallipoli’s Shadow’, 3.

<sup>57</sup> Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*, xx.

interpretation of the oral accounts. This method draws many parallels with the analytical practices of ethnosociologists.<sup>58</sup>

#### 1.3.4 Reconstructive cross-analysis

This research project employs Thompson's reconstructive cross-analysis approach to oral history. Oral sources in the form of semi-structured interviews are combined with a short post-pilgrimage survey, participants' social-media posts, and other sources of testimony. Using qualitative research methods, along with critical analysis of public discourse, it examines how millennial pilgrims engage with Anzac, national identity, the memory of war, and the role Anzac plays in modern society.

##### *Interviews*

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to capture the testimony of pilgrims and are the major source of primary evidence throughout this research project. This differs from Scates' work, which used written surveys as his central method for collecting testimony. This approach suited Scates investigation economically, in both time and monetary terms, due to his sample being larger and incorporating a broader spectrum of Australian pilgrims.<sup>59</sup> This project which focuses on a narrow cohort of pilgrims provided the opportunity to conduct one on one interviews with participants. This provided the benefits associated with oral history, including the ability to deconstruct individuals' perceptions on topics; highlighting conflicting and alternate points of view; the ability to clarify and probe subjects on their responses; and capture emotions that would otherwise be lost in written responses. Most importantly, effective oral history interviews can provide important insights into the subject's everyday experiences, mentality, and perceptions on a wide variety of subjects, themes, and events.<sup>60</sup>

In total, eleven participants were interviewed, with each interview lasting between 30 to 60 minutes, depending on the length and time of responses. Interviewees were asked a number of questions, revolving around four aspects of their pilgrimage: their decision and motivations surrounding their trip to Gallipoli; their historical knowledge of Anzac and the Gallipoli campaign;

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<sup>58</sup> For an explanation of Thompson's four forms of oral history interpretation see Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, 269-308.

<sup>59</sup> Scates, 'In Gallipoli's Shadow', 3.

<sup>60</sup> Hajek, *Oral History Methodology*, 3.

national identity; and their use of social media during their trip.<sup>61</sup> Upon completion, all interviews were transcribed, combined with other sources, and a dossier created for each interview subject.

#### *Post-Pilgrimage Survey*

Following the conclusion of the tour, a short survey consisting of three questions was sent to all interview participants asking them to reflect and comment on their pilgrim experience. The objective: to investigate how their pilgrimage to Gallipoli and experience there impacted their engagement with Anzac.

#### *Social Media*

The prevalence of social media – 60% of Australian actively use Facebook and 1 in 3 are on Instagram – provided a potentially rich source of primary evidence for analysis and one that was not available to Scates.<sup>62</sup> Each social media post, typically contains unique picture or image; an accompanying captioned message; comments or observations made by other users; and hashtags # (searchable keywords). These posts, collected from Facebook and Instagram from the same group of respondents who participated in the interviews, were used as corroborating evidence alongside written and oral testimony.

#### *Other Sources*

Other sources were also collected and used as corroborating evidence in the analysis. These included blogs recounting pilgrimages of millennial travellers who recently had undertaken their own pilgrimage to Gallipoli for Anzac Day. The inclusion of these blogs increased the number of sources available for the analysis. Additionally, promotional material available online and in print associated with packaged Gallipoli/Anzac tours; documentaries and historical information presented at Gallipoli; and ethnographical notes taken during the tour, were employed throughout the analysis.

### 1.3.5 Sample

As with any research that requires human participation, it is essential to highlight how the participant sample was constructed.

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<sup>61</sup> For a list of the interview questions see Appendix II.

<sup>62</sup> Social media statistics as of April 2019 see David Cowling, 'Social Media Statistics Australia – April 2019', SocialMediaNews.com.au, accessed 26 May 2019, <https://www.socialmedianews.com.au/social-media-statistics-australia-april-2019/>.

#### *Recruitment of participants – Anzac Tour*

Recruitment of participants was undertaken during an organised Anzac Day tour to Gallipoli. Contiki's *Anzac Odyssey* 5-day tour was selected for several reasons. Firstly, Contiki both markets and restricts their tours to the desired age demographic of 18 to 35 years. Secondly, the tour is both marketed and based around Anzac Day commemorations at Gallipoli, meaning that any person who selected to join it, would have done so because they had a desire to visit the site during the time. Finally, it meant that interviews were able to be conducted with participants while undertaking their pilgrimage to Gallipoli.

Accompanying the tour also provided the opportunity to experience the Dawn Service and Gallipoli first-hand. It also allowed the collection of additional primary sources, such as handouts or photos, and the taking of ethnographical notes throughout the tour, Dawn Service and time spent at Gallipoli. To ensure anonymity participants are identified by their first names and surname initial, e.g. Daniel N. Any social media posts or other testimony included are also anonymised.<sup>63</sup>

#### *Sampling strategies*

The selection of the respondents followed a non-probabilistic sampling strategy. The initial goal was to interview fifteen pilgrims while in Turkey. This number was selected as it was both an achievable goal within the limited research period afforded by the trip and the short timeframe for analysis of the MRes program.<sup>64</sup> Although only 11 pilgrims were able to be interviewed, their testimony and other primary sources collected, provided sufficient evidence for this project.

Pursuing a non-probabilistic sampling strategy does have inherent problems involving biased sampling, influencing responses, and distorting sources. While this will always be the case with non-probabilistic sampling, the respondents selected were sourced from a preconstructed pool of pilgrims. All pilgrims made their own independent decision to visit Gallipoli, choosing to commit their own time and financial resources to undertake the journey.

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<sup>63</sup> Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*, 257.

<sup>64</sup> Lesley Andres, *Designing & Doing Survey Research* (London: SAGE Publications, 2012), 93.

As with any research project dealing with human subjects, ethical guidelines are required to be met to ensure that no undue risk or harm befalls the project's participants. This project has received ethics approval from the Macquarie University Faculty of Art Ethics Subcommittee, meeting all the guidelines outlined by the university and the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research*.<sup>65</sup>

## 1.4 Thesis Structure

In order to explore the unique experiences of Australian millennial travellers to the battlefields of Gallipoli, this thesis is structured around three distinct sections. Each section investigates and analyses different elements associated with the millennial pilgrim experience.

Chapter 2 identifies the characteristics of the millennial travellers that have undertaken a pilgrimage to Gallipoli for the 2019 Anzac Day commemorations services. By defining their characteristics, comparisons between the most recent pilgrims and those that have made the journey in preceding generations can be made. The section then establishes why their journeys are pilgrimages, illustrating the continuation of the pilgrim tradition for another generation. Finally, it focuses on the motivations as to why millennials have undertaken their journey, highlighting differences and commonalities between this cohort and those of previous generations.

Chapter 3 examines the function of commercial tour companies in the Gallipoli pilgrim experience. First, it provides an overview of the role that commercial tour companies have held servicing the pilgrim market since the end of the First World War up until present day. Next, it analyses how millennials undertake their pilgrimages and the benefits associated with employing the services of these companies. Finally, it examines the role that commercial tour companies play in the construction of the pilgrim experience for millennials.

Chapter 4 investigates how millennial pilgrims engage with the historical aspects associated with Anzac. Initially, it evaluates the collective knowledge that pilgrims possess concerning the history of the Anzac involvement in the Gallipoli campaign. Next, it focuses on the ahistorical nature of

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<sup>65</sup> National Health and Medical Research Council, *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research 2007 (Updated 2018)* (Canberra: National Health and Medical Research Council, 2018).

Anzac and how pilgrims engage with the myth over factual history. Finally, it highlights the manner that a Gallipoli pilgrimage has helped millennial travellers engage with Anzac.

Lastly, a concluding chapter (Chapter 5) will look to bring together the findings of the three separate sections.

## 2 Chapter Two – The Millennial Pilgrim

### 2.1 Introduction

While serving on the Gallipoli Peninsula in 1915, the Australian serviceman, Hector Denning claimed that “one foresees the time when steamers will bear up the Aegean pilgrims come to do honour at the resting place of friends and kindred, and to move over the charred battlegrounds of Turkey”.<sup>66</sup> Charles Bean made a similar prophecy when he returned to Gallipoli following the end of the war in 1919.<sup>67</sup> Although their predictions took over six decades to come to fruition, by the 1980s, Australians, many of them young independent travellers, were making their way to the site in what Brad West has termed an “international civil religious pilgrimage”. That is, travelling to places held “sacred to the nation but which lie outside the sovereign territory of that nation-state”.<sup>68</sup> Since then, Australians have continued to visit Gallipoli and doing so in numbers not seen since the campaign in 1915.

This chapter will explore three elements associated with the latest cohort of pilgrims to visit Gallipoli. Section 2.2 defines the characteristics of millennial pilgrims. Section 2.3 discusses the factors for why their journeys are considered a pilgrimage. Finally, Section 2.4 explores the motivations as to why millennial Australians have undertaken their journey to Gallipoli.

### 2.2 The Millennial Pilgrim

On Anzac Day 2019, 1,431 Australians, New Zealanders and a spattering of others made their way to Gallipoli to attend the annual Anzac commemorations.<sup>69</sup> The cohort was significantly smaller than the 10,500 who attended the centenary celebrations in 2015, and a mere fraction of the estimated 30,000 that made their way to Gallipoli for the 2005 event.<sup>70</sup> However, despite the reduced crowd size, the tradition to commemorate Anzac Day at Gallipoli continued for yet another year.

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<sup>66</sup> Bean, *The Anzac Book*, 21.

<sup>67</sup> Bean, *Gallipoli Mission*, 327-78.

<sup>68</sup> West, ‘Independent Travel and Civil Religious Pilgrimage’, 13.

<sup>69</sup> Stephen Drill and Cindy Wockner, ‘Gallipoli Dawn Service “Never in Doubt”’, *Herald Sun - Online*, 25 April 2019,

<http://global.factiva.com/redir/default.aspx?P=sa&an=NLHRSW0020190425ef4p00233&cat=a&ep=ASE>.

<sup>70</sup> Hawkins, *Consuming Anzac*, 78.

Amongst those who went, a strong contingent of young Australians making their “once in a lifetime” pilgrimage to Gallipoli.<sup>71</sup> They, like their generational predecessors, came from all over the country. This was illustrated in the small sample recruited for this research project.

Participants came from such diverse places as a small mining community in Central South Australia, the beaches of the mid-North Coast of New South Wales and the outer suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne. Vocations, ranging from farmers to accountants, and varying education levels, were further indicative of the broad socioeconomic makeup of the cohort.

Ages represented in the sample reflected the full spectrum of the millennial age bracket, from those born in the mid-80s up until the turn of the 21st century. This was an important differentiator to the pilgrims who came before in two key ways. Firstly, this generation had been entirely raised and educated in a society where Anzac played an essential and defining role. Their formative years were under the stewardship of the conservative Howard Government (1996-2007), who during the time popularised Anzac 2.0 and the narrative of Gallipoli to an unprecedented level.<sup>72</sup>

Secondly, the temporal distance between the original Anzacs and millennials was a generation further removed. Even though they were born before the last living veteran of the Gallipoli campaign passed, for most of their lives including their most formative years, they had lived in a society without the personal connection to the First World War.<sup>73</sup> Millennials are the first generation to experience Gallipoli without knowing or possessing these living links.

Millennials, unlike previous generations, are largely unaffected by war themselves, with Australia’s military involvement in both Iraq and Afghanistan being relatively minor.<sup>74</sup> Nor are they burdened by the painful memories of veteran relatives, who like their parents were often only one generation removed. Anna Clark has suggested that this temporal distance is one of the factors in the resurgence of Anzac for younger Australians and that it “paradoxically enabled forms of mythologising that manifest as historical connection”. Her study found that this enabled them to engage easily with Anzac, as they did not possess the emotional baggage that came from

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<sup>71</sup> Interview with Annie H.

<sup>72</sup> Mark McKenna, ‘Anzac Day: How Did It Become Australia’s National Day?’, in *What’s Wrong With Anzac?*, by Marilyn Lake et al. (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010), 110–14; Anna Clark, *History’s Children: History Wars in the Classroom*. (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2008), 44-63.

<sup>73</sup> Alec Campbell, the last living Australian veteran of the Gallipoli Campaign died of pneumonia on 17 May 2002, see Tasmanian Government, ‘Alec Campbell - The Kid Who Became the Last Man Standing’.

<sup>74</sup> Approximately 40,000 Australians have served as part of Australia contributions to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan since 2001 according to the Australian War Memorial.



close family's war service.<sup>75</sup> For millennials, Anzac represents bravery, mateship, and courage. They, unlike previous generations, are unshackled by the trauma of witnessing their parents and close family suffer from the memories or experiences of war.

Clark also found that a connection to Anzac tended to "occur when people can situate themselves and their own family or community stories within or alongside the public national narrative in question".<sup>76</sup> Simply put, Australians' engagement with any national narrative, including Anzac, is contingent on how a person can place themselves and their families within these stories. Clark states there is an "ancestral allure of Anzac", even if that allure is based superficially on an individual's ethnicity.

The ethnic breakdown of millennial pilgrimages to Gallipoli is indicative of this, with no participants on the tour or who were recruited to the sample, reflective of the multicultural dimension of modern Australian society. Australia's two largest non-European ancestries of the 2016 census, Chinese (5.6%) and Indian (4.6%), were under-represented.<sup>77</sup> While there have been attempts to incorporate others into Anzac: Chinese, Russian, German, Indigenous Australians.<sup>78</sup> Millennial pilgrims to Gallipoli, like their predecessors, remain predominately white and of European descent (Figure 1). Moreover, the sample is indicative of the exclusionary nature of Anzac for non-Europeans and illustrates the difficulties that many possess engaging with an important element of contemporary Australian society.

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<sup>75</sup> Clark, 'The Place of Anzac in Australian Historical Consciousness', 32.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, 26.

<sup>77</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Cultural Diversity Data Summary', Cultural Diversity Data Summary, 28 June 2017, <https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/by%20Subject/2071.0~2016~Main%20Features~Cultural%20Diversity%20Data%20Summary~30>.

<sup>78</sup> For a breakdown of the multicultural history of Anzac see Bongiorno, 'Anzac and the Politics of Inclusion', 91-6; Additionally up to 15,000 Indian soldiers also participated in the Gallipoli Campaign, see 'Indian Soldiers at Gallipoli', accessed 8 July 2019, <https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/indian-soldiers-gallipoli>.



Figure 1 – 2019 Anzac Odyssey Contiki tour to Gallipoli (Author's Private Collection)

The cohort of millennials who visited Gallipoli on Anzac Day in 2019 can be broken down into three subcategories of travellers. Firstly, those currently living in London or the UK, a destination which is itself often seen as a rite of passage for many young Australians. A number of participants fell under this category and as others have shown, travelling from London is both a far cheaper proposition and a “more achievable” goal.<sup>79</sup> Secondly, those who were travelling around Europe and decided to incorporate Gallipoli as part of their more extensive trip. For this subcategory, visiting Gallipoli was opportunistic, often being incorporated because it was “practical” to do so as they were “there at the same time”.<sup>80</sup> For others, it was their pilgrimage to Gallipoli that drew them to Europe in the first place; visiting other locations was an added benefit of attending Anzac commemorations.<sup>81</sup> Finally, the subcategory that had chosen to travel directly from Australia solely to visit Gallipoli and attend the Dawn Service. These travellers, as Hyde and Harman argue, displayed motives that were most reminiscent of those who undertook a religious pilgrimage to sites such as Mecca or Jerusalem.<sup>82</sup> Two pilgrims who conveyed the strongest personal affinity with Anzac, travelled to Gallipoli for the specific purpose of attending Anzac commemorations.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*, 188-209; Hyde and Harman, ‘Motives for a Secular Pilgrimage to the Gallipoli Battlefields’, 1345-1346; Stephanie Capper, ‘Young Australians Take Anzac Pilgrimage to Gallipoli’, *ABC News*, 25 April 2014, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-04-25/young-australians-take-anzac-pilgrimage-to-gallipoli/5410732>; Interview with Emma D; Interview with Amy D; Interview with Julie B.

<sup>80</sup> Interview with Noah A; Interview with Brad D; Interview with Eleanor R; Interview with Alex D.

<sup>81</sup> Interview with Lauren K.

<sup>82</sup> Interview with Annie H; Interview with Daniel J; Interview with Hannah N.

<sup>83</sup> Interview with Annie H; Interview with Daniel J.

### 2.3 Are these millennial journeys a pilgrimage?

The renowned anthropologist on the study of pilgrimages, Victor Turner, argues that pilgrimage is a liminoid phenomenon. Pilgrimage he claims “has some of liminal attributes” associated with rite of passage rituals or social mechanisms that mark the transition from one state or status to another. These attributes include the release from the monotony of everyday life; the journey from home to the sacred or *axis mundi* of one’s faith or culture; simplicity of dress and behaviour; *communitas*, both on the journey and as a goal of pilgrimage; homogenisation of status; and also the reflection of the meaning of the culture’s core values.<sup>84</sup> However, pilgrimages, unlike passage rituals, are a voluntary process, not a social obligation, and thus are considered a “liminoid” experience.<sup>85</sup>

The journeys to Gallipoli that Australians have undertaken, and which millennials continue to engage in, undoubtedly possess both the voluntary nature of the liminoid experience and the liminal attributes associated with Turner’s interpretation of pilgrimage. Emma’s Facebook post (Figure 2) uploaded shortly after her journey to Gallipoli illustrates why these journeys should be considered a pilgrimage. Within this one single post, she touches on multiple aspects that are crucial to Turner’s liminoid experience of pilgrimage.

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<sup>84</sup> Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, 34-39.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, 253-54.



Figure 2 – Emma D. Facebook post 29th April 2019

Firstly, the release from the mundane structure of society and the journey to the sacred: the post makes this clear. Emma is telling all her followers that she made a pilgrimage to Gallipoli. She, like other millennials travellers, was removed from the mundane structure of her everyday life, where she made the journey to the *axis mundi* of Anzac and fulfilled her “lifelong dream”.

Secondly, the post highlights Turner’s concept of *communitas*. The idea of a united egalitarian group, she described as “a thousand of my closest friends”. The common goal: the pilgrims “dusted off our sleeping bags and spent the night under the stars, rising before the sun to pay our respects”. The ritualistic process in a sacred place: “side by side we stood in ANZAC Cove surrounded by steep and unforgiving terrain while the moonlight was reflecting off the calm sea and the bitterly cold morning air was taking our breath away”.

Thirdly, the reflection of the meaning of the cultures’ core values: Emma’s post illustrates this in her comment about respecting “our soldiers who fought so bravely and made the ultimate sacrifice”. It is a common sentiment that the values associated with Anzac, especially those of

mateship, bravery, and sacrifice, align with the emotional core of Australia as a nation.<sup>86</sup> By travelling to Gallipoli and attending the Dawn Service, Emma and others present were able to reflect on both the men slain at the site, the perceived martyrs for Australian freedom, and the cultural values present in Australian society that their sacrifice represented.<sup>87</sup>

Finally, these journeys fulfil the two other requirements for pilgrimage: that they were voluntary and transformative. Emma's journey was voluntary. There was no social obligation for her or any other attendees to make their journey. Instead, she was complying with a social norm by following a well-worn path established in the late 1980s of young Australians visiting Gallipoli.<sup>88</sup> The journey was also transformative, with Emma discussing in her post-pilgrimage survey, the transitionary process of pilgrimage. In it, she claims that after visiting the site she now possesses "a connection to the land" which she previously did not have, and that since "Gallipoli I feel like my appreciation of the Anzacs has grown stronger and I want to share my experience with more people to keep the Anzac spirit alive".<sup>89</sup>

## 2.4 Motivations

In their 2010 study, Hyde and Harman explored the motivations for tourists deciding to undertake a secular pilgrimage to the Gallipoli battlefields. Employing quantitative research methods, they administered and collected surveys of a broad sample of travellers to Gallipoli, consisting of 248 Australians, 94 New Zealanders and 58 other nationalities, across various age demographics. Their study asked a range of questions to ascertain what the motivational factors were that influenced traveller's decision to visit the site. They identified five distinct factors that motivated travellers to visit Gallipoli:

**Nationalistic** – Nationalistic motivations ranked the highest in Hyde and Harman's study, highlighting how visitors to the site chose to do so because of the site's inherent connection between Anzac and national identity; or to pay respect to the soldiers who fought and died there.

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<sup>86</sup> Richard White, 'National Days and the National Past in Australia', *ACH: The Journal of the History of Culture in Australia* 23 (2003): 61.

<sup>87</sup> McKenna, 'Anzac Day: How Did It Become Australia's National Day?', 111.

<sup>88</sup> Chris Masters, 'Gallipoli - The Fatal Shore' (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 1988), <https://www.abc.net.au/4corners/gallipoli---the-fatal-shore---1988/2845692>; Hawkins, *Consuming Anzac*, 67-71.

<sup>89</sup> Emma D - Post-pilgrimage Survey.

**Travel** – Travel motivations ranked second highest among participants. Visitors chose to travel to Gallipoli as it was a “must-do” while in Europe or had always been on their list of places to visit.

**Spiritual** – Spiritual motivations ranked third among participants. Visitors who travelled to Gallipoli did so because there is a perception that the journey is a pilgrimage or spiritual journey.

**Friendship** – Friendship motivations ranked fourth among participants. There was a desire to visit Gallipoli as a means to spend time with friends, meet new people, or to get together with other Australians or Kiwis.

**Family** – Friendship motivations ranked last among participants. Family motivations reflected the desire to visit Gallipoli based on a family connection with the site, to pay respect to an ancestor or to represent their family at Gallipoli.<sup>90</sup>

The subsequent analysis of the primary sources collected through this research revealed that these five factors influenced why millennials continue to undertake a pilgrimage to Gallipoli. Additionally, the analysis also showed that educational factors, predominately to gain a greater understanding of the campaign and the conditions the soldiers experienced, were a reason for why millennials visiting Gallipoli.

#### 2.4.1 Nationalistic Motivations

Gallipoli, as the site of Australia’s first significant military engagement, continues to hold a special place in the hearts and minds of many Australians. It is a place where Australians can “feel patriotic and proud” and where they are able to “reaffirm that the national character was worthy and noble”.<sup>91</sup> Some would even go as far as to suggest that “Gallipoli is, in one sense, a part of Australia”.<sup>92</sup> As such, it is unsurprising that Hyde and Harman’s study revealed that nationalistic motivations were ranked as the highest factor for their sample’s motivation to visit the Peninsula. Their four questions surrounding nationalistic motivations all ranked in the top five.<sup>93</sup> Other studies have also shown that nationalistic motivations constitute a significant factor for why Australians visit Gallipoli.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Hyde and Harman, ‘Motives for a Secular Pilgrimage to the Gallipoli Battlefields’, 1346-49.

<sup>91</sup> Cheal and Griffin, ‘Pilgrims and Patriots’, 237.

<sup>92</sup> Bob Hawke, ‘Speech by the Prime Minister Dawn Service, Gallipoli 25 April 1990’ (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 25 April 1990), <https://pmtranscripts.pmc.gov.au/release/transcript-8013>.

<sup>93</sup> Hyde and Harman, ‘Motives for a Secular Pilgrimage to the Gallipoli Battlefields’, 1347-48.

<sup>94</sup> See Çakar, ‘Experiences of Visitors to Gallipoli, a Nostalgia-Themed Dark Tourism Destination’; Cheal and Griffin, ‘Pilgrims and Patriots’; McKenna and Ward, ‘It Was Really Moving, Mate’; McQuilton, ‘Gallipoli as Contested Commemorative Space’; Slade, ‘Gallipoli Thanatourism’.

There is little doubt that nationalistic motivations continue to be a factor for why millennials visit Gallipoli, especially on Anzac Day. When discussing what motivated Annie to undertake her pilgrimage, Annie stated that as “a proud Australian” the accomplishments of the Anzacs “is something that I am passionate about and proud of”.<sup>95</sup> Similarly, Noah’s motivations were linked to his admiration of the Anzacs accomplishments at Gallipoli, which he claims “gives me a really good sense of pride to know that what happened and to know that they were Australian”.<sup>96</sup> Throughout the interviews being “proud of my country”, “proud to be there”, “proud that they made the sacrifice for us”, “national pride” or that the Anzacs “give me pride” was commonly raised when discussing what motivated pilgrims to make the journey.<sup>97</sup> These responses are indicative of the nationalistic motivations underpinning pilgrims desire to visit Gallipoli. Millennial pilgrims are making the journey to Gallipoli to pay homage to the men they perceived to epitomise the Australian character and whose actions, which they are passionate and proud of, have led to the Australia of today.

The social media posts that millennials upload to Facebook or Instagram is further indicative of the nationalistic motivations that are possessed by millennial pilgrims. Lauren’s Instagram post (Figure 3), uploaded to the social network platform shortly after attending the Dawn Service, is representative of the multitude of posts uploaded by this cohort. More often than not these posts show pilgrims holding an Australian flag above the Anzac inscription at the North Beach memorial site. The choice to use the Australian flag in this manner highlights what Michael Billig has termed “Banal Nationalism”; the commonplace representation of the nation through easily recognisable symbols, such as flags, that increase social togetherness or national belonging.<sup>98</sup>

Australians have historically avoided flag-waving, instead believing themselves to be “laconic and undemonstrative”. The use of the Australian flag as a means to express one’s national identity or pride has increased over the last two decades. Its rise coincides with the Howard Government’s attempt to foster a national narrative in an ever-increasing globalised world.<sup>99</sup> It was also during this time that flag-waving became exceedingly popular for Australian pilgrims to Gallipoli. Scates makes note that the Dawn Service was “a sea of Australian and New Zealand flags”, while also

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<sup>95</sup> Interview with Annie H.

<sup>96</sup> Interview with Noah A.

<sup>97</sup> Interview with Alex D; Interview with Emma D; Interview with Hannah N; Interview with Daniel J.

<sup>98</sup> Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: SAGE Publications, 1995), 6-7.

<sup>99</sup> Graeme Orr, ‘A Fetishised Gift: The Legal Status of Flags’, *Griffith Law Review* 19, no. 3 (January 2010): 510; Farida Fozdar, Brian Spittles, and Lisa K. Hartley, ‘Australia Day, Flags on Cars and Australian Nationalism’, *Journal of Sociology* 51, no. 2 (June 2015): 318.

including numerous pictures, one on the cover of *Return to Gallipoli*, depicting young Australians displaying flags in this manner.<sup>100</sup> Hawkins has also stated the image of Australians draped in a flag was prominently used by commercial tour operators in their advertising material promoting Gallipoli pilgrimages.<sup>101</sup>

Lauren's post is demonstrative of two things. Firstly, by holding an Australian flag in the picture and by selecting a flag emoji in the accompanying caption, her actions exemplify "Banal Nationalism". It illustrates how millennial pilgrims to Gallipoli feel both patriotic at the site and ceremony, and that nationalistic motivations underpin their desire to undertake their pilgrimage. Secondly, the post highlights how millennials have continued to use flags for nationalistic reasons during their pilgrimages, despite the restrictions placed on the event by DVA, which includes the prohibition of large flags or banners.<sup>102</sup>



Figure 3 – Lauren K. Instagram Post 27th April 2019

The Dawn Service has emerged over the last century as one of Australia's most important commemorative events and central to the "Anzac tradition and popular constructions of nationhood" present in Australian society.<sup>103</sup> While the origins of the first dawn service are unclear, the practice spread throughout Australia in the 1920s, as an appropriate way to

<sup>100</sup> Scates, 'In Gallipoli's Shadow'. 14; and Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*, Cover & 190.

<sup>101</sup> Hawkins, *Consuming Anzac*, 74.

<sup>102</sup> Moving forward will employ the acronym DVA in place of Department of Veteran Affairs; Department of Veteran Affairs, *Gallipoli 2019 - Information for Attendance Pass Holders* (Canberra: Australian Government - Department of Veteran Affairs, n.d.), 11.

<sup>103</sup> Seal, 'ANZAC: The Sacred in the Secular', 139-40.



memorialise the soldiers who fought and died in the Great War.<sup>104</sup> The “characteristically minimalist Australian ceremony” is now held all over the country and across the globe and used to honour the service and sacrifice of all Australia’s past and current military personnel. The Dawn Service held at Gallipoli, in particular, has become one of the pre-eminent places to attend the service and the public interest significant enough to justify televising it across the nation.

Without a doubt, the Dawn Service continues to be a powerful motivator for millennials choosing to make their pilgrimage to Gallipoli. Responding as to why she decided to travel to Turkey, Lauren simply stated: “Yeah to come to the Anzac Day Dawn Service”.<sup>105</sup> Her answer was hardly unique; many of the pilgrims interviewed asserted similar sentiments. Their comments illustrate the desire to not only visit the physical site but to experience the Dawn Service; to participate in the rituals, “to pay respect”, share and “feel the Anzac comradeship” of the event, or just “being there for the last post”.<sup>106</sup>

The desire to attend the service at Gallipoli further highlights the inherent nationalistic motivation of millennial pilgrims. As Frank Bongiorno has argued, Anzac commemoration and Anzac war remembrance links military endeavours with that of Australian national identity.<sup>107</sup> By choosing to attend memorial services that relate to Australia’s participation in war, millennial pilgrims are in part doing so for underlying nationalistic reasons.

#### 2.4.2 Travel Motivations

For millennial pilgrims, visiting Gallipoli is “something [they] have always wanted to do”, the “very place that it all happened” and that is the reason why “we keep coming back”.<sup>108</sup> Samantha Harris, a 30-something Australian traveller posted to her travel blog, that:

“I booked my tickets to attend ANZAC day at Gallipoli the same time I booked my flights to start my year long travel & discovery journey. In my heart, there was no doubt in my mind that as an Australian, if you can make it to Gallipoli

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid, 139; Kerry Neale, ‘In the Cold Light of Dawn’, *Wartime - The Australian War Memorial*, no. 38, accessed 3 September 2019, <https://www.awm.gov.au/wartime/38/article2/>.

<sup>105</sup> Interview with Lauren K

<sup>106</sup> Interview with Emma D; Gabriella Chaudhri, ‘ANZAC Day: A First Hand Account from Gallipoli’, *Six-Two by Contiki* (blog), 25 April 2017, <https://www.contiki.com/six-two/anzac-day-first-hand-account-gallipoli/>; Interview with Noah A.

<sup>107</sup> Bongiorno, ‘Anzac and the Politics of Inclusion’, 81.

<sup>108</sup> Interview with Lauren K; Interview with Alex D.

for ANZAC day, you must do it, at least once in your life. This was my chance”.<sup>109</sup>

For Samantha and others in her generation, Gallipoli continues to be a “must do” on their world tour, being seen as a “bucket list item” which they had “to witness and experience”.<sup>110</sup> It is a place that many pilgrims felt must be visited at least “once in your life”, comparable to seeing the Eiffel Tower, the Pyramids of Giza, or Machu Pichu. Alex, who described the feeling of reaching Gallipoli as a “wow I’ve actually made it” moment, drew parallels to his experiences “travelling up to Uluru” or his “first time in the United Kingdom and seeing London”.<sup>111</sup> He like most of the pilgrims interviewed undoubtedly viewed Gallipoli as an import place to visit, nonetheless, it was only one place of many on their extended travel itinerary, which is indicative of their motivation to travel and experience different places around the world.

Sam’s blog further illustrates the word of mouth recommendations that take place in hostel dorm rooms the world over. The “if you are going here, then you may as well go there” conversations. Gallipoli is a place that she not only wants to see for herself but one that she “urges” all Australians to visit. West states that these recommendations were a factor as to why Gallipoli is a chosen destination for independent travellers.<sup>112</sup> However, for the participants in the sample, these recommendations did not seem to be a powerful motivational factor. It was never raised when they were asked why they decided to visit Gallipoli. Not one pilgrim mentioned that they had been told that they had to “do Gallipoli”. Instead, visiting Gallipoli was something that they had always wanted to do. Millennials had a long-held desire to visit the site, which in some cases could be traced back to a childhood experience, such as participating in dawn services or being involved with the Girl Guides.<sup>113</sup>

Their decision to travel to Gallipoli is representative of the desire of millennials to “locate the Anzac legend in a geographic place”.<sup>114</sup> The landscape itself serves a commemorative function for pilgrims as a natural monument to the Anzacs. By travelling and engaging with the site, pilgrims are confronted with a physical representation of the Anzac legend: a place where they can

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<sup>109</sup> Samantha Harris, ‘Attending ANZAC Day 2019 at Gallipoli & Why I’m Angry – Blog’, accessed 26 June 2019, <https://lifeofsamantha.com/attending-anzac-day-2019-at-gallipoli-why-im-angry/>.

<sup>110</sup> Interview with Eleanor R; Interview with Noah A.

<sup>111</sup> Interview with Alex D.

<sup>112</sup> West, ‘Independent Travel and Civil Religious Pilgrimage’, 19.

<sup>113</sup> Interview with Lauren K; Interview with Emma D; Interview with Julie B.

<sup>114</sup> West, ‘Independent Travel and Civil Religious Pilgrimage’, 20.

“experience what they went through” and “walk where people have walked before”.<sup>115</sup> For Julie, visiting Gallipoli was important as she wanted to “be able to place Gallipoli in my thoughts in the future so when I remember about the Anzacs, I have a physical link to where it happened”.<sup>116</sup> As with all public memorials or places of remembrance, Gallipoli “keeps past events alive in the common memory” of those that travel there.<sup>117</sup> This acts as a bridge between the events in the past and the social memory of Anzac in the present.<sup>118</sup>

### 2.4.3 Spiritual Motivations

In 2003, then Australian Prime Minister John Howard proclaimed that the “ownership of the Anzac legend” was “instinctively felt by young Australians” who in “their thousands [...] flock to Anzac Cove on the 25th of April seemingly as some patriotic rite of passage”.<sup>119</sup> In essence, Howard was suggesting that young Australians were motivated to visit Gallipoli, in what Hyde and Harman propose was a “pilgrimage to a site with deep spiritual meaning”.<sup>120</sup> A journey to the perceived epicentre of Anzac. The place where Anzac was both born and where many “made the ultimate sacrifice” so we could have the “freedom we do today”.<sup>121</sup> The motivations to visit Gallipoli are similar to those of a Christian undertaking a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or Muslims to Mecca.<sup>122</sup>

While a decade and a half have passed since Howard made this speech, there is no doubt that the motivations for young Australian continue to align with these sentiments. There is something different about travelling to Gallipoli for them, a point almost universally stated. When asked if her trip to Gallipoli was different, Emma responded: “like this isn’t a trip to Turkey, this is a pilgrimage to Gallipoli, [...] like it’s not just cool I went to Turkey it is a different meaning to me”. She made it abundantly clear that her motivations were to undertake a pilgrimage and to pay her “respects” to the Anzacs “in the place that it actually happened”.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Interview with Noah A; Interview with Annie H.

<sup>116</sup> Interview with Julie B.

<sup>117</sup> Ebru Erbas Gurler and Basak Ozer, ‘The Effects of Public Memorials on Social Memory and Urban Identity’, *Procedia - Social and Behavioural Sciences* 82 (July 2013): 858.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid*, 862.

<sup>119</sup> John Howard, “‘Australians at War’ Address Australia House, London’ (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 10 November 2003), <https://pmtranscripts.pmc.gov.au/release/transcript-20994>.

<sup>120</sup> Hyde and Harman, ‘Motives for a Secular Pilgrimage to the Gallipoli Battlefields’, 1345.

<sup>121</sup> Interview with Daniel J; Interview with Lauren K.

<sup>122</sup> Cheal and Griffin, ‘Pilgrims and Patriots’, 237; West, ‘Independent Travel and Civil Religious Pilgrimage’, 15-18.

<sup>123</sup> Interview with Emma D.

Others were less articulate in their responses, yet there was an expectation that travelling to Gallipoli would be a “spiritual”, “emotional” or “humbling” journey, for which “after experiencing it we will just all be different”.<sup>124</sup> The word pilgrimage may not have been directly spoken, however, the desire and motivation to undertake a pilgrimage was evident.

#### 2.4.4 Friendship Motivations

For high school mates Brad, Patrick, and Alex considered their joint pilgrimage a “bit of a reunion”. Travelling from all over the world, Brad was travelling in Eastern Europe and Russia; Patrick from Australia; and Alex who was visiting the UK. Gallipoli on Anzac Day represented a time and place where they could reconnect and share an experience that they all found important. A mutual decision, it is clear that friendship motivations played a decisive role in the reason they undertook their pilgrimage.<sup>125</sup> Annie’s and Hannah’s story was slightly different, friends from Port Macquarie in NSW, they had made the journeyed together, solely for the purpose to join the Anzac tour. Theirs was not a mutual decision; Annie was the clear instigator.

**Nabb: And whose decision was it to come visit Gallipoli?**

Annie: It was definitely mine.

**Nabb: So, you told her you?**

Annie: I didn't give her a choice.

**Nabb: You made her?**

Annie: Yeah, I said that we are going here!<sup>126</sup>

Although Annie admitted that she did not feel comfortable travelling alone, her motivations aligned to her connection with Anzac. Hannah’s, on the other hand, was vastly different. As a student studying Ancient History, what she wanted to see the most was the Dardanelle Strait, due to it being “such an important part of history”.<sup>127</sup> Not the typical answer one might expect from an Australian about to head to Gallipoli for Anzac Day. Her comments, however, reveal that Hannah’s true motivations to visit Gallipoli lay directly in her friendship with Annie. She most certainly would not have made this particular journey on her own accord. Both these examples

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<sup>124</sup> Interview with Julie B; Interview with Noah A; Interview with Daniel J; Interview with Lauren K.

<sup>125</sup> Interview with Brad D; Interview with Alex D.

<sup>126</sup> Interview with Annie H.

<sup>127</sup> Interview with Hannah N.

are illustrative of Hyde and Harman's findings that young travellers are "motivated to visit the Gallipoli battlefields to share a good time with friends and fellow travellers".<sup>128</sup>

While it has previously been established that the shared experience and "communitas" is a crucial aspect of why visiting Gallipoli is a pilgrimage, it is also an important motivational factor.

Discussing the reason why she decided to visit Gallipoli with Contiki, Amy provided the following response:

I thought that it was nice to sort of share these experiences with people generally, so to not be on my own, [...] to share with a group of people who place the same sort of importance on it, the same understanding on it.<sup>129</sup>

This was a common sentiment to many who joined the Anzac tour, the idea that "we're all there for the same reason" and we get to meet "like-minded people". There is an inherent expectation that to experience Gallipoli truly, one needs to do so with others. In his investigation, Scates also found that "very few embarked on this journey alone", noting the importance of the shared experience, be it with close family and friends, other travellers on a packaged tour, or chance encounters at memorial services.<sup>130</sup> Further, Cheal and Griffin identified that one of the most distinctive features of Gallipoli pilgrimages was the communal experience of travellers to the site.<sup>131</sup>

#### 2.4.5 Family Motivations

Daniel's journey to Gallipoli was longer than most. Growing up and living in Roxby Downs, a small mining town in central South Australia, he had made the journey to Turkey as he "wanted to visit Gallipoli to pay tribute to" his two great grandfathers who served there. Throughout his interview, he proudly discussed what he knew of them, showed pictures of both men during the war, and explained why their service was important to both him and his family. It was not the only time that he felt the need to tell people either; he also placed a detailed post on Facebook "to tell people what I am doing".<sup>132</sup> His post, which included the service photos of both men, provided a detailed explanation for why he felt the need to visit the peninsula (Figure 4).

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<sup>128</sup> Hyde and Harman, 'Motives for a Secular Pilgrimage to the Gallipoli Battlefields', 1348.

<sup>129</sup> Interview with Amy D.

<sup>130</sup> Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*, 112-13.

<sup>131</sup> Cheal and Griffin, 'Pilgrims and Patriots', 238.

<sup>132</sup> Interview with Daniel J.



Figure 4 – Daniel J. Facebook post 24th April 2019

Daniel was undertaking what is best described as a family pilgrimage. The journey was to follow in the footsteps of family, to feel closer to relatives, to understand their wartime experiences, and to visit the graves or memorials of lost family. As Bruce Scates showed, family motivations have always been a significant factor as to why pilgrims have decided to visit Gallipoli, especially for the immediate family of soldiers killed.<sup>133</sup>

However, while Daniel's journey illustrates that this tradition has continued to endure for yet another generation, the personal connections are getting even weaker and further distanced. Only one other of the participants interviewed could claim that they even knew of an ancestor who had served at Gallipoli.<sup>134</sup> And yet paradoxically, family motivations were still a major factor for why millennials choose to undertake a pilgrimage to Gallipoli. When probing and questioning millennial motivations, a personal connection to someone in the armed forces was often raised.

We don't have any family that fought in World War One or Two, but we've got family friends that did Vietnam.<sup>135</sup>

Yeah, my dad is in the forces, so he I guess he always influenced me telling – me how important it was to pay our respects.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>133</sup> Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*, 63-121.

<sup>134</sup> Interview with Alex D.

<sup>135</sup> Interview with Lauren K.

<sup>136</sup> Interview with Emma D.

I have a really good friend who's in the armed forces [...] (and) my uncle was in the navy, and my pop was navy as well, World War Two.<sup>137</sup>

The inevitable follow up question asking them if their service influenced their decision to visit Gallipoli was answered with words or acknowledgments of agreement. Of the eleven pilgrims interviewed, six claimed to have had a personal connection with someone in the armed forces, with another suggesting that her trip was influenced by her mother's volunteering work with the local government and local RSL back home.<sup>138</sup>

There is little doubt that these journeys are family pilgrimages. They may not be a pilgrimage to pay homage directly to someone who served or died there, but instead to the Anzacs as a collective entity. The journeys are to honour their own family and friends who had or are currently serving: the perceived inheritors of the Anzac traditions born at Gallipoli. The place where many grieving mothers could only dream of visiting a century ago has since become the place to pay respects to all those who have served in the nation's defence forces.

#### 2.4.6 Educational Motivations

Outside of Hyde and Harmon's five motivations factors, millennials also suggested that they wanted to visit Gallipoli, as they believed that it would be an educational experience. Some, like Amy, regarded it as "a key thing that I want to get out of" their trip.<sup>139</sup> There was a clear desire to learn more about the campaign, to walk the trails, and to touch the history learnt at school. Others recognised that the pilgrimage was a great avenue to learn more about the Turkish side of the campaign, a perspective about which many admitted they knew very little of. Although these journeys could hardly be categorised as purely for educational purposes, their comments and responses provided in both the interviews and the follow-up post pilgrimage surveys, suggested that educational motivations were influential to their decisions to visit Gallipoli.

#### 2.4.7 Multifaceted Motivations

It is a commonly held belief that motivations for touristic travel are multifaceted, with tourists possessing multiple reason why they choose to visit a location.<sup>140</sup> This research revealed that

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<sup>137</sup> Interview with Annie H.

<sup>138</sup> Interview with Eleanor R.

<sup>139</sup> Interview with Amy D.

<sup>140</sup> David Bowen and Jackie Clarke, *Contemporary Tourist Behaviour : Yourself and Others as Tourists* (Wallingford, UK: CAB International, 2009); Phillip Pearce, 'Fundamentals of Tourist Motivations', in

millennial pilgrims also possess multiple reasons for having undertaken their pilgrimage. Throughout interviews and the subsequent analysis of their transcripts, post-pilgrimage surveys and social media posts show that participants' motivations encompass most, if not all of Hyde and Harman motivational factors for undertaking their Gallipoli pilgrimage. This highlights the complex and varied motivations surrounding why this cohort decided to visit Gallipoli (Figure 5).

	Motivations	Lauren K.	Noah A.	Emma D.	Julie B.	Amy D.	Daniel J.	Hannah N.	Annie H.	Brad D.	Alex D.	Ellenor R.
1	Nationalistic	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
2	Travel	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X
3	Spiritual	X	X		X	X			X	X		X
4	Friendship	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
5	Family	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
6	Other - Educational		X			X		X		X	X	

Figure 5 – Multifaceted Motivations

## 2.5 Conclusion

The 2019 Gallipoli Dawn Service was the first to be held after the “memory orgy” that was the centenary of the First World War. A significant percentage of the 1,431 pilgrims in attendance were young Australian travellers. Their journeys continued a tradition first established in the late-1980s, of young Australians travelling to the battlefield to pay homage to the men of Anzac.

As with their generational predecessors, millennial pilgrims come from all over Australia, representing a broad socioeconomic range of Australian society. However, while the pilgrims present exhibited a wide range of occupations and education levels; the ethnic breakdown did not reflect the multicultural dimension of modern Australian society. Both Australia's two largest non-European ancestries, Chinese and Indian, were substantially underrepresented. Pilgrims attending the event, as with earlier generations, remained predominately of European descent.

Millennials were driven to undertake their pilgrimage based on six motivational factors: nationalistic, travel, spiritual, friendship, family, and educational. Nationalistic motivations emerged as the most influential factor for travellers. Although for millennials the decision to undertake a pilgrimage was multifaceted; all pilgrims interviewed exhibited multiple motivational factors for why they made the journey.



## 3 Chapter Three – Constructed Pilgrim Experience

### 3.1 Introduction

In advice to ticket holders of the 2019 Gallipoli Dawn Service, the DVA recommended: “that visitors travel to the commemorations as part of an organised tour arriving by coach”. It is estimated that 95% of all pilgrims that attend do so as part of a guided bus tour, so therefore for the overwhelming majority of Australians, including millennial pilgrims, tour operators play an essential and integral role in their pilgrim experience.<sup>141</sup>

This chapter investigates three elements of the function commercial tour companies play in the Gallipoli pilgrim experience. Section 3.2 provides a summary of how tour companies have serviced the pilgrim market over the last century. Section 3.3 focuses on how and why millennials choose to undertake their pilgrimage with tour companies. Section 3.4 illustrates how these organisations shape and construct the pilgrim experience.

### 3.2 History of Packaged Battlefield Tours

From the onset, commercial enterprises have played a significant role in the construction of the pilgrim experience for Australian travellers. The ceasing of hostilities in November 1918, coupled with the desire of many to make the journey to the battlefields, cemeteries, and memorials scattered around Europe, created an avenue for opportunistic entrepreneurs looking to capitalise on the burgeoning “pilgrim market”. For many Britons, the proximity and the economies of scale associated with the developed tourist infrastructure in Western Europe made visiting the battlefields an achievable goal. However, for Australians, the cost of over A£200, more than the annual income of most at the time, restricted the journey to those fortunate enough to afford both the price and required leisure time.<sup>142</sup>

The privileged few, able to afford the outlay, typically booked their tour with the popular travel companies at the time. Thomas Cook, one of the first companies to cater to this emerging market, provided Australian travellers the chance to incorporate a guided tour of the battlefields of France, into their wider European itinerary (Figure 6). Potential pilgrims were told that they

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<sup>141</sup> Department of Veterans Affairs, ‘Anzac Day at Gallipoli’.

<sup>142</sup> David Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939* (Oxford: Berg, 1998), 23-39; Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*, 67-75; White, *On Holidays*. 89-90; Anonymous, ‘Battlefields Pilgrimage’, *Advertiser*, 7 December 1929.

“should place themselves in the hands of Thomas Cook and Sons, as during the summer months they have daily excursions, leaving Paris under first class guides, who look after hotel accommodation, trains and other comforts”.<sup>143</sup> It was seen at the time as “an excellent way of doing a battlefield tour, as everything is arranged, and the guide points out the interesting details”.<sup>144</sup> These companies constructed much of the pilgrim experience for the early Australian pilgrims. Organising how they got to and around Europe, where they stayed, and provided the expertise and means to explore the battlefields of Western Europe.



Figure 6 – Thomas Cook Advertisement 9th April 1922

The Gallipoli Battlefields also drew great interest for pilgrims from across Britain and Australia. Unfortunately, the political turmoil in Turkey following the war and the conditions of the site, which unlike France and Belgium, had not been restored to a state acceptable to visitors, made the journey far more difficult.<sup>145</sup> Although there was a demand for the services of tour companies, the underdeveloped state of the tourist infrastructure and the restrictions imposed at the site by the Imperial War Graves Commission (IWGC), was not conducive for a profitable business venture, leading commercial tour companies to avoid the market.<sup>146</sup> Instead, pilgrims made their own way to the peninsula and relied on the generosity of the IWGC for accommodation, food, and transportation to explore the site. In the absence of tour companies,

<sup>143</sup> Baille Richard Williamson, 'A Tour through Devasted France', *Cootamundra Herald*, 13 May 1921.

<sup>144</sup> Anonymous, 'A Letter from France', *Register*, 18 December 1919.

<sup>145</sup> Bean, *Gallipoli Mission*, 334.

<sup>146</sup> Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism*, 96.

charitable organisations also played an essential role for travellers seeking to visit Gallipoli in the interwar period.<sup>147</sup>

The Great Depression, which hit the Australian economy particularly hard, understandably reduced all types of domestic and international travel by Australians.<sup>148</sup> Despite the contraction of the international tourist market due to the economic downturn, companies continued to offer tours and were instrumental in the construction of the pilgrim experience up until the onset of the Second World War. Thomas Cook, even worked in conjunction with the Australian Government to provide veterans an affordable means to attend the 1938 opening of the National Memorial at Villers-Bretonneux, France. The basic tour from London, “included third-class rail, one class Channel steamer, one night’s accommodation at Amiens, and meals and transport” to the event.<sup>149</sup> This particular tour resembles the budget excursion tours that millennial pilgrims can now purchase to attend the Gallipoli Dawn Service.

The Second World War significantly reduced the movement of people for any reason outside of war service; however the perception persisted that tour companies would play an essential role in visiting battlefields, once the war concluded. So pervasive that one war correspondent, reporting from Northern Africa in 1943, joked that after the war “Thomas Cook & Son will surely organise trips [...] under the label Battlefields Tour” to the “dozen ruined towns” and the sites of “a hundred desperate actions, and a thousand graves” found along the Western Desert Road between Alexandria and Tripoli.<sup>150</sup> Unsurprisingly, tours to the battlefields of France began as early as mid-1946, and as the reporter predicated, Thomas Cook incorporated the North African battlefields into tours by 1949.<sup>151</sup>

In the decades following and with tens of thousands of additional Australians killed on the new battlefields around the world, tour companies again looked to capture the pilgrim market. Many of these new pilgrimage destinations were far closer to home, located throughout the South Pacific and South East Asia. However, like Gallipoli, these sites were challenging to reach, suffering from inadequate tourist infrastructure. Although there were limited attempts to capture

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<sup>147</sup>Lloyd. 95 -100; Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*, 67-70.

<sup>148</sup> John I. Richardson, *A History of Australian Travel and Tourism* (Melbourne: Hospitality Press, 1999), 82.

<sup>149</sup> Anonymous, ‘Unveiling War Memorial: Conducted Tour for Australians’, *West Australian*, 7 April 1938.

<sup>150</sup> Anonymous, ‘8th Army Still Getting Most of Its Goods by Road’, *News*, 23 February 1943.

<sup>151</sup> Anonymous, ‘Battlefield Tours’, *Brisbane Worker*, 12 August 1946; Anonymous, ‘Battlefield Tours Have Begun’, *Newcastle Sun*, 14 May 1946; Anonymous, ‘Thomas Cook Advertisement - 1949’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 April 1949.

the pilgrim market to Papua New Guinea, with Ansett Airways offering a 12-day tour that included Port Moresby and Rabaul, most of these sites remained mostly unvisited. The financial outlay was still far too expensive for most, despite the reduced cost associated with their proximity or that Australians now received paid annual leave.<sup>152</sup>

The advent of commercial jet aircraft and mass transit in the 1960s and 1970s led to the democratisation of travel and tourism. Australians, who recently could only dream of visiting Europe, were now doing so in numbers not seen since the Great War. However, while a pilgrimage was now a distinct possibility, the desire to undertake one mostly was not. Sentiments had changed, Australians were currently fighting in an unpopular war, and Anzac, in general, was on the decline.<sup>153</sup>

The revival of the Anzac tradition in the 1980s had a profound impact on the pilgrim market, especially the battlefields of Gallipoli. It was predominately led by the desire of young Australians and New Zealanders to visit the site on Anzac Day. Their journeys, the precursors of Gallipoli pilgrimages today, were unstructured and improvised. Pilgrims made their way to the site independently, as it remained largely off the beaten track. However, by the later years of the decade, Gallipoli emerged as “a bustling tourist mecca”.<sup>154</sup>

Predictably, the increasing number of tourists to the area attracted tour operators looking to capitalise on this emerging market. One operator to enter was Topdeck, who in 1989 was reported to be “bringing busloads of young travellers to camp on the shores” at Gallipoli (Figure 7).<sup>155</sup> The Australian led company, already servicing this demographic in the wider European youth tour market, successfully leveraged brand recognition, and used their established infrastructure to enter the market. However, while there was demand, independent travel remained the desired option for most.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Bruce Scates, *Anzac Journeys: Returning to the Battlefields of World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 239; Richardson, *A History of Australian Travel and Tourism*, 81.

<sup>153</sup> Holbrook, *Anzac, The Unauthorised Biography*, 116-43; Macleod, ‘The Fall and Rise of Anzac Day’, 149-68.

<sup>154</sup> Hawkins, *Consuming Anzac*, 66-70.

<sup>155</sup> Simon Kent, ‘Australia’s New Invasion of Anzac Cove’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 October 1989.

<sup>156</sup> Jude Wilson, David Fisher, and Kevin Moore, “‘Van Tour’ and ‘Doing a Contiki’: Grand ‘Backpacker’ Tours of Europe”, in *Backpacker Tourism: Concepts and Profiles*, ed. Kevin Hannam and Irena Ateljevic, (Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications, 2007), 123-25.



Figure 7 – Topdeck Tour Bus at Gallipoli Peninsula in the late 1980s (Source - ABC)

As the Dawn Service increased in popularity throughout the 1990s and early-2000s, so did the presence of tour operators in the market. While most pilgrims still made their own way to Gallipoli, pursuing the lauded independent travel experience. Others increasingly chose the ease of undertaking a pilgrimage with an organised tour operator.<sup>157</sup> Contiki, Topdeck, Travel Talk, Aviva, and others targeted the large Australian ex-pat community living in London, providing pilgrims with the services required to get them from Istanbul to the Dawn Service and back again.<sup>158</sup> Travel Talk's two-day tour was representative of them, offering pilgrims "arrival shuttle transfer, welcome party, Turkish bath, 3 and 4 star hotels, Air conditioned coaches with TV and video, Screening of Anzac documentaries enroute, Farewell party, memorial t-shirt and more!"<sup>159</sup> This became the template for the package tours servicing the young pilgrim market today.

By 2006, the independent travel that characterised a Gallipoli pilgrimage for the previous two decades had virtually disappeared. Regulations instigated by the DVA and local Turkish authorities in the mid-2000s had made it far more difficult, if not impossible, for these travellers to make their own way to the Dawn Service. The highly structured format of packaged tours suited the new regulated Dawn Service, providing event organisers greater control over pilgrims attending

<sup>157</sup> West, 'Independent Travel and Civil Religious Pilgrimage', 9-31; Wilson, Fisher, and Moore, "'Van Tour' and 'Doing a Contiki'", 123.

<sup>158</sup> Hawkins, *Consuming Anzac*, 74-75.

<sup>159</sup> Quoted in Hawkins, 75.

the event. Packaged tours, once denigrated and perceived as not being an authentic travel experience, became the predominant way that pilgrims undertook their Gallipoli pilgrimage.<sup>160</sup>

### 3.3 Modern Group Package Tours

Wong and Kwong, have proposed that tourists have set criteria as to which group package tour they decide to purchase, based on the economic assumption of value maximisation. The criteria dependent on travellers' subjective preferences and financial capabilities. For millennial pilgrims looking to attend the Dawn Service, the choice of which tour to select is extensive. However, of these choices, there are two basic options that pilgrims can select: excursion tours and all-inclusive package tours.<sup>161</sup>

#### 3.3.1 Excursion Tours

Excursion tours are short 1-2-day tours, that consist of the bare minimum of what constitutes a guided tour. The lowest price point, approximately AUD 200-250. They lack many of the standard components of more expensive packaged tours and typically are limited to providing pilgrims the logistical means to attend the Dawn Service. The reduced cost can be attractive to younger travellers who generally have a smaller budget compared to other tourist demographics. However, the shorter timeframe may be detrimental to their ability to develop stronger relationships with others on tour, potentially impacting the shared experience of pilgrimage.

#### 3.3.2 Inclusive Package Tours

Inclusive packaged tours are a popular way that many millennials travel.<sup>162</sup> They provide travellers with an easy method to visit and explore a variety of unique destinations. For a set price, tour operators combine several travel components, including accommodation, logistics, and meals, into one complete package. Potential customers have a wide variety of choices, with companies offering packages to every conceivable destination, varying lengths, prices, and types of experiences. For millennial pilgrims desiring to visit Gallipoli, there are three types of inclusive

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<sup>160</sup> Hanna Conal, 'New Meaning', *TNT Magazine*, 20 February 2006, 105; Hawkins, *Consuming Anzac*, 71-77; Wilson, Fisher, and Moore, "'Van Tour' and 'Doing a Contiki'", 123.

<sup>161</sup> Chak-Keung Simon Wong and Wai-Yan Yan Kwong, 'Outbound Tourists' Selection Criteria for Choosing All-Inclusive Package Tours', *Tourism Management* 25, no. 5 (2004): 582; see also Wineaster Anderson, Catalina Juaneda, and Francisco Sastre, 'Influences of Pro- All-inclusive Travel Decisions', *Tourism Review* 64, no. 2 (19 June 2009): 7.

<sup>162</sup> Wong and Kwong, 'Outbound Tourists' Selection Criteria for Choosing All-Inclusive Package Tours', 581.

packaged tours that they can purchase: Standard Package Tours; Historical/Battlefield Tours; and Special Event Tours.

Standardised packaged tours are a commonly purchased product for Australian millennial travellers. Characterised by a standardised itinerary that includes guided tours; visiting local attractions; and the stereotypical nights out associated with youth package tours. For millennials seeking to travel to Turkey, several tour operators provide packages that enable travellers to travel around and experience the country (Figure 8).<sup>163</sup> Furthermore, most tours incorporate a day trip to the battlefields of Gallipoli. For Australian travellers who stop at Gallipoli on one of these tours, their visit is undoubtedly opportunistic. However, while these tours are run year-round, those that fall around late April typically have their itinerary slightly altered to incorporate the Dawn Service in order to capture the pilgrim market.



Figure 8 – Topdeck's Standardised Package Tour of Turkey including Gallipoli (Source - Topdeck Tours)

Historical/battlefield tours target consumers seeking to learn and visit sites associated with military history. Generally accompanied by a qualified historian, educational motivations factor heavily in the decision to purchase these tours. A niche market, several Australian companies, provide tours to Gallipoli that incorporate the Dawn Service. However, the price point, itinerary, and their marketing material indicate they are designed for an older demographic and not to millennials.<sup>164</sup>

Special event tours are structured around attending a specific event or festival, such as Oktoberfest, Hogmanay, or Anzac Day at Gallipoli. A favoured choice of millennial travellers, they combine the logistical arrangements to attend the event with elements of regular package tours. Many of the large tour companies that market to the youth market offer these specially designed

<sup>163</sup> Example of these tours include: Contiki's *Turkish Adventure*; Intrepid's *Real Turkey*; and Topdeck's *Turkey Explored*

<sup>164</sup> Boronia Travel Centre, 'The Battlefield Tour Specialists', accessed 24 August 2019, <https://www.battlefieldtourspecialists.com.au/>; Mat McLachlan Battlefield Tours, 'Australia's Leading Tour Operator', accessed 24 August 2019, <https://battlefields.com.au/>.

tours; capitalising on the desire of their target market to attend the event and their established supply chain servicing their other tours. The tour selected for this research project, Contiki's *Anzac Odyssey*, is one of these special event tours.

### 3.4 Benefits of Group Packaged Tours

Both academic researchers and travel bloggers alike agree that there are advantages to undertaking travel with a packaged tour. Although different authors have chosen numerous ways of describing these benefits, each one generally falls into one of four categories. Convenience and ease of travel; economies of resources; safety and security; and social experience. These benefits, also apply to millennials undertaking their pilgrimage with a packaged tour.<sup>165</sup>

#### 3.4.1 Convenience and Ease of Travel

Convenience and ease of travel is a significant factor in why a traveller selects a packaged tour. The laborious work of planning and booking each component is taken out of the hands of the individual traveller. Instead, customers are only required to select which tour best suits their needs and when they want to travel.<sup>166</sup> Several millennial pilgrims interviewed raised this benefit, suggesting that "it would be more difficult to do on my own".<sup>167</sup>

An examination of the persuasive advertising material targeting the millennial market further illustrates the importance that these consumers place on this benefit.<sup>168</sup> As commercial enterprises, an assumption can be made that tour operators have developed effective marketing strategies that target their customer's unique needs.<sup>169</sup> Figure 9 demonstrates how Contiki leverage this benefit in the marketing material, emphasising that they "organise accommodation, food, experiences and transport" so the traveller "can relax and focus on exploring the world".<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> For an overview of the academic literature surrounding tourist motivations and benefits for selecting package tours see Anderson, Juaneda, and Sastre, 'Influences of Pro- All-inclusive Travel Decisions', 7; for examples of travel blogs see Lauren Beatty, '6 Benefits to Booking a Guided Tour Package [Pro-Tips]', *Explorer Chick* (blog), 18 December 2016, <https://explorerchick.com/journal/6-benefits-booking-guided-tour-package-pro-tips/>. and Vicky Philpott, '9 Benefits of Travelling in a Tour Group', *Gap Year* (blog), 13 March 2017, <https://www.gapyear.com/articles/travel-tips/9-benefits-travelling-tour-group>.

<sup>166</sup> Mamotse Mokabe, 'Invincible Motives for Buying Packaged Tours: A Case Study of Diano Tours', *Tourism and Leisure* 7 (2018): 3.

<sup>167</sup> Interview with Amy D; Interview with Noah A.

<sup>168</sup> Philip Kotler et al., *Principles of Marketing*, 4th ed. (Sydney: Pearson Education Australia, 2009), 458-461; Tour companies websites visited were Busabout, Contiki, Intrepid, and Topdeck.

<sup>169</sup> Kotler et al. 17-21.

<sup>170</sup> Contiki Travel, 'How Contiki Works', accessed 8 January 2019, <https://www.contiki.com/au/en/about/how-contiki-works>.



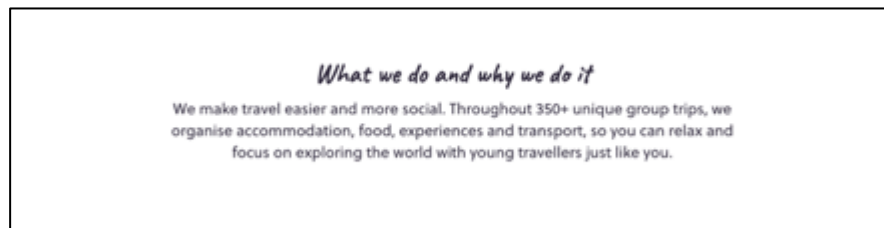


Figure 9 – Contiki's Digital Promotional Material 'How Contiki Works' (Source - Contiki Tours)

### 3.4.2 Economies of resources

Economies of resources, be it monetary or time, is an important motivation to why tourists purchase packaged tours. There is a belief by millennial travellers that to develop an itinerary equivalent to the one "tried and tested" by reputable tour operators could take weeks of research and planning, without guarantee of success.<sup>171</sup> As Anderson et al. demonstrate, packaged tours are believed to be value for money, while there is an increased financial outlay, this is perceived to be lower than the additional time invested in producing a comparable travel experience.<sup>172</sup>

### 3.4.3 Safety and Security

While discussing the benefits of a packaged tour on her travel blog, Lauren Beatty, states "group travellers take solace in the idea of safety in numbers" and that "traveling with an experienced company" allows "travellers to sideline their worries, and simply enjoy their vacation".<sup>173</sup> In their study of packaged tours, Wong and Kwong, also found that safety and security were essential to why tourists selected this method of travel, especially for those choosing to travel on their own or visiting a destination for the first time.<sup>174</sup> This point was also made by Annie, who acknowledged that "I personally, don't like travelling by myself" and felt more "comfortable" to do so with Contiki.<sup>175</sup>

Although safety can never be completely assured, by choosing a packaged tour from a reputable touring company, there is a belief that it will be safer for a traveller than attempting a similar trip

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<sup>171</sup> Philpott, '9 Benefits of Travelling in a Tour Group'.

<sup>172</sup> Anderson, Juaneda, and Sastre, 'Influences of Pro- All-inclusive Travel Decisions', 15-16.

<sup>173</sup> Beatty, '6 Benefits to Booking a Guided Tour Package [Pro-Tips]'.

<sup>174</sup> Wong and Kwong, 'Outbound Tourists' Selection Criteria for Choosing All-Inclusive Package Tours', 583; Anderson, Juaneda, and Sastre, 'Influences of Pro- All-inclusive Travel Decisions', 65.

<sup>175</sup> Interview with Annie H.

alone. This was especially relevant for millennial pilgrims at the 2019 Anzac Day service, due to the heightened tension surrounding the event caused by comments made by the Turkish president following the Christchurch terror attacks and the reported terrorist thwarted in Turkey the day before the event.<sup>176</sup> While no attack eventuated, at the time fear and uncertainty persisted. Being part of a packaged tour alleviated some of this tension and provided an increased sense of security. One clear example of this was a millennial pilgrim admitting that as a tour they “made sure we kept to the edge of the grounds, always with a clear path of escape”.<sup>177</sup>

#### 3.4.4 Social Aspects/Experience

Tour companies targeting the young traveller market rely heavily on persuasive advertisement focused on social aspects of group packed tours. Again, illustrating the decision of travel companies to employ their limited advertising resources in what they perceived to be the most effective means to increase sales. This market strategy aligns with studies undertaken by Quiroga, and Wong and Kwong, that reveals the ability to establish and develop relationships with others on tour, quickly is a defining factor in increased customer satisfaction and more pleasurable travel experience.<sup>178</sup> G Adventures is one company who invites travellers to: “Explore the world by day, stay up all night, and do it all again tomorrow someplace new with friends you’ll want to hang on to forever”. Further, tour operators are also increasingly using social media to promote the social aspects of tours.<sup>179</sup> As Figure 10 illustrates, Contiki asks potential customers what is “The best thing about travel? The people you meet along the way, they’ll make your experience truly unforgettable”.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Brett Worthington, ‘PM Rejects Turkish Ambassador’s “excuses” over Christchurch Comments’, *ABC News*, 20 March 2019, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-03-20/scott-morrison-calls-in-turkish-ambassador-over-erdogan-comment/10919160>; Drill and Wockner, ‘Gallipoli Dawn Service “Never in Doubt”’.

<sup>177</sup> Harris, ‘Attending ANZAC Day 2019 - Blog’.

<sup>178</sup> Isabel Quiroga, ‘Characteristics of Package Tours in Europe’, *Annals of Tourism Research* 17, no. 2 (1990):198; Wong and Kwong, ‘Outbound Tourists’ Selection Criteria for Choosing All-Inclusive Package Tours’, 591.

<sup>179</sup> ‘18-to-30 Somethings Tours - G Adventures’, accessed 8 January 2019, <https://www.gadventures.com.au/travel-styles/18-to-30somethings/>.

<sup>180</sup> Contiki (@Contiki), ‘Find Your People, Wherever You Are in the World’, Instagram, 6 August 2019, <https://www.instagram.com/p/B01Byo1l4O9/>.



Figure 10 – Contiki Instagram Promotion 6th August 2019

For those travellers undertaking a Gallipoli pilgrimage, the social aspects of packaged tours take on an additional layer of importance due to both the liminal attribute of *communitas* and the expectation that pilgrims place on the shared experience. Emma expressed as much when she explained how she typically “travels everywhere by myself [...] it doesn’t bother me” but for her pilgrimage to Gallipoli “didn’t want to do it like fully by myself” hence the reason “why I am on a Contiki”.<sup>181</sup> Amy also asserted similar sentiments, “I have done Contiki before and always enjoyed them, so when I saw that they offered an Anzac Day tour, I thought [...] that it would be cool to actually go with people”.<sup>182</sup>

### 3.5 The constructed pilgrim experience

For tourists electing to travel as part of a packaged tour, the tour operator they select and the specific tour purchased play an integral part in their travel experience. They influence large parts of the journey, from when to arrive in-country; where to stay; what to eat; which attractions to visit; to the cultural or historical information presented. There are two aspects of each packaged tour that define and shape the travel experience: the standardised itinerary and the tour leader/guide.

A standardised itinerary is a defining factor for group packaged tours, incorporating all the technical and logistical elements of packaged tours, such as hotels and transportation. Through

<sup>181</sup> Interview with Emma D.

<sup>182</sup> Interview with Amy D.

purchasing these services in bulk, tour operators achieve economies of scale. This improves their purchasing power and reduces operating costs, leading to increased revenue and a competitive advantage in the marketplace.<sup>183</sup> While consumers gain the benefit of cheaper tours, it also results in tour operators shaping the tourist experience as tourists are committed to following this itinerary. The itinerary of Contiki's *ANZAC Odyssey* is representative of the special event tours offered to millennials attending the Gallipoli Dawn Service (Appendix IV).

Tour leaders are the other defining factor of group packaged tours. Tsaur and Teng assert they "are the essence of GPTs", providing a crucial link between traveller and place. Their ability to successfully organise and facilitate significantly impacts overall customer satisfaction.<sup>184</sup> All Contiki tours include one trained tour leader who accompanies the group throughout the journey. Each one, undertakes a rigorous training program where they go to "all of the countries and cities that we could potentially visit". They are trained to locate "where the major attraction were", to "communicate effectively on a microphone" and to "manage a group". Additionally, tour leaders are instructed to research and prepare historical or cultural talks "to deliver to our [their] future travellers."<sup>185</sup>

Although the responsibilities and activities of tour leaders vary depending on which tour they are assigned, each activity falls under one of four main components. Firstly, the instrumental component or the role in ensuring that the tour runs smoothly and without issue. Secondly, the social component, whereby tour leaders ensure group cohesion and integration, mitigate social tension and keep group morale high. Thirdly, the interactional component, whereby tour leaders are the intermediary between the group and the local population, attractions, or tourist facilities. Finally, the primary role of tour leaders, the communicative component. Tour leaders are trained to find, interpret and disseminate historical and cultural information to the group throughout the tour.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Quiroga, 'Characteristics of Package Tours in Europe', 186 - 187; Laurie J. Fundukian, ed., 'Economies of Scale', in *Gale Encyclopaedia of E-Commerce*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Detroit, MI: Gale, 2012), 235.

<sup>184</sup> Jehn-Yih Wong and Chih-Hung Wang, 'Emotional Labor of the Tour Leaders: An Exploratory Study', *Tourism Management* 30, no. 2 (April 2009): 249.

<sup>185</sup> Damien McMahon, 'How I Scored the Best Job in the World (and You Can Too)', *Six-Two by Contiki* (blog), 15 September 2016, <https://www.contiki.com/six-two/how-i-scored-the-best-job-in-the-world-and-you-can-too/>.

<sup>186</sup> Erik Cohen, 'The Tourist Guide: The Origins, Structure and Dynamics of a Role', *Annals of Tourism Research* 12, no. 1 (1 January 1985): 10-16.

### 3.5.1 How package tours construct the pilgrim experience

To explore the role tour operators have in the construction of the pilgrim experience, it is again useful to look at the liminal attributes associated with Turner's interpretation of pilgrimage. Specifically, the journey to the sacred; *communitas*; homogenisation of status and simplicity of dress; and the reflection of fundamental cultural values.

#### *Journey to the Sacred*

Tour operators play a predominant role in the manner in which millennial pilgrims reach the sacred. They provide the logistical element of pilgrimage, typically in the form of a coach from Istanbul. For many millennials, this is the perceived point when their pilgrimage begins, the metaphorical first step. Describing the beginning of her pilgrimage, Harris states:

I boarded the bus to take us from Istanbul to Gallipoli, surrounded by strangers, the only thing that we had in common was that we were all Australians (& Kiwis), who wanted to experience, for most of us what would be a once in a lifetime opportunity.<sup>187</sup>

Contiki even claims that their "pilgrimage commences this morning as we drive out of Istanbul in the direction of Gallipoli".<sup>188</sup>

That their pilgrimage begins on the coach to Gallipoli is a point of difference for millennial pilgrims compared to the young travellers of the mid-90s and early-2000s. When investigating this earlier cohort, West found "only when in the nearby town of Canakkale or on the tour of the battlefields does this tourist experience fully take on sacred performative dimensions".<sup>189</sup> This change is reflective of the evolving nature and characteristics of the Dawn Service. As previously illustrated, earlier pilgrims independently made their way to Canakkale and on to Gallipoli for Anzac commemorations. Consequently for earlier generations, the transformation from tourist to pilgrim occurred in and around Gallipoli, which differs from millennials who transitioned on the coach journey from Istanbul.

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<sup>187</sup> Harris, 'Attending ANZAC Day 2019 - Blog'.

<sup>188</sup> 'ANZAC Odyssey - Contiki Travel', Contiki ANZAC Odyssey - 5 Day Tour of Turkey, accessed 2 July 2019, <https://www.contiki.com/au/en/destinations/europe/tours/anzac-odyssey-304>.

<sup>189</sup> Brad West, 'Enchanting Pasts: The Role of International Civil Religious Pilgrimage in Reimagining National Collective Memory', *Sociological Theory* 26, no. 3 (September 2008): 262.

Tour operators play an essential role in the construction of a pilgrim community and the development of *communitas*. Group packaged tours, especially those targeting the young traveller market, are by their very nature a communal affair. Groups of people who would otherwise never congregate are placed together for an extended period and share a collective experience. As the shared experience is fundamental to the success of any given tour, tour operators endeavour to facilitate social interactions and the establishment of positive group dynamics.<sup>190</sup> Both the tour leader and the tour's itinerary are integral components of how this objective is achieved.

The experience of being in Turkey and the shared reason to travel encourages millennial pilgrims in packaged tours to naturally band together and develop a rapport.<sup>191</sup> Tour leaders, as part of the social component of their position, also utilise a variety of methods that promote communication and foster social interactions between individuals.<sup>192</sup> Including, interactive activities run at social events or throughout the various coach journeys during the tour. For Contiki's *Anzac Odyssey*, this was instigated by the tour leader shortly after leaving on the coach to Gallipoli. Allowing everyone to introduce themselves; state where they were from; share a personal story or explain why they chose to undertake their journey. Helping facilitate group cohesion and acting as a "formal" beginning to the group's shared pilgrim experience. Further, the coach trip itself acts as a facilitator of the social aspects of packaged tours. The close physical proximity of travellers that occurs on a coach having a greater impact on the development of social groups than any other variable.<sup>193</sup>

Moreover, the tours itinerary also provides members of the group, through pre-planned events, the chance to get to know each other in a relaxed social environment. Commonly set on the first day of the tour, Contiki's *Anzac Odyssey* included two such activities. Firstly, a welcome meeting, where pilgrims meet the tour leader, "get to know" the tour group and "chat about the days ahead". Secondly, an "optional experience" to attend a traditional Turkish dinner and belly dancing show.<sup>194</sup> The objective of both is to foster rapport and develop relationships between individuals on tour.

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<sup>190</sup> Quiroga, 'Characteristics of Package Tours in Europe', 200.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid, 200.

<sup>192</sup> Sheng-Hsiung Tsaur and Hsiu-Yu Teng, 'Exploring Tour Guiding Styles: The Perspective of Tour Leader Roles', *Tourism Management* 59 (April 2017): 439.

<sup>193</sup> Quiroga, 'Characteristics of Package Tours in Europe', 204.

<sup>194</sup> 'ANZAC Odyssey - Contiki Travel'.

The standardised itinerary of packaged tours also perpetuates the homogenisation of millennials undertaking a pilgrimage. Money, status, occupation or gender does not elevate one traveller over another, with no participant given any preferential treatment. Everyone observes the same schedule, stays in the same hotel, eats the same meals, and participate in the same activities. It is an example of the “classless society” that Turner observed in other pilgrimages; whereby all pilgrims are considered equal while undertaking a pilgrimage.<sup>195</sup> Additionally, as part of the social component of their position, tour leaders are required to treat each member of their group equally. This further increases the homogenisation of the group and thus, the egalitarian nature of the pilgrim experience.

Finally, the simplification of dress, represented in the maroon Contiki Anzac Day hoody, shown in Figure 11. A standard piece of attire given to participants of most packaged tours. For millennial pilgrims attending the Dawn Service, they have evolved into what could be deemed a de-facto uniform, superseding the various Australian jerseys worn by previous generations. While these items of clothing undoubtedly bring utilitarian value by providing an easy way for tour leaders to identify individuals in their tours, they unmistakably demark that a millennial is undertaking a Gallipoli pilgrimage.



Figure 11 – Daniel J Facebook post 27th April 2019

<sup>195</sup> Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, 97.

For millennial pilgrims on a packaged tour to Gallipoli, the assigned tour leader plays a crucial role in how they engage and reflect on the fundamental cultural values of Anzac. As part of the communicative component of their role, tour leaders present cultural and historical information relevant to the tour they are assigned. Therefore, on packaged tours to the Gallipoli Dawn Service, it is understandable that they would provide a talk pertaining to Anzac and the Gallipoli campaign.

This was the case on Contiki's *Anzac Odyssey*, where the tour leader gave a short talk before arriving at Gallipoli on two individual's that best represented Anzac for him. The presentation, which followed an earlier talk on the origins of the First World War, simplified the history of the campaign and cast two Australians at the centre of the failed invasion. Predictably first, "the preeminent legend of Australian heroism and self-sacrifice" Simpson and his Donkey.<sup>196</sup> How Simpson personified Anzac, the "symbol of all that was pure, selfless and heroic on Gallipoli".<sup>197</sup> Pilgrims were also encouraged to visit his grave after the Dawn Service. The second story selected, was that of the youngest Anzac to die at Gallipoli, Jim Martin, who after surviving several dangerous incidents, died at the age of 15, due to complication associated with not seeking treatment for Typhoid fever, as he refused to leave his mates in the trenches.

By selecting and presenting these two stories, the tour leader reinforced the parochial view that many pilgrims held for Anzac, most notably "mateship" the Anzac value that millennials identified with strongest.<sup>198</sup> Moreover, it also illustrates how the exclusion of information by tour leaders can influence how pilgrims view and engage with Anzac during their visit to Gallipoli. Neither story questioned the positive tropes associated with Anzac 2.0 or provided any reference that the Anzacs were the aggressors at Gallipoli. Simpson as a medic, helped save soldiers, he did not kill and maim the Turkish defenders. Jim Martin was extremely young, barely more than a child, and although he showed incredible bravery, he is ultimately a tragic victim. Most importantly, both died not as invaders – instead innocent martyrs – slain heroically away from the front lines. There was no attempt to provide a balanced interpretation of Anzac or any information given that demonstrated how the Anzac's bayoneted Turks "when mercy should have been shown and

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<sup>196</sup> Peter Cochrane, *Simpson and the Donkey: The Making of a Legend* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2014), 17.

<sup>197</sup> G. P. Walsh, 'Kirkpatrick, John Simpson (1892–1915)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University), accessed 7 October 2019, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/kirkpatrick-john-simpson-6975>.

<sup>198</sup> Interview with Lauren K; Interview with Daniel J; Interview with Alex D.



prisoners taken”.<sup>199</sup> For pilgrims on the tour, the Anzacs remained the righteous warriors they are portrayed as in Australian society.

### 3.6 Conclusion

Since the first Australians made the journey to visit the battlefields of the First World War, commercial tour companies have played an important role in the pilgrim experience. For the first pilgrims, who were seeking to visit the graves and memorials of their loved ones killed in the conflict, tour companies provided the logistics and expertise that allowed them to undertake the long, arduous journey. Throughout the next century, these companies have continued to capitalise on the pilgrim market, providing tours and packages that allowed Australians to visit the various sites associated with Australian military history.

For millennial travellers undertaking a Gallipoli pilgrimage today, tour operators are the primary means as to how they attend the Gallipoli Dawn Service. Tour operators provide the services to transport them to Gallipoli, allow them to attend the event and explore the Gallipoli warscape, returning them after the commemorations have concluded. While this has made attending the event convenient, safe, and more economical, it has also resulted in these companies shaping the pilgrim experience.

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<sup>199</sup> Quoted in Gammage, *The Broken Years*, 109.

## 4 Chapter Four – Millennial Pilgrims Historical Engagement

### 4.1 Introduction

In *Return to Gallipoli*, Scates quotes a young Australian pilgrim who confessed: “I didn’t know very much about Anzac Day whatsoever, other than the fact that Essendon and Collingwood played [football] every Anzac Day!”. The testimony is indicative of the limited historical engagement with Anzac and Gallipoli possessed by some pilgrims. Leading to Scates’ assertion that “one might well think that such a journey had more to do with tourism and consumption than it does with pilgrimage or history.”<sup>200</sup> This testimony, while somewhat disconcerting, did lead to the exploration as to how millennial pilgrims engage with the history of Anzac and Gallipoli.

The chapter is broken down into three distinct sections. Section 3.2 explores what were millennial pilgrims’ historical engagement and knowledge of Anzac and the Gallipoli campaign before visiting the site. Section 3.3 establishes their engagement with other aspects of the Anzac legend. Section 3.4 illustrates how the pilgrim experience enable millennial pilgrims to engage with different elements of Anzac history.

### 4.2 Historical Engagement of Millennial Pilgrims

The Australian education system that millennials participated in required that all students undertake compulsory study in Australian history. Part of which included a mandatory component relating to Australian military and Anzac history, an area of the history curriculum vastly resourced by the DVA.<sup>201</sup> The majority of pilgrims interviewed acknowledged that they had undertaken their education through this system and professed to have learnt about the Gallipoli campaign at one point during their studies. Moreover, in her exploration of Australian school children’s attitude to Australian history, Clark found that students engaged and favoured military history above other aspects of Australian history. Anzac history “excites classes full of kids” in a way that federation and labour rights cannot.<sup>202</sup> As such, an assumption was made during the research that pilgrims interviewed would possess a basic understanding of various aspects of Anzac history.

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<sup>200</sup> Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*, 195.

<sup>201</sup> Clark, *History’s Children*, 49-51; Marilyn Lake, ‘How Do Schoolchildren Learn about the Spirit of Anzac?’, in *What’s Wrong With Anzac?*, by Marilyn Lake et al. (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010), 135–56.

<sup>202</sup> Clark, *History’s Children*, 44-66.

### 4.2.1 The Gallipoli Campaign

To gauge the historical engagement of millennial pilgrims, each participant was asked during their interviews several open-ended questions about various aspects of the history of the Anzacs at Gallipoli. These included: why Gallipoli was invaded, who participated in the campaign, what occurred during the landings and other significant battles, experience of the soldiers, knowledge of individual Anzacs, and other questions surrounding Australia's involvement at Gallipoli.

The initial questions put to pilgrims explored their historical understanding of why Gallipoli was invaded, and which nations were involved. While there was an assumption that there would be varying levels of historical knowledge, the responses to these fundamental questions were revealing. As expected, some pilgrims were able to provide detailed answers to the questions, highlighting their knowledge of Anzac history. However, a surprisingly large number of pilgrims struggled even to respond, with others providing largely incorrect or simplistic responses to the questions asked.

In general, it was striking that a significant portion of millennial pilgrims interviewed had little to no historical understanding as to the motivations of the Gallipoli campaign and why the Anzacs participated. Typically, the first question asked during the historical section of the interview; five pilgrims were unable to answer the question. Providing the following responses when asked:

Nah I can't recall, no.<sup>203</sup>

No, I feel like I do but I honestly couldn't tell you why.<sup>204</sup>

No, I actually don't sorry.<sup>205</sup>

No of that I don't know.<sup>206</sup>

No, no idea.<sup>207</sup>

Annie was another who possessed limited knowledge about these events. Interviewed shortly after a talk by the tour leader relating to the historical context of the Gallipoli campaign, she provided the following response when asked if she was aware of the historical facts beforehand:

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<sup>203</sup> Interview with Lauren K.

<sup>204</sup> Interview with Noah A.

<sup>205</sup> Interview with Daniel J.

<sup>206</sup> Interview with Eleanor R.

<sup>207</sup> Interview with Julie B.

Not so much no, I have learnt a lot today on this trip. I would have said my knowledge was limited to what I have learnt [from the presentation].<sup>208</sup>

Others could only provide the barest of details as to the reason behind the Gallipoli campaign, including Emma's who stated that it was merely "to take down the Ottoman Empire".<sup>209</sup> Several responses were reflective of a deeper historical understanding. Alex was one who provided a more detailed explanation:

It was an attempt to get to Russia via Istanbul and the Dardanelles, and Gallipoli was a major part in easing the naval efforts to get up there, but as we ultimately know it did not succeed.<sup>210</sup>

Nevertheless, for the importance that pilgrims placed on Anzac, it was rather alarming that only four of the eleven pilgrims interviewed had at least a basic understanding of the reasons behind Gallipoli's invasion.

The follow-up question asked pilgrims if they could identify other nations who participated in the Gallipoli campaign. Noah provided the following response:

New Zealand for one, England I think, I think England was, they eventually did come to help, other than that no I don't have any other knowledge of anyone else that was involved.<sup>211</sup>

Noah's response highlights several things. Firstly, it again illustrates the limited historical understanding that millennial pilgrims possess about Anzac, in this instance, which countries were involved and the scale of the campaign. Secondly, the overestimation of Australia's contribution to Gallipoli and other military engagements that the Anzac legend has helped perpetuate. Unlike Noah's belief, England did not "come to help" the Anzacs at Gallipoli; instead, Australians had been fighting alongside the British since the first day of the campaign. Thirdly, Noah's comment may hint at the anti-British sentiment present in Anzac remembrance since the rise of New Nationalism in Australian society since the 1970s and its subsequent representation in the influential 1981 film, *Gallipoli*.<sup>212</sup> Finally, it highlights McDonald's claim that the Anzac legend

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<sup>208</sup> Interview with Annie H.

<sup>209</sup> Interview with Emma D.

<sup>210</sup> Interview with Alex D.

<sup>211</sup> Interview with Noah A.

<sup>212</sup> Holbrook, 'Family History, Great War Memory and the ANZAC Revival', 20.

excludes “both opponents and allies” from the narrative.<sup>213</sup> While Noah did mention both New Zealand and England’s contribution, France, who suffered a significant number of casualties, was overlooked. Most importantly, he did not acknowledge the enemy. The country the Anzacs were invading, who lost ten times the number of men compared to Australia, and the place he was currently visiting.

Noah was far from the only pilgrim to have a lack of historical knowledge as to who was involved in the Gallipoli campaign. Other responses included, “France, probably Germany”, “Well New Zealand, USA”, “like I know Australia and New Zealand, Japan and Turkey”.<sup>214</sup> While some of the nations listed were correct, others were understandable. Turkey is easily substituted for the Ottoman Empire and Germany was technically providing military advisors and support. Others though were confusing and somewhat bizarre. The United States did not enter the war until April 1917; and Japan, although in an alliance with the Entente Powers, did not participate in the campaign. Their responses further demonstrate and support the arguments surrounding Noah’s testimony. Moreover, the inclusion of Japan and the USA, prominent combatants of the Second World War, illustrates how the Anzac legend simplifies the past. There is a disconnect between history and legend: two distinct and very different conflicts amalgamated in the memory of pilgrims.

#### 4.2.2 The Landings

One aspect of the Gallipoli campaign enshrined in the collective memory of Australian society is the landings on the 25th of April 1915. As Brown states “it’s hard-wired into most Australians that when we think about war, we think about boats turning up on a shore, we think about soldiers alighting, and we think about charging up a hill to kill an enemy”.<sup>215</sup> Alex asserted a similar viewpoint: “the major part of what I suppose was drilled into my head was the charge on to the beach at Anzac Cove”.<sup>216</sup> It is understandable; the landings have been immortalised since the very beginning. Countless pieces of artwork, print articles, movies, books, TV shows, and documentaries have depicted this event.

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<sup>213</sup> Matt McDonald, ‘Remembering Gallipoli: Anzac, the Great War and Australian Memory Politics’, *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 63, no. 3 (2017): 412.

<sup>214</sup> Interview with Lauren K; Interview with Emma D; Interview with Daniel J.

<sup>215</sup> James Brown quoted in Chris Masters, ‘Anzac to Afghanistan’ (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2015), <https://www.abc.net.au/4corners/anzac-to-afghanistan---promo/6384632>.

<sup>216</sup> Interview with Alex D.

Unsurprisingly, millennials did express confidence in their historical knowledge of the Anzac landings, quickly answering the questions asked of them. However, while they were able to respond, most answers reflected the myths and popular beliefs currently present in Australian society. Two myths, in particular, were commonly raised.

The first was that the Anzacs came ashore at the wrong location due to the incompetence of the Royal Navy or the result of strong currents. One of the oldest and most persistent myths, Charles Bean himself helped cement its place in Australian society. In reality, “the Anzacs landed pretty well right in the centre of the originally selected landing zone”.<sup>217</sup> Hannah was one “under the impression that they got off at the wrong beach or they couldn’t get off at the right place that they were meant to”.<sup>218</sup> Several others also concluded that “we were told the wrong coordinates, or something got the coordinates wrong” and “didn’t they have a bit of trouble actually getting the boats in”.<sup>219</sup> It was even suggested to be a “conspiracy” by one pilgrim, that “no one really knows the reason why we didn’t end up where we were meant to end up”.<sup>220</sup>

The second myth to be discussed was that the landing was a slaughter where thousands of men were killed in the water and on the shore of Anzac Cove. In reality, most casualties suffered by the Anzacs were in the hills above the beach, and the “beaches were never the bloodbath that some writers and artists have depicted”.<sup>221</sup> For some, the myth prevailed. The belief that “they were waiting for us and I think that it was a complete blood bath, a lot of people died instantly” and we “were bombarded as soon as they landed like a lot of them didn’t make it to the shore”.<sup>222</sup> Most disturbingly, this widely inaccurate account of events was the one presented to the tour by the Australian trip leader on the journey to Gallipoli.

Attempts have been made to debunk these myths by both academics and journalists.<sup>223</sup> However, the frequency that they were discussed during interviews demonstrates how millennial pilgrims continue to take these misconceptions as truth. Furthermore, it may validate one of Clark’s fears

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<sup>217</sup> Ashley Ekins, quoted in ‘Fact or Fiction: 5 Common Anzac Myths Put to the Test’, ABC News, 25 April 2014, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-04-25/five-anzac-myths-put-to-the-test/5393750>.

<sup>218</sup> Interview with Hannah N.

<sup>219</sup> Interview with Noah A; Interview with Amy D.

<sup>220</sup> Interview with Annie H.

<sup>221</sup> The Australian War Memorial, ‘Dawn of the Legend: 25 April 1915 Battle for the Beaches’, accessed 29 September 2019, <https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/dawn/plan/beaches>.

<sup>222</sup> Interview with Emma D; Interview with Lauren K.

<sup>223</sup> For examples see ‘Fact or Fiction’; and Craig Stockings, *Zombie Myths of Australian Military History*, 1st ed. (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010).

about Australian students that while “many students identify with this military history,” it does not equate “to critical engagement”.<sup>224</sup> Millennials identified with these myths, which was the reason they were able to recount them. However, the reason they were able to do so is indicative of the fact that they have not critically engaged with the factual history of Gallipoli.

#### 4.2.3 Individual Anzacs

“I wouldn’t know their names or anything like that, but I know the basic sort of things they went through as a whole”.<sup>225</sup> Daniel’s response was typical of many asked about the individuality of the Anzacs. Like most Australians, millennial pilgrims were mostly incapable of identifying any Anzac soldiers outside of the famous Simpson and his donkey or family ancestors. Individuals remain nameless, their deeds, actions, and sacrifice amalgamated into the collective memory of Anzac.<sup>226</sup> As one pilgrim declared “you know those soldiers” only “as a collective”.<sup>227</sup>

While the inability to identify any individuals associated with Anzac did not seem to impact most pilgrims’ engagement with the site, for some this was not the case. Hannah, who first confessed to feeling “terrible” for not knowing the names and stories of any individual Anzac, later acknowledged that as “I don’t know individual stories, I can’t look at it from the perspective of someone who was there”. It was this inability to identify with individuals, the “personal connection” to Anzac, that Hannah believed may impede her ability to engage and connect with the site.<sup>228</sup> Furthermore, it illustrates why the tour leader included the story of Jim Martin, alongside that of Simpson in his presentation about the Anzacs at Gallipoli. By providing a personal link to Anzac, especially one so tragic, helped to reinforce pilgrims’ engagement with Gallipoli.

#### 4.2.4 Conscription

The subject of conscription was also raised several times by millennial travellers. Lauren mentioned: “like most of them didn’t have a choice, a lot of them were conscripted and they didn’t know what they were getting themselves into when they went away”.<sup>229</sup> A different pilgrim

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<sup>224</sup> Clark, *History’s Children*, 51.

<sup>225</sup> Interview with Daniel J.

<sup>226</sup> Jed Donoghue and Bruce Tranter, ‘The Anzacs: Military Influences on Australian Identity’, *Journal of Sociology* 51, no. 3 (September 2015): 453.

<sup>227</sup> Interview with Amy D.

<sup>228</sup> Interview with Hannah N.

<sup>229</sup> Interview with Lauren K.

explained that “conscription was a big thing[...] just to get people to recruit because there really was no army, Australia had never really been in anything like a world war before”.<sup>230</sup> While conscription was a contentious issue during the war, Australia maintained an entire volunteer force throughout the conflict.<sup>231</sup> Both these comments highlight a profound misunderstanding of the historical facts surrounding conscription in Australia, while highlighting again, how the Anzac legend simplifies and amalgamates past events. In this case, conscription in the First World War and that of compulsory military service during other conflicts.

### 4.3 Ahistorical Engagement

In his study of young travellers, Scates found that their pilgrimages were in many cases “profoundly ahistorical”; there was a disconnect between the factual history and the “myths and meanings” that surround the Anzac legend. Pilgrims’ engagement with Anzac was reflective of its ahistorical place present in the collective memory of Australian society at that time. Like the young pilgrims that Scates investigated, the memory of Gallipoli and the Anzacs continues to be profoundly ahistorical.<sup>232</sup> As illustrated, millennial’s historical knowledge is far from comprehensive; instead, their engagement with Anzac primarily based on themes and tropes currently associated with the Anzac legend, especially mateship.

“Mateship”, Dyrenfurth states, is “Australia’s pre-eminent national ideal”. It is “part of our cultural DNA”, said to “embody our secular egalitarian predilections”.<sup>233</sup> According to Ward, the concept of Australian mateship had its origin in the anti-authoritarian and egalitarian nature of early Australian convict society and the collectivist mentality seen in the working class of the Australian outback in the mid-19th century.<sup>234</sup> For the original Anzacs, the heirs apparent to this tradition, mateship “was a particular Australian virtue, a creed, almost a religion” that they lived by.<sup>235</sup> Today, mateship and Anzac are inextricably linked; the result of the added importance placed on the theme during Anzac’s revival. Asked what Anzac meant to him, Dr. Brendan Nelson, Director of the AWM, stated: “it is a story of love and friendship, love for friends and between

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<sup>230</sup> Interview with Noah A.

<sup>231</sup> Peter Dennis et al., ‘Conscription’, in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195517842.001.0001/acref-9780195517842-e-342>.

<sup>232</sup> Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*, 199-200.

<sup>233</sup> Nick Dyrenfurth, *Mateship: A Very Australian History* (Melbourne London: Scribe, 2015), 4-5.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid, 4-5; Russel Braddock Ward, *The Australian Legend*, 2nd Ed. (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1966), 84.

<sup>235</sup> Gammage, *The Broken Years*, 112.



friends”.<sup>236</sup> He as with most Australians associate mateship with that of wartime service, and in particular the Gallipoli campaign.<sup>237</sup>

Mateship was predictably the theme millennials engage with the most. It was raised more times during interviews than any other theme associated with the Anzac legend. The most common sentiment, that “soldiers would be in the trenches” and the one thing “able to get them through” was the “camaraderie” of “their mates”.<sup>238</sup> For some, it was about “no man stands alone” and “never leaving your mate behind” be it in war or any other situation.<sup>239</sup> Harris stated it was “the most significant” part of Anzac; the one element of the Anzac spirit perceived to be “above all” others, and what makes “Australia truly great”.<sup>240</sup>

Based on their comments, it was evident that mateship, of all the qualities associated with Anzac, was the one most relatable to millennial pilgrims. Unlike most experiences the Anzacs endured, pilgrims did not have to imagine mateship – they had personal experiences to call on. Mates who “would do anything for you” and friends that they “don’t want to see fall”.<sup>241</sup> For Lauren, their example highlighted why “you need good people around you to help you get [...] through difficult times”.<sup>242</sup> It was through this relatable experience that millennial pilgrims engaged with Anzac.

Outside of mateship, pilgrims also identified with several aspects that aligned with McKenna’s belief that Australians only see the Anzacs as “an army of innocent, brave young men who were willing to sacrifice their lives so that we might live in freedom”.<sup>243</sup> Pilgrims often referred to the “sacrifices the Anzac’s made”.<sup>244</sup> To “the bravery shown on that day” or their “courage in the face adversity”.<sup>245</sup> Ultimately, “without the Anzacs we probably wouldn’t have the freedom we do today”.<sup>246</sup> However, it was an ahistorical engagement. Pilgrims could rarely explain in the context of the history of the Gallipoli campaign where the Anzacs showed bravery and courage; which

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<sup>236</sup> “‘Absolutely Disgraceful’: Outrageous Attacks on Our ANZACs’, *The Chris Smith Show* (2GB, 27 March 2019), <https://www.2gb.com/absolutely-disgraceful-outrageous-attacks-on-our-anzacs/>.

<sup>237</sup> Dyrenfurth, *Mateship*, 4.

<sup>238</sup> Interview with Alex D; Harris, ‘Attending ANZAC Day 2019 - Blog’.

<sup>239</sup> Interview with Lauren K; Interview with Emma D; Interview with Eleanor R.

<sup>240</sup> Interview with Annie H; Interview with Alex D.

<sup>241</sup> Interview with Emma D; Interview with Eleanor R; Interview with Alex D.

<sup>242</sup> Interview with Lauren K.

<sup>243</sup> McKenna, ‘Anzac Day: How Did It Become Australia’s National Day?’, 111.

<sup>244</sup> ‘Eleanor R (@eleanorhramsey) on Instagram’, Instagram, accessed 2 July 2019, <https://www.instagram.com/p/Bw1WCkmAi27Q9HUvJ4EAH4OcttHXpaBAINZzEY0/>.

<sup>245</sup> Interview with Noah A; Interview with Amy D.

<sup>246</sup> Interview with Lauren K.

battles that the sacrifices were made; or how the actions at the site led to the freedom that Australians possess today.

Not all pilgrims engaged with the Anzac legend in such a parochial manner. Others questioned the ahistorical, interpreting Anzac differently. One such example was Brad's refreshing response to questions about the role of Anzac in Australian society:

Too much emphasis on the ideal, [...] the idea of strapping six-footers, charging up the beach, less on the fact that it was actually real people, because it almost dehumanises them in a weird way, if you think about them as like all these Adonises running around, you know doing heroic things. You got to remember they are still actually people and that makes it so much sadder. When you go home after Anzac Day, and you look around and you just think, you know all of the people you know your friends and stuff it could have been them, maybe it will be in the next war, who knows what will happen? But yeah it is normal people and that is kind of what I am here to remember. I can see myself as definitely a normal person and I feel a part of that being a group of normal people, it is important, so I want to remember those guys.<sup>247</sup>

His comment was worth quoting in full as it highlights several things. Firstly, an explicit critique of the established mythology present in Anzac, in that he challenges the "Homeric" interpretation of Anzac. As he asserts, the Anzacs are not demi-gods from Greek mythology, instead, regular, ordinary, real people. By interpreting them as "Adonises", it dehumanises them. The extraordinary bravery shown by them is not only believable but universally accepted. This interpretation highlighted by another pilgrim interviewed, who claimed that "very few people sat there cowering in a corner".<sup>248</sup> It also re-enforces the human cost of war – Gallipoli was a tragedy of epic proportion – not the heroic story leading to the birth of a nation.

Secondly, it highlights how he identifies with the men who served at Gallipoli. By imagining and remembering the Anzacs as regular guys, they become relatable. Transforming from "strapping six-footers, charging up the beach" into the young men he may have been mates with. It is this group of "normal people" that he can "feel a part of"; they are the ones he travelled to Gallipoli to remember.

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<sup>247</sup> Interview with Brad D.

<sup>248</sup> Interview with Noah A.

## 4.4 Millennial Anzac Engagement at Gallipoli

A Gallipoli pilgrimage is a historical experience for millennial pilgrims. The experience provided an avenue to engage with the history of Anzac in a manner that very few other experiences can.

Utilising comments from pilgrims' post-pilgrimage surveys and social media posts revealed that two elements of the pilgrim experience were the primary means to which pilgrims engaged with the historical aspects of Anzac. These being: exploring the Gallipoli warscape; and watching the reflective program before the dawn service.

### 4.4.1 Exploring Gallipoli

For many millennial pilgrims, walking around and exploring the warscape of Gallipoli was both the highlight of their pilgrimage and the primary means of physically engaging with Anzac. Their experience however, was greatly influenced by the restrictions placed on the site by the event organisers and the limited time afforded by the packaged tour.

For pilgrims on Contiki's *Anzac Odyssey*, the experience consisted of arriving at the commemoration area late on the 24th of April, navigating through the security screening run by the local authorities, and finding a spot to camp "under the stars" at North Beach memorial site until the dawn service. Following the service, pilgrims were given a map with historical information about sites they should visit and allowed "free time" to explore the memorials and cemeteries for themselves. They typically visit Anzac Cove, Ari Burnu Memorial, plus several cemeteries, while making their way up to Lone Pine, to attend the service held there. After which they explore the site and walk up to Chunuk Bair, where coaches could collect pilgrims and transport them back to Istanbul in the early afternoon of the 25th. In total, pilgrims could expect to spend approximately 15-24 hours at Gallipoli, of which 4-5 hours were allocated to exploring the landscape and making the 8 km walk up from North Beach to the New Zealand Memorial at Chunuk Bair. While some pilgrims wished they had "more time to explore Gallipoli", in general, most pilgrims found it a rewarding experience that enabled them the "opportunity to connect" with Anzac.<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> Hannah N. Post-pilgrimage Survey, 12 May 2019; Julie B. Post-pilgrimage Survey, 8 May 2019.

The experience allowed them to engage with Anzac in a manner that they would otherwise never get to experience. As Alex stated in his post-pilgrimage survey:

We've all learnt about the campaign but it's hard to get an appreciation of the site from a school desk. Visiting and witnessing gave me that understanding that just can't be taught.<sup>250</sup>

Alex was not alone with his sentiments; Noah also acknowledge that:

You read about it all the time, however after standing where they stood and walking the miles and through the heat of which the ANZAC's surely endured, it really changes your thoughts.<sup>251</sup>

Millennial pilgrims could touch, feel, and locate the Anzac legend in a geographical sense, which West claims leads to a “greater appreciation of its status”.<sup>252</sup> Reflecting on her experience, Annie stated that “visiting Gallipoli just made everything seem so real”.<sup>253</sup> However, pilgrims’ engagement with Anzac exploring Gallipoli remained largely ahistorical. The “being there” principle of battlefield explorations, whereby tourists’ engagement with a site is based on their “subjective perceived reality, rather than an objective truth”.<sup>254</sup> This was illustrated in Amy’s response describing her experience hiking up to the heights at Gallipoli:

Seeing the geography and landscape of the peninsula, and walking from the beach up to Chunuk Bair, gave me more of a visualisation and a greater appreciation for what the soldiers had to endure physically and mentally.<sup>255</sup>

Only by exploring Gallipoli could Amy gain the “greater appreciation” she now possessed of their experience. Millennials commonly discussed this sentiment about exploring the Gallipoli warscape. The perception that they now had a greater understanding of “the conditions that they lived in”. Pilgrims had felt the heat during the day, freezing temperatures at night, and walked where the Anzacs “have walked before”. Leading to the belief that “until you actually experience it you can’t actually imagine what might have been going on”.<sup>256</sup> It was through this immersive

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<sup>250</sup> Interview with Eleanor R.

<sup>251</sup> Noah A. Post-pilgrimage Survey, 5 May 2019.

<sup>252</sup> West, ‘Independent Travel and Civil Religious Pilgrimage’, 22.

<sup>253</sup> Annie H. Post-pilgrimage Survey, 5 May 2019.

<sup>254</sup> Mark Piekarz, ‘It’s Just a Bloody Field! Approaches, Opportunities and Dilemmas of Interpreting English Battlefields’, in *Battlefield Tourism: History, Place and Interpretation*, ed. Chris Ryan, Advances in Tourism Research (London New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2014), 41.

<sup>255</sup> Amy D. Post-pilgrimage Survey, 15 June 2019.

<sup>256</sup> Interview with Eleanor R; Interview with Annie H.

experience that pilgrims engaged with Anzac, not by learning and interpreting the battlefield as a historical landscape.

In fairness to millennial pilgrims, the structure of the event and tour was not conducive to historical engagement with the site. Firstly, pilgrims at large did not have the resources available to engage with the history of the site. Historical information was not readily available and the “Anzac Day Walk” handout (Appendix V) provided by Contiki was limited and difficult to contextualise while exploring the site. Secondly, Turkish nationals were denied entry into the site, including the Turkish guides accompanying the tour.<sup>257</sup> As Cheal and Griffin note, tour guides are the “main source of info” for pilgrims and “facilitate physical and intellectual interactions” with the history of the Gallipoli campaign.<sup>258</sup> Without the guide’s ability to interpret the landscape and explain the history, pilgrims were restricted to interpreting the battlefield on their own. Both factors significantly impacted millennials’ ability to engage intellectually with Gallipoli. Therefore, it is understandable that their engagement with Gallipoli remained mostly ahistorical and related predominantly to the perceived hardship and suffering of the Anzacs.



*Figure 12 – Pilgrim exploring a trench system at Gallipoli (Author’s Private Collection)*

One aspect of the Gallipoli landscape that was easier to interpret for millennial pilgrims were the cemeteries. Cheal and Griffin consider cemeteries and graves as a “non-deliberate form of

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<sup>257</sup> Julian Morgans and Gavin Butler, ‘Turks Banned from Attending Dawn Service at Gallipoli Amid Security Fears’, *Vice*, 24 April 2019, [https://www.vice.com/en\\_asia/article/bj9zmv/turks-turkish-nationals-banned-from-attending-dawn-service-gallipoli-turkey-amid-security-fears-concerns-anzac-day](https://www.vice.com/en_asia/article/bj9zmv/turks-turkish-nationals-banned-from-attending-dawn-service-gallipoli-turkey-amid-security-fears-concerns-anzac-day).

<sup>258</sup> Cheal and Griffin, ‘Pilgrims and Patriots’, 235.

communicating” historical information to pilgrims. They were erected as a memorial to the men killed, not as a means to explain the battlefield. Nonetheless, they explain the historical context of the site — the dates, names, and epitaphs in themselves factual pieces of information about the campaign.<sup>259</sup> By visiting and reading them, pilgrims were directly engaging with the history of the Gallipoli campaign.

The cemeteries were also where millennials, like their predecessors before them, were confronted with the reality of war. Pilgrims could witness the immense human cost by seeing the rows of headstones.

I feel that seeing the numerous cemetery sites also made me realise probably for the first time, just how young all the people were.<sup>260</sup>

The reality of the number of soldiers killed in the conflict hit me harder as I walked around the site and saw all of the cemeteries.<sup>261</sup>

The cemeteries allowed pilgrims to humanise the losses – the 8,000 Australians killed, transformed from a statistic into a person. A once nameless soldier acquired a name, a home, and a family who mourned his death. As Daniel reflected: “There were so many graves with so many stories to tell, from their families and the soldiers who fought”.<sup>262</sup> Anzac as a collective entity may have become individualised by pilgrim’s engagement with a soldier grave.

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<sup>259</sup> Cheal and Griffin, 235-36.

<sup>260</sup> Hannah N. Post-pilgrimage Survey.

<sup>261</sup> Amy D. Post-pilgrimage Survey.

<sup>262</sup> ‘Daniel J. on Facebook - 27th April 2019’, Facebook, 27 April 2019.



*Figure 13 – Pilgrims Exploring Ari Burnu Cemetery following the Anzac Day Dawn Service (Author’s Private Collection)*

It was not just in the Anzac sector that pilgrims were physically able to engage with Anzac and the history of the Gallipoli campaign. Before entering the official commemoration area, the tour stopped at a Turkish defensive fortification on the edge of the Dardanelle Strait. The stop, now an open-air museum, allowed the pilgrims to engage with an alternative side of Anzac history. These forts, part of the Ottoman defensive network guarding the straits and preventing the British and French navies from reaching Constantinople, were the reason behind the whole invasion. However, their importance has largely been excluded from the Anzac legend; millennial pilgrims know that the Gallipoli campaign was a failure, yet what they failed to achieve is forgotten.

By visiting this site, pilgrims engaged with the history of the Gallipoli campaign in two ways. Firstly, it provided the Turkish tour guide accompanying the tour the opportunity to disseminate historical and geographical information about the broader objective of the campaign, and the strategic value that the forts held for the defence of Turkey. It is an important differentiator for pilgrims exploring this historic site and the Anzac sector. Pilgrims had the opportunity to engage with the Gallipoli campaign on an intellectual level, as illustrated in Hannah’s post-pilgrimage survey where she states the stop helped her understand “the impact the campaign had on the overall scope of the war”.<sup>263</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> Hannah N. Post-pilgrimage Survey.

Secondly, it allowed pilgrims to engage directly with the Turkish history of Gallipoli. The fort was a purely Turkish historic landscape, no nation's flag bar that of Turkey flew at this site, nor was the land "charged with meanings" like at Anzac Cove.<sup>264</sup> It was a place where pilgrims could get "to know more about the Turkish military involvement" without having to contend with the Anzac legend.<sup>265</sup>



Figure 14 – Millennial Pilgrims exploring a Turkish Defensive Fortification on the Dardanelles (Author's Private Collection)

#### 4.4.2 Reflective Program

Once, the pre-Dawn Service activities at Gallipoli consisted of pilgrims "lounging on Diggers" graves while pop music blared over the public address system" and drinking copious amounts of alcohol.<sup>266</sup> Since the mid-2000s, camping on the grass at the Anzac commemorative site and watching the reflective program staged by the DVA has become the standard ritual for pilgrims attending the Dawn Service, including the millennial pilgrims attending the 2019 event.

The reflective program run by the DVA before the dawn service has been described as "an outdoor festival of remembrance with rolling historical entertainment".<sup>267</sup> Subdued compared to previous iterations, the 2019 reflective program included: six documentaries about the Gallipoli campaign; the 1988 Chris Masters 4 Corners Special - *The Fatal Shore*; the short film *The*

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<sup>264</sup> Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*, 116.

<sup>265</sup> Interview with Annie H; Bart Ziino, 'Who Owns Gallipoli? Australia's Gallipoli Anxieties 1915–2005', *Journal of Australian Studies* 30, no. 88 (2006): 1–12; McQuilton, 'Gallipoli as Contested Commemorative Space'.

<sup>266</sup> Alison Rehn, 'Gallipoli Bans the Bee Gees but ... Anzac Site Is Sinking into Sea', *The Daily Telegraph*, 7 March 2006.

<sup>267</sup> Hawkins, *Consuming Anzac*, 80-1.



*Telegram Man*; and the compilation of footage from the Dawn Service held across Australia and New Zealand.<sup>268</sup>

The reflective program was an important way in which millennial pilgrims in attendance, engaged with Anzac. One pilgrim remarked about the reflective program:

I learnt some stuff from our Turkish and Australian tour guides but most of what I learnt came from the videos screened at Anzac cove in the hours before the dawn service.[...] The videos were really engaging - the commentary and the footage in the videos - it really resonated with me.<sup>269</sup>

The reflective program and the “media sources” presented “made engagement” with Anzac and the Gallipoli campaign “interesting and effortless”.<sup>270</sup> Two items in particular resonated with millennial pilgrims.

The first was the short movie *The Telegram Man*, which has been included in the reflective program at Gallipoli since 2012.<sup>271</sup> The story revolves around the local telegram messenger who had the difficult task of delivering the news to members of a small farming community that their sons had been killed in combat.<sup>272</sup> The film was a way that pilgrims could engage with an element of Anzac that is often overlooked, the impact of war on the home front. As Eleanor explained:

the one they played right before the Dawn Service where they did it from the point of view of the postman who delivers the news, that killed me, cause I don't think I have ever fully considered that man and his job, well there would have been hundreds of them across the country, but I never consider the impact on those people as well, it just yeah, beyond me.<sup>273</sup>

It was both the message the filmmakers wanted to convey and the reason why the DVA screened the film. However, its inclusion was a clear example of the ahistoricism that Scates and others have stated about the dawn service. The movie unmistakably set during the Second World War; all props and equipment used in the production indicative of the period. Therefore, the implied

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<sup>268</sup> Department of Veterans Affairs, *Anzac Day 2019 - Gallipoli Dawn Service Program* (Canberra, 2019).

<sup>269</sup> Emma D. Post-pilgrimage Survey.

<sup>270</sup> Julie B. Post-pilgrimage Survey.

<sup>271</sup> Screen Australia, ‘The Telegram Man (2011) - The Screen Guide’, accessed 26 September 2019, <https://www.screenaustralia.gov.au/the-screen-guide/t/the-telegram-man-2011/30655/>.

<sup>272</sup> James Francis Khehtie, *The Telegram Man*, 2011.

<sup>273</sup> Interview with Eleanor R.

death of the “soldier” could not have occurred at Gallipoli. While the film enabled pilgrims to engage with different elements of Anzac, as illustrated through Eleanor’s testimony, its inclusion also simplified the past. It was not a historical engagement with Gallipoli. Rather, two separate and distinct conflicts were conflated into the amalgamated Anzac narrative.

The second program that resonated with pilgrims was the 4 Corners Special - *The Fatal Shore*.<sup>274</sup> First aired in 1988, the program utilises video interviews with Anzac veterans to explore the memories and experiences of the men who fought at Gallipoli. For millennial pilgrims, who as shown had very little knowledge of individual Anzacs, the program personified the myth and gave Anzac a face, name, and voice. As Hannah explained, it helped her learn “more about some of the individuals who fought in the campaign”.<sup>275</sup> The program enabled her and other pilgrims a means to acquire an authentic insider’s understanding of Gallipoli. Which without the living links to the past, can only be achieved through recorded testimony, such as the one contained in *The Fatal Shore*.

## 4.5 Conclusion

For most millennial travellers to Gallipoli, their engagement with Anzac was largely ahistorical. Pilgrims, who admitted to studying Anzac history at school, were exposed mainly to have minimal historical understanding of the events that transpired at the site that they had decided to visit. Instead, their engagement with Anzac and the Gallipoli campaign was based predominately around themes or myths present in contemporary Australian society. Pilgrims perceived the Anzac as righteous warriors fighting and dying for their mates and Australia's freedom.

The pilgrimage experience is in itself a meaningful way that millennial engage with Anzac. Two elements of their experience notably enabled them to engage with the historical aspects of Anzac. The first, exploring the Gallipoli warscape and visiting the numerous cemeteries scattered around. It allowed pilgrims to place themselves in the Anzac legend geographically and provided an understanding of the human cost of the campaign. Second, the DVA reflective program which afforded pilgrims the chance to learn about the history of the Gallipoli campaign and a means for many to personify the legend.

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<sup>274</sup> Masters, ‘The Fatal Shore’.

<sup>275</sup> Hannah N. Post-pilgrimage Survey.

## 5 Chapter Five – Conclusion

This research thesis has explored the unique experiences of Australian millennial travellers visiting the battlefields of Gallipoli to attend the annual Anzac Day commemoration services. Their journeys confirmed the continuation of this Antipodean tradition initiated by grieving families following the conclusion of the First World War and later popularised by young Australian travellers throughout the 1980s, 1990s and early-2000s. This project expands on Bruce Scates' comprehensive investigation of this pilgrim tradition in *Return to Gallipoli*, by examining the latest generation of pilgrims that have undertaken the journey since the publication of the book in 2006.

The study employed Thompson's reconstructive cross-analysis approach to oral history to explore the experiences of pilgrims, a deviation from Scates' methodology, which used written testimony. Utilising oral sources, alongside other primary evidence collected from travellers undertaking a Gallipoli pilgrimage, the analysis revealed three key findings of the experience of millennial pilgrims.

Firstly, the study revealed that a pilgrim's decision to participate in a Gallipoli pilgrimage was multifaceted. Millennials possessed multiple reasons based on the five motivational factors identified by Hyde and Harman: nationalistic, spiritual, travel, friendship, and family. In addition to educational motivations that were identified through this research.<sup>276</sup> However, for millennial pilgrims nationalistic motivations were the predominant factor influencing their decision to make the journey to Gallipoli. Central to this decision was their desire to attend the Dawn Service and to pay homage to the Anzacs at the place perceived to be where Australia's sense of nationhood was born. The findings reflect the testimonies of pilgrims given during interviews and what they posted to various social media platforms.

These findings confirm those found by Hyde and Harman; who also observed that nationalistic motivations were the most influential factor for Australian travellers visiting Gallipoli.<sup>277</sup> Further, it illustrates how nationalistic motivations of millennials pilgrims align with those of their generational predecessors investigated by Scates and West.<sup>278</sup> Moreover, the decision to purchase a specific Anzac Day packaged tour illustrates the nationalistic motivations possessed by

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<sup>276</sup> Hyde and Harman, 'Motives for a Secular Pilgrimage to the Gallipoli Battlefields', 1347.

<sup>277</sup> Hyde and Harman, 1349.

<sup>278</sup> Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*, 188 - 209 ; West, 'Independent Travel and Civil Religious Pilgrimage', 9-31.

millennials, as commercial tour companies explicitly market their tours to the pilgrim market and construct their itinerary around attending the Anzac Dawn Service at Gallipoli.

Secondly, the study revealed that millennial pilgrims' engagement with Anzac was largely ahistorical; based mainly on tropes and myths associated with Anzac 2.0. The interview process exposed the minimal historical knowledge that pilgrims' possessed concerning the Gallipoli campaign, even though pilgrims universally admitted to learning about the event in school. Instead, pilgrims engaged with inaccurate factual accounts of events; taking the myth as truth, or their engagement remained largely ahistorical; adhering to the perception in contemporary Australian society that the Anzacs were righteous warriors fighting for Australia's freedom.<sup>279</sup>

Thirdly, the research revealed how commercial tour companies shape the modern pilgrim experience. These commercial entities have capitalised on the Australian pilgrim market, including young Australian travellers looking to visit Gallipoli, for over a century. However, the regulations placed on the event by the DVA and local authorities since 2006 have made it virtually impossible to attend the Anzac Day Dawn Service independent of one of these companies. This change has led to the overwhelming majority of modern pilgrims attending the Dawn Service through the services provided by commercial tour operators.

Tour operators shape the pilgrim experience through two crucial elements: the tour's itinerary and the assigned trip leader. Both of these elements impact the liminal attributes Turner has associated with pilgrimage, notably the journey to the sacred, the development of the pilgrim community and *communitas*, and the reflection of the meaning of basic cultural values.<sup>280</sup>

Most importantly, both the itinerary and trip leader facilitated how pilgrims engaged with Anzac and the Gallipoli warscape. The tours itinerary dictated how long pilgrims spend at Gallipoli and what they could explore during that time. The limited-time afforded to pilgrims, restricted their ability to engage with Anzac and the historical aspects of Gallipoli. While pilgrims have the chance to explore the historic site, what they saw was restricted to only a small portion of the Anzac sector. Pilgrims may have the opportunity to visit other sites; however, most tours typically do not include an extended period at other important areas. Moreover, pilgrims' engagement is further reduced by the restrictions placed on the site by the DVA and local authorities during

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<sup>279</sup> McKenna, 'Anzac Day: How Did It Become Australia's National Day?', 111.

<sup>280</sup> Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, 34-39.

Anzac commemorations services. The assigned trip leader also facilitated the group's engagement with Anzac. Typically this is achieved through the presentations given by the tour leaders before reaching Gallipoli. Unfortunately, these presentations largely reinforced pre-existing beliefs possessed by pilgrims regarding the ahistorical perception of Anzac present in contemporary Australian society.

A limitation on this study was that it only focused on pilgrimages to Gallipoli, excluding the journey that millennials have undertaken to the battlefields of the Western Front or those associated with other well know Australian battlefields. Future research should explore how millennial pilgrims engage and experience these other sites. Additionally, over the next decade, the next generation of pilgrims will come of age. As with this research expanding on Scates', future investigations should explore and contrast the experiences of the next generations to travel to Gallipoli.

This research project has explored the experiences of millennial travellers undertaking a Gallipoli pilgrimage. While Scates' investigation in *Return to Gallipoli* focuses on pilgrims prior to 2006, this project expands on his work and includes the latest generation of young Australians to visit the site of Australia's first significant military engagement. This study provided an insight into why millennials continue to undertake this Antipodean tradition, how they engage with Anzac during their pilgrimage and the role that commercial enterprises play in their pilgrim experience.

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## Figure List

Figure 1 – 2019 Anzac Odyssey Contiki tour to Gallipoli (Author’s Private Collection) .....	26
Figure 2 – Emma D. Facebook post 29th April 2019 .....	28
Figure 3 – Lauren K. Instagram Post 27th April 2019.....	32
Figure 4 – Daniel J. Facebook post 24th April 2019 .....	38
Figure 5 – Multifaceted Motivations.....	40
Figure 6 – Thomas Cook Advertisement 9th April 1922 .....	42
Figure 7 – Topdeck Tour Bus at Gallipoli Peninsula in the late 1980s (Source - ABC).....	45
Figure 8 – Topdeck’s Standardised Package Tour of Turkey including Gallipoli (Source - Topdeck Tours) .	47
Figure 9 – Contiki’s Digital Promotional Material ‘How Contiki Works’ (Source - Contiki Tours) .....	49
Figure 10 – Contiki Instagram Promotion 6th August 2019 .....	51
Figure 11 – Daniel J Facebook post 27th April 2019 .....	55
Figure 12 – Pilgrim exploring a trench system at Gallipoli (Author’s Private Collection) .....	69
Figure 13 – Pilgrims Exploring Ari Burnu Cemetery following the Anzac Day Dawn Service (Author’s Private Collection) .....	71
Figure 14 – Millennial Pilgrims exploring a Turkish Defensive Fortification on the Dardanelles (Author’s Private Collection) .....	72



Appendix I of this thesis has been removed as it may contain sensitive/confidential content

## Appendix II: Interview/Post-Pilgrimage Questions

### Interview Questions

1. Why did you decide to visit Gallipoli?
2. How do you expect to feel when you first step foot on Gallipoli/Anzac Cove?
3. Is visiting Gallipoli on Anzac Day important for you?
4. How important do you feel Anzac Day is to Australia?
5. Could you describe what your typical Anzac Day would consist of?
6. Do you have personal or family connection to someone who served at Gallipoli, the First World War or any other conflicts?
  - Who were they?
  - Has this impacted your personal engagement with Anzac?
  - Where did they serve?
  - Did they survive the conflict?
  - Have you or anyone else you know of visited their grave or monument?
  - Did this influence your decision to visit Gallipoli?
  - How did you learn about them? Discuss
  - Have you done any research on them?
7. Do you feel Australia has some ownership over Gallipoli?
8. Did you study history at school?
9. What do you know about the Anzacs at Gallipoli?
  - Can describe what happened during the landings (Anzac Day)?
  - Why was Gallipoli invaded?
  - How many soldiers were killed?
  - What other countries were involved?
  - What do you know about the greater campaign at Gallipoli?
10. Are you familiar with any particular Anzac or Anzac story?
11. Anzac plays an important part in Australian society. What are your thoughts on that and how does Anzac relate to you?
12. How does Anzac fit into your identity as an Australian?
13. Are there any benefits or risks associated with Anzac playing a central role in contemporary Australian society?
14. The original Anzac's were white, male, with an Anglo-Celtic background.
15. With all original Anzac's gone and the number of Second World War veterans dwindling, will Anzac continue to hold its place in Australian society? Why?
16. Are you an active user of social media?
17. Have you seen or read anything on social media about Anzac/Gallipoli?

### Post-Pilgrimage Survey Questions


1. Reflecting on your journey to Gallipoli how has your perception of Anzac changed? Was visiting the site important for this?
2. In what ways did this tour help you engage or learn about Anzac and Australia's/New Zealand's involvement in the Gallipoli Campaign?
3. What was the highlight(s) of your Gallipoli tour? Why was it important to your experience and were there any negatives that you felt impacted the tour?
4. Are there any other comments that you wish to make on Anzac or your experience at Gallipoli? (Optional)


## Appendix III: Participant List

Name	Age	Current Residence	Education	Occupation
Lauren K.	22	Brisbane, Qld	High School	Retail
Noah A.	18	Sydney, NSW	High School	Retail
Emma D.	22	London, UK	Undergraduate Degree	Nutritionist
Julie B.	25	Edinburgh, UK	Undergraduate Degree	Hospitality/Bar Manager
Amy D.	29	London, UK	Undergraduate Degree	Accountant
Daniel J.	26	Roxby Downs, SA	Postgraduate Degree (Current)	Teacher/Postgraduate Student
Hannah	20	Port Macquarie, NSW	Undergraduate Degree (Current)	Undergraduate Student
Annie H.	26	Port Macquarie, NSW	High School	Retail
Brad D.	20	Travelling	High School	Unemployed/RAN Veteran
Alex D.	20	Meningie, SA	High School	Farmer
Eleanor R.	25	Melbourne, Vic	Undergraduate Degree	Teacher

# Appendix IV: Contiki Anzac Odyssey Itinerary

TRIP INFORMATION FOR  
MR D NABB



ITINERARY + INCLUSIONS

**DAY 1 ISTANBUL**

Today you'll check in to your hotel & be free to explore before uniting with the team in the afternoon. We'll then spend two nights peeling back the layers of East & West, admiring Istanbul's Blue Mosque & navigating the Bazaar & Spice Market.

**●4:00PM ISTANBUL**

**DAY 2 GALLIPOLI**

Commencing our pilgrimage, we'll take to the road with our compass pointing to Gallipoli. Joining with thousands of others, we'll sleep under the stars waiting to pay our respects by morning.

**Meals:** Breakfast

**DAY 3 ANZAC DAY AT GALLIPOLI**

Waking before the rise of the sun, we'll experience a somber dawn service before walking in the soldiers' footsteps. We'll pay our respects at the National Service for the New Zealand troops at Chunuk Bair, with time after to visit Australia's Lone Pine cemetery before returning to Istanbul.

**●See Anzac Cove, Lone Pine, Chunuk Bair & Johnston's Jolly**

**DAY 4 to DAY 5 ISTANBUL**

Back in Istanbul with time to explore & with a new found level of reverence under our belt we will share a final breakfast together before the trip wraps up & our ANZAC experience finishes.

**Meals:** Breakfast, Breakfast

**●AFTER BREAKFAST ISTANBUL**

**●See the Hagia Sofia, Topkapi Palace & Suleymaniye Mosque**

**●Istanbul walking tour with Local Guide**



6

## Appendix V: Contiki “Anzac Day Walk”

### **ANZAC DAY WALK**

#### **1. North Beach & the ANZAC Commemorative Site**

The site holds the annual dawn service commemorating the ANZACs that landed on the nearby ANZAC Cove. After the service, access to the ANZAC sign and beach will be open for photos.

#### **2. Ariburnu Cemetery**

This cemetery sits at the north end of Anzac Cove and was established during the campaign. Many of the men buried here are from the Australian Light Horse regiment. Nearby you will also find the famous memorial stone with Atatürk's moving words directed to an official Australian, New Zealand and British party on their visit to the cove.

#### **3. ANZAC Cove**

This small cove 600 meters long was the landing zone of the ANZACs in the early hours of the 25th April 1915. Look at the landscape, note the difficult terrain the soldiers faced during the landing. Positioned between two headlands, they nicknamed the terrain 'the sphinx' as it jutted out from the ridge and reminded them of Egypt where they had just recently finished their training. For 8 months this was to be home, only 1km from the ANZAC front line and within range of Turkish battery from Gaba Tepe. At times during the campaign, many ANZACs would swim at the beach, cleaning themselves and taking a break from the battle.

#### **4. Shrapnel Valley Cemetery**

This was the passage from ANZAC Cove to the frontline and posts such as Quinns. Shrapnel Valley or the Valley of Death was nicknamed early in the campaign as the Turkish would shell the area heavily to stop the ANZACs replenishing the front line.

#### **5. Beach Cemetery**

Located at Hell Spit, towards the southern end of the cove this cemetery was created on landing day and used right up to the date of evacuation. This is mostly a Commonwealth grave site with Australians, New Zealanders, British and Indian men laid to rest here. One of the most famous graves is the

ANZAC legend Private John Simpson Kirkpatrick; 'the man with the donkey.'

#### **6. Shell Green Cemetery**

Take a left up Artillery road, named so as the men would carry up artillery to outposts further up the ridge. There was also a lot of dug outs and rest spots along this road. Shell Green cemetery is a combined collection of many nearby cemeteries along this once heavily shelled path. All but 1 of the 409 graves here are Australian.

#### **7. Lone Pine: Australian National Memorial**

Named so for the one lone pine that stood here when the Australian troops managed to arrive after the landing. This became a heavy battle zone, the rear of the cemetery marking the Australian trenches and in opposition, the wall and Memorial pylon to the Missing marks the Turkish trenches. Observe the dates of the graves, they tell the story of the battle from landing day, august offensive, to the day before evacuation.

#### **8. Quinn's Post Cemetery**

The New Zealand Machine Gun crew managed to establish this post on the 25th April and it was taken over by the Australians the next day. The name comes from Captain Hugh Quinn who was commander here. This was said to be one of the most dangerous positions on the peninsula, they would bury men nearly every day, from 1 to 400 men at one time.

#### **9. Turkish Memorial**

At this site you will see a large statue of a Turkish soldier facing downhill towards incoming troops. It was here that during the 'battle of the landing' the Turkish soldiers really showed the Allied troops their courage and capabilities and were able to stop them from gaining anymore ground. But this place saw great death for the Turkish as well, on the 19th of May, the Turkish counter attack left their troops with 3000 dead and 7000 injured.

#### **10. The Nek**

Take the small unmade track to the left towards the Nek and Walker's Ridge. On

the 25th, ANZAC troops managed to take this point but were swiftly driven back west. It was here that several parts of the Australian Light Horse Brigade and Regiment tried to seize the Turkish trenches. However, their failure led to their near complete annihilation. Their story of great loss features in the 1983 movie, Gallipoli.

#### **11. Walker's Ridge**

This position gives you an amazing view over North Beach and Suvla Bay. On the 6th of August, while Australian troops were attacking Lone Pine and other Australian and Indian forces headed North, the New Zealand and Maori troops attacked the outposts around Walker's ridge. This was an important step, as this enabled them to go on to Chunuk Bair, the highest point of the peninsular. It is said that when the Maori charged they sang the ancient Maori battle song.

#### **12. Chunuk Bair and the Atatürk Memorial**

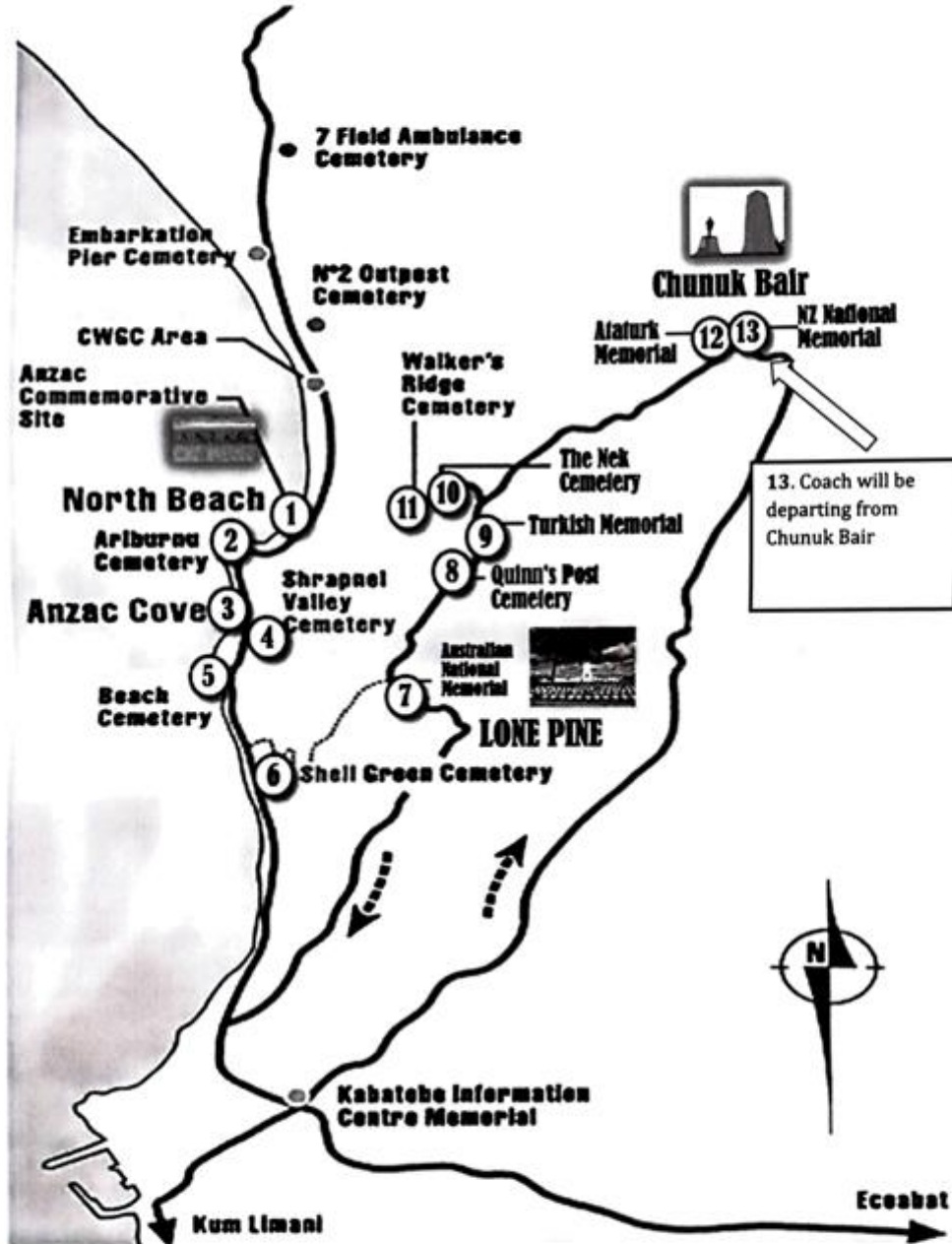
As you reach the top of the hill you will see a large statue of Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) the leader of the Turkish defence standing on the ridge that dominates the whole peninsular. It was at this point that the Turkish troops were fighting against the New Zealand, British and Gurka men trying to take Chunuk Bair. Note that Atatürk holds a whip behind his back; he raised the whip to start the counter attack on that morning in August.

#### **13. New Zealand Memorial**

The tall stone pylon is a part of the New Zealand Memorial, etched into it are 850 names of those that have fallen in the battle of Chunuk Bair. It was here that on the 8th of August they reached the ridge, they held it for one day and then on the 10th it was lost. For that one day, the troops saw a glimpse of the Dardanelles, the whole reason for the fighting. Chunuk Bair is furthest point that the Allied forces were able to advance during the Gallipoli Campaign. The loss of Chunuk Bair was a major turning point in the battle, after this, the effort to capture the centre peninsular would no longer continue

*They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old. Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.  
At the going down of the sun and in the morning, We will remember them.  
Lest We Forget*

## ORIENTATION MAP



### Language Lesson:

Yes - Evet - EV-ET  
 No - Hayır - HI-EAR  
 How much? - Ne Kadar? - NAY KAD-AR  
 Okay - Tamam - TAMAM

Hello - Merhaba - MARE-HA-BA  
 Goodbye - Hoşçakal! - HOSH-CHA-KAL  
 Please - Lütfen - LUT-FEN  
 Thankyou - Teşekkür ederim - TE-SH-QU-ERR ED-ERR-IM

*They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old. Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.  
 At the going down of the sun and in the morning. We will remember them.  
 Lest We Forget.*