

Gender, Change and Military Music in the Australian Anzac Tradition: A Critical Perspective¹

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Australian military ceremonies are set in the context of white Australia's 'myth of creation,' the Anzac story, with roots deep in the resounding military defeat of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (the Anzacs) in 1915 at Gallipoli, Turkey.² This myth has been so central to the development of Australian identity that 'in numerous historical accounts...Gallipoli has been proclaimed as the birthplace of the nation.'³ The events at Gallipoli have been portrayed and mythologised in novels (such as *My Brother Jack*, George Johnstone, 1964), plays (*The One Day of the Year*, Alan Seymour, 1967), popular histories (*The Myth of the Digger*, Jane Ross, 1985, and *The Anzacs*, Patsy Adam-Smith, 1979), by W. C. Bean's official histories of the First World War, in films (Charles Chauval's *Rats of Tobruk*, 1944, and Bruce Beresford's *Gallipoli*, 1981), and by a vast and continuing array of newspaper and magazine articles. On 25 April each year, the Anzac Day public holiday, militaristic ceremonies in Australian towns and cities commemorate the contribution of defence force personnel; those in the larger cities are broadcast live on television and all are reported extensively in the media. Meaning in other military ceremonies is infused with the Anzac ethos. Bands from the Australian Army, the Royal Australian Air Force, the Royal Australian Navy, or their para-military counterparts, the police, along with community brass and concert bands, are indispensable participants in these commemorations. Hence, military music in Australia is performed in a context of the remembrance of acts of war and death. Some scholars identify a shift in the focus of Anzac from the failure at Gallipoli, to the ennoblement of sacrifice and suffering.⁴ I argue in this paper that, while men's exploits have long been at the centre of the Anzac story, women's entry into the Australian Army Band Corps following the Australian Government's Sex Discrimination Act of 1984 has been an agent

¹ This paper was read at a meeting of the Gender and Music Study Group of the International Council for Traditional Music at the University of Maryland in Nov. 1996, where the meeting's theme was Gender and the Musics of Death, and at the 1997 National Conference of the Musicological Society of Australia at the University of New England. Publication of this paper is dedicated to the memory of Marcia Herndon, co-chair of the ICTM Music and Gender Study Group, who died in May 1997 after a long battle with cancer. I acknowledge the financial assistance of Charles Sturt University and the University of Maryland in the preparation and presentation of this paper.

² Ken Inglis, 'The Rite Stuff,' *Eureka Street* 26 (1994): 26.

³ Marilyn Lake and Joy Damousi, 'Introduction: Warfare, History and Gender,' *Gender and War: Australians at War in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Lake and Damousi (Cambridge: CUP, 1995) 1.

⁴ See for instance Lake and Damousi, 'Warfare, History and Gender' 10.

of change in the army's representation of itself in the shaping of the Anzac myth, and hence in the construction of gender in Australia.

Anzac stories and images sharply delineate stereotypical gender roles, and military ceremony reinforces these perceptions. Anzac has centred on the exploits of Anglo-Celtic men, while women have been ignored or cast in support roles.⁵ Both Ken Inglis in 'The Rite Stuff' and Marilyn Lake and Joy Damousi in *Gender and Warfare* identify opposition to the myth. Inglis cites feminism, multiculturalism, liberalism and pacifism as the main opponents, but argues that commemorations of the myth have increasingly included women, Aborigines, and non-Anglo-Celtic Australians.⁶ Lake and Damousi record that in the 1970s and 1980s women marched in protest on Anzac Day to "reclaim the day as a day of mourning" and to commemorate the violence perpetrated on all women in all wars.⁷

Lynda Boose et al. argue that war (and, by extension, we might include professional military service in peace time) is 'a culturally produced activity that is [...] rigidly defined by sexual exclusion...[and is] a crucial site where meanings about gender are being produced, reproduced and circulated back into society.'⁸ As Nancy Huston demonstrates, there has been a long held belief in the West that contact with the female world inhibits men's capacity to fight.⁹ Following Boose et al. and Ruth A. Solie, I take the representations made by military bands 'not merely to reflect or refer to some pre-existent reality, but actually to produce that reality.'¹⁰ In this paper I explore the relationship between the representations made by military bands, and community values and perceptions of gender. Hence I address the questions: How has the entry of women into the army bands changed the commemorative ceremonies' representations of the Anzac tradition and how does military music in the context of the Anzac tradition affect the construction of gender in Australia?

In his book *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, James Scott presents a critical sociological concept for which he coins the term hidden transcripts.¹¹ Hidden transcripts, he argues, are those things which people share with others in their own social comfort zone. They are understandings and actions which the powerful share with their equals, and the subordinate with theirs. Hidden transcripts are our 'offstage' discourse, a discourse which we are loath to reveal to people outside our own stratum. For people in subordinate strata of society, brief revelations of the hidden transcript can be powerful weapons, as when a school child feigns cooperation but speaks with an edge of insolence to the voice, or when slaves weave into their worksongs privately understood messages of resistance. Conversely, for people in dominant positions, revelations of the hidden transcript are chinks in the armour of their self-confident authority.

Conversely, public transcripts are the acts and words, the open interaction between subordinates and those who dominate; '[w]ith rare, but significant exceptions,' Scott argues, 'the public performance of the subordinate will, out of prudence, fear, and the desire to curry favour, be shaped to appeal to the expectations of the powerful.'¹² It is to the benefit of the dominant that their public transcript shields the human vulnerabilities which their hidden

⁵ Lake and Damousi, 'Warfare, History and Gender' 1-3.

⁶ Inglis, 'The Rite Stuff' 26.

⁷ Lake and Damousi, 'Warfare, History and Gender' 16.

⁸ Lynda Boose, Lynn Higgins, Marianne Hirsch, Al LaValley and Brenda Silver, cited in Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott, *Gendering War Talk* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993) ix.

⁹ Nancy Huston, 'The Matrix of War: Mothers and Heroes,' *The Female Body in Western Culture: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. S. R. Suleiman (Cambridge, MS: Harvard UP, 1986) 119-123.

¹⁰ Ruth A. Solie, ed., *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1993) 1.

¹¹ James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1990) 2.

¹² Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* 2.

transcript might reveal. A politician's financial improprieties as a topic of media scandal is a case-in-point. Scott juxtaposes discussion of totalitarian social relationships such as slavery, serfdom and caste, with those of more open, democratic societies. His work invites questions about the seemingly benign power relationships in democratic societies. In Australia, a democracy whose popular ethos boasts of egalitarianism, military commemorations are pages of the public transcripts of dominant political and military interests, but they are pages which attract little strident criticism from the broad majority of the population, as though the interests of all were the same.

An examination of military ceremony as a page of the dominant public transcript will shed light on music's power in the construction of understandings about gender in military ceremonies in Australia.¹³ Until the entry of women in 1984, the bands of the Australian Army, with their all-male membership and masculine dress, deportment and grooming, reinforced essentially patriarchal models of the military, and thus of the broader Australian ethos. So central is music in commemorative ceremonies that the Australian Army Band Corps maintains six full-time bands, and five part-time Reserve Bands. The Air Force and the Navy have two full-time bands each and the Navy has six Reserve Bands.

The March Out Parade of graduating recruits from the notoriously arduous Recruit Training Program at the Kapooka Military Area is representative of military parades in Australia. Although this ceremony is particular to its time, place and purpose, many of its elements, and the images it presents, are common in Australian military ceremonies. Almost all Australian Army personnel begin their military careers at Kapooka, which is located some twelve kilometres from the rural city of Wagga Wagga in the south west of the state of New South Wales. Only those who accept commissions as officers do not pass through Kapooka. The army calls Kapooka 'The Home of the Soldier,' such is its central importance to the lives of soldiers. Parents, relatives, and friends of graduating soldiers journey from all parts of Australia for the parade. It is inevitable that the March Out Parade attracts much publicity. The Australian Army Band, Kapooka (The Kapooka Band) plays a central role in the Parade. Because it presents a very public face of the Army to the wider community, the Parade is carefully constructed to reflect, and in turn reinforce, current manifestations of the Anzac tradition.

The March Out Parade begins at 11.00 am on Monday mornings and runs for eighty or ninety minutes.¹⁴ Within the larger sections of the ceremony are a number of symbolic military drills: the inspection of the recruits; the inspection of the band; present arms (with music); present arms (without music); slope arms (with music); slope arms (without music); various changes of formation; slow marching to quick march music; eyes right; a counter march from the band; and numerous verbal commands. There are visual symbols of the army ethos: clean, well pressed uniforms; insignia; weapons; the Governor-General's banner; and various trophies which are presented to recruits who have excelled in physical efficiency and rifle skills, and to the officers who have trained the most outstanding platoon.

The most singular symbol is the fur felt Khaki slouch hat, which is universally associated with Australian soldiers. The participants themselves—the officers, the recruits, and the band,

¹³ For an introduction to Australian military ceremony see Harvey Broadbent, *The Commemorations on the 75th anniversary of the Landings at Gallipoli plus 'Gallipoli, The Boys who Came Home'* (Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Corporation, VHS video, 1992), and Robert Reynolds, *Cenotaph* (Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Corporation / Australian War Memorial / Orade Pictures, VHS Video, c.1991). I take evidence for my argument from these videos and particularly from my own ethnographic research on the Australian Army Band, Kapooka, which is reported in Roland Bannister, 'An Ethnomusicological Study of Music Makers in an Australian Military Band,' PhD Deakin U, 1995).

¹⁴ The March Out Parade is held on most Mondays of the year because batches of recruits start (and therefore finish) their training most weeks.

with their correct posture and regulation haircuts—have symbolic meaning. Men and women are androgynously clothed in the ceremonial parade dress. Men have mandatory 'short back and sides' hair styles, and some wear moustaches trimmed to prescribed shapes. The occasional women's platoons are recognisable by their physiognomy. Typically a neat bun gathers the hair at the nape of the neck. The physical presence of women signals the Army's acceptance of women into what has been a male preserve. The band, dressed in its red, white and black ceremonial uniform has a vivid presence, with the elements of colour, movement and music linked in an unambiguous congruency of style to the activities of the other participants. This image often prompts the soldier-musicians to remark that 'people hear with their eyes.' All participants function as visual symbols of the military ethos.

While the March Out Parade celebrates the beginning of military careers, the Funeral of the Unknown Soldier, held in Canberra on 11 November 1993, marked the final coming to rest of Australia's World War I soldiers who died and were buried anonymously on the battlefields of Europe. Here, three-quarters of a century later, one of their number has been exhumed, returned to his native land, and 'buried with the honours due to a field marshal'¹⁵ in the Hall of Memory at the Australian War Memorial as a representative of all of his comrades whose fate has never been finally known. The Kapooka Band and the Royal Australian Military College Band, Duntroon, combined to lead the funeral parade along Anzac Avenue. Later a quartet of soldier-musicians, two male and two female, led the hymn singing. This ceremony was broadcast nationally on Australian Broadcasting Corporation television, a commercial video tape was released, and the event was widely covered in the electronic and print media. This wide exposure brought images of soldiers—male and female—to a large national audience. In close-up shots the soldier-musicians' gender was clearly discernible.

The military ethos promulgated by these types of Australian military parades are the 'personal qualities' of resourcefulness, candour, devotion, curiosity, and independence, the 'social qualities' of comradeship, ancestry, patriotism, chivalry and loyalty, and the 'fighting qualities' of coolness, control, audacity, endurance and decision.¹⁶ The military ethos is unambiguous to participants and audience alike. Since the *raison d'être* of the military is to fight wars, its ethos is grounded in combat activity. On the battlefield, commands must be unambiguously given and obeyed. This unambiguity is reflected in military ceremony and extends to the morality of combat; if they are to survive on the battlefield, soldiers must act on the basis of an unequivocal moral code. Equivocal behaviour on the battlefield invites disaster. Equivocal behaviour on the parade ground is no less unwelcome. The parades' material symbols and symbolic actions are clear, simple and, above all, unambiguous in their shape, colour, sound and movements.

Meaning in military music is highly context-dependant. The meaning of the music, and of the parades themselves, is articulated in the spoken words of the officiating officers. This ostensibly ordinary, everyday speech interrupts the meticulous choreography of the rigorously formal ritual, where rehearsed themes from the military ethos are elaborated. The meaning of the movement, music, colour, shape and the deportment of participants is defined by spoken words, heard in the context of the understandings of Anzac which participants and audience bring with them. A sense of the unambiguous thus moulds the meaning of the field calls, salutes, marches and hymns of military ceremony.¹⁷

¹⁵ Inglis, 'The Rite Stuff' 23.

¹⁶ This ethos is embodied in symbols in three stained glass windows, and the words inscribed below them, in the Hall of Memory at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra.

¹⁷ In this paper the discussion is confined to music in military ceremony. Military bands in fact spend much of their time on the rehearsal and public performance of a very wide range of concert band music. The Kapooka Band, for example, spends about 50% of its working week on ceremonial music and 50% on rehearsals and performances of public concerts of concert band music.

nationalities; it is from their performance context in the Anzac commemorations that they derive their meaning.

Military marches are characterised by heavily marked, duple meter, constant marching tempos, singable melodies, tonic-dominant-subdominant harmony, sharply contrasting staccato and legato articulations, contrasting wind, brass, and percussion colours, and strongly contrasting dynamics. They are clearly sectional and phrase lengths are typically two, four or eight bars; sections are often repeated. Salutes share these characteristics though some have triple meter.

The unambiguous musical characteristics of marches and salutes affirm the values represented by the ceremony. It is only in *The Last Post* and the hymns, the music most directly associated with death, that there is a sense of the ambiguous. *The Last Post* ends on an ascending passage of which a sustained mediant is the final sound (see Example 2). Hymns have long been a staple of the repertoire of service bands. They are sung by the congregation and played by the band in solemn military and civic ceremonies. The hymns are performed with a freer metre, the pulse is not marked, and rubato is common. It is in hymn singing that women become more prominent. In four-part settings women's voices typically take the two upper parts, and even in unison singing women are generally more confident about using their voices than men.

Example 2: *The Last Post*

The musical score for 'The Last Post' is presented in seven staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 2/4 time signature. A tempo marking of '152' is placed above the first measure. The melody starts with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The second staff continues the melody with a quarter note C5, a quarter note D5, and a quarter note E5. The third staff continues with a quarter note F5, a quarter note G5, and a quarter note A5. The fourth staff continues with a quarter note B5, a quarter note C6, and a quarter note D6. The fifth staff continues with a quarter note E6, a quarter note F6, and a quarter note G6. The sixth staff continues with a quarter note A6, a quarter note B6, and a quarter note C7. The seventh staff concludes the piece with a quarter note D7, a quarter note E7, and a quarter note F7, followed by a final cadence. The score includes various articulations such as slurs and accents, and dynamic markings like *mf* and *f*.

The entry of women threatened to effect a major change to the Band Corps. Male soldier-musicians expressed familiar reservations ranging from a fear that women's presence would give rise to romantic relationships detrimental to the bands' operational efficiency, to the fear that women would not be able to cope with the rigours of travel and marching. The need to provide separate ablution facilities was cited by some as problematic. One senior officer now regrets that he expressed the opinion that women's physiognomy and deportment was inappropriate to the appearance of army bands. Fourteen years on, it is now clear that the introduction of women has been managed to minimise its effect on military culture, while demonstrating a commitment to change. The acceptance of women soldier-musicians illustrates what military bands recognised: that an essential aspect of their *raison d'être* was their representation of a softer, caring, nurturing side of military life. Military music evokes, in both tone and lyrics, not only the valour of past soldiers, but also the sorrow of death in military conflict and a belief in the essential rightness of the causes for which the battles were fought and the lives lost.¹⁸

The public transcript presented in military ceremony has slowly allowed older, seemingly frozen representations of gender to thaw. Women are still presented as supporters rather than agents of military action, but these stereotypical images are necessarily changing as women enlist as engineers, signallers, infantry soldiers and of course musicians. They are increasingly shown to have some agency as they join a wider range of military units in increasing numbers. The inclusion of female soldier-musicians is important here: they are participants in an activity where their expert work as musicians is publicly evident. In the army gender is androgynised yet, as obviously feminine forms appear, popular images of army personnel change. Men and women may dress alike, yet their gender is discernible.

An indicator of the military's ability to amend gender representations is an image which appears on some of the Kapooka Band's post-1993 public relations posters (see Colour Plate). The image is strikingly different from the previous rather prosaic posters with their stock military insignia and basic printer's lettering. The new picture is a head and shoulders photograph of a young French hornist, in soft, rich colour. The musician wears the scarlet tunic of one of the band's ceremonial uniforms, which is adorned with gold braid and military badges. The brim of the regulation pith helmet obscures the forehead, eyes and top of the nose, but reveals enough hair and face to identify the figure as female. The image has attracted quite different interpretations. My interpretation stems from my own perception and from those of several small seminar audiences. In this interpretation the figure's sex is, at first, not readily discernible. On a cursory viewing one is likely to read the image as that of a young, fresh-faced, male soldier-musician. On a closer viewing a small knot of hair becomes discernible at the nape of the neck, and the lips become clearly female lips. The shoulder line and breast can be discerned as those of a woman. In this reading the sex of the subject is taken to be veiled; it concedes that there are women in the army but that their image is not to be the dominant one. A feminist reading of the image sees the figure as demure and modest, with downcast eyes, avoiding the viewers' gaze, and sexualised, especially as the female mouth is a clear focus.¹⁹ Another reading is that of the Music Director of the Kapooka Band, Major Patrick Pickett, who told me that he chose the photograph 'to reflect quality, refinement, sensuality and youthfulness.' He talked of the great care taken 'to get the lips just right.'²⁰ When the subject of the photograph, musician Sue Waterman, calls this her 'anonymous photo', she means that her personal identity is meant

¹⁸ For further discussion on the management of this change, see Roland Bannister, 'Soldier-musicians in an Australian Army Band: Understanding the Lived Experience of Gender,' *Yearbook of the International Council for Traditional Music* 28 (1996): 131-46, especially 139-40.

¹⁹ Michelle Duffy, Personal communication, 22 Dec. 1997.

²⁰ Patrick Pickett, Personal communication, 12 Oct. 1994.

to be hidden.²¹ I suggested that the picture could be seen as indeterminate as to gender, but Major Pickett was adamant: 'No, I wanted it to be seen as a woman.'²² Of course, the three readings are not incompatible, and importantly, Major Pickett's intention is not subverted by the other readings.

This ambiguity about gender difference reflects the military's response to societal change. The Anzac tradition has celebrated men's exploits in a men's world. As the military responds to societal calls for women to be, and to be seen as, agents of action, the dialectic ensures that gender difference is recognised. As more women have entered the Band Corps, and as they have been promoted up the ranks, so too have their essential differences been simultaneously recognised and celebrated, and yet controlled. As Solie writes, '[p]olitically...difference is about power. And...claiming one's own difference may be a form of resistance against subsumption into an undifferentiated universal object.'²³

If claiming one's difference can be resistance, then women's claiming of their difference in military ceremony has been negotiated by the army as an orderly, measured and managed resistance. Women in the Kapooka Band told me that they recognise the military's need to dampen the pace of change, yet they themselves wish to maintain their difference. Women's views about their acceptance into the Band Corps range from those who say that acceptance is given begrudgingly and a 'boys' club' culture still prevails, to those who claim that acceptance by the men has been generous. A prevailing view is that, with the passage of time, the presence of women is becoming accepted as the norm. The women insist that the army should accept their presence as equals, but they concede that as an essentially conservative institution, the army will be slow in its adoption of traditional female characteristics. Thus there is a tension, a duality, between the military culture's tendency to minimise difference and the women's need to assert their essential femininity. Sue Waterman, who also sings as a soloist in the band's public concerts, articulates her view of the matter thus: 'Women want to be identified as feminine. When we perform as musicians, I have a problem with the uniforms; I'd like to look like a woman. I've sung love songs dressed in army uniform, but it is difficult to get the feeling right.'²⁴

Profound changes in attitudes to gender in Australian society have been a major cause of social insecurity.²⁵ The slow and conservative rate of change in military representations of gender is a measured response to changing community values. In the dialectic between the military and a wider democratic society the military must recognise and reflect community values, or it risks losing the confidence of the community. In turn, measured change in the military may soften the impact of change in the wider community.

Just as military bands are agents of democratic governments in Australia, they have the potential to mask totalitarian or corrupt governments. As Marcia Herndon reminds us, all symbols have the potential to be manipulated and exploited.²⁶ Music educator Warren Bourne alerts us to the potentially insidious use of military bands and civilian community bands. As symbols of 'a sanctioned and legitimate expression of authoritarian command' they can be

Colour Plate: The Kapooka Band's post-1993 public relations poster. The image is that of musician Sue Waterman (photo courtesy of Riverside Studios, Wagga Wagga).

²¹ Sue Waterman, Personal communication, 12 Oct. 1994.

²² Patrick Pickett, Personal communication, 2 Apr. 1995.

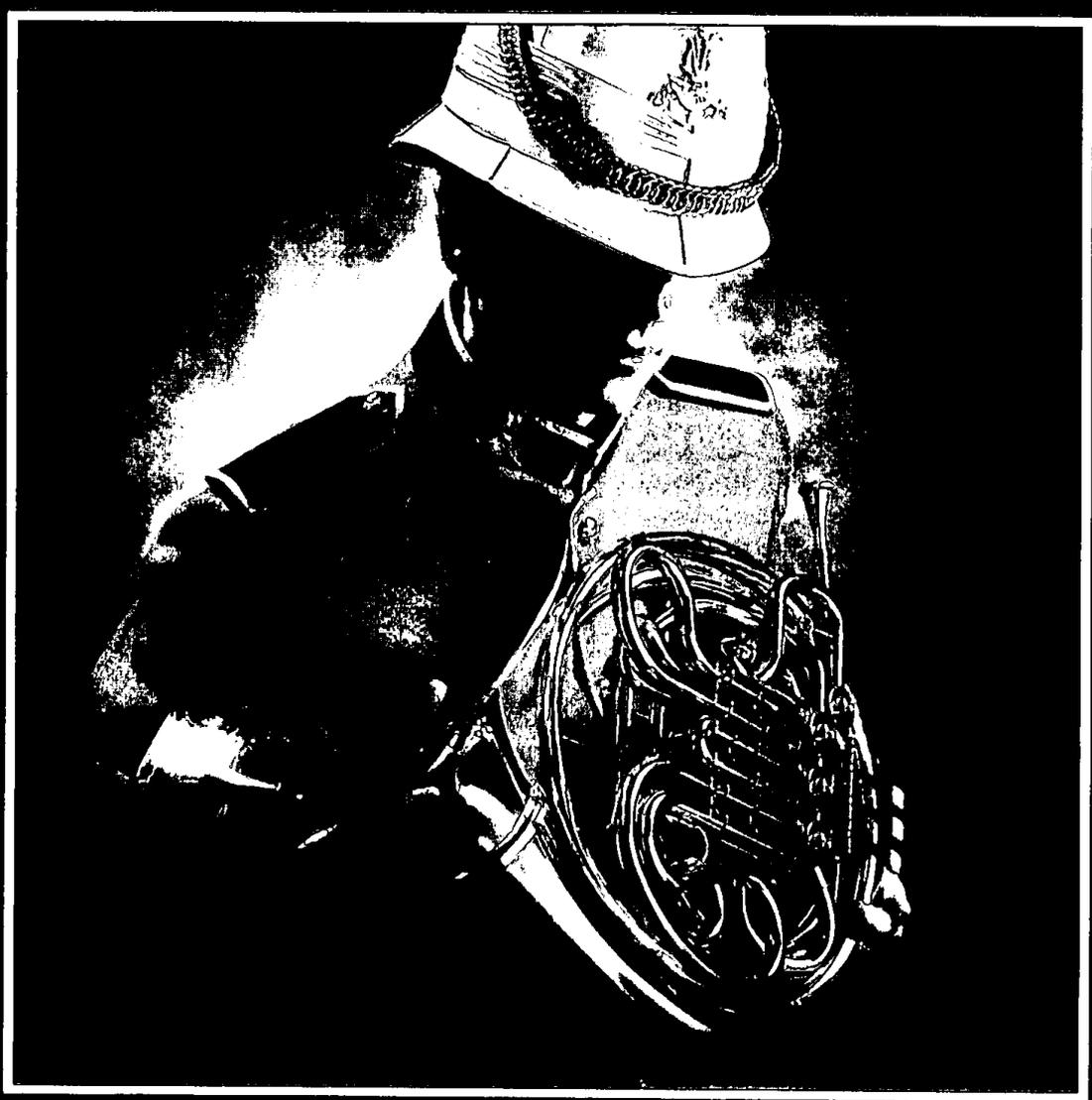
²³ Solie, *Musicology and Difference* 6.

²⁴ Sue Waterman, Personal communication, 12 Oct. 1994.

²⁵ Hugh Mackay, *Reinventing Australia: The Mind and Mood of Australia in the 90s* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1993) chapter 1.

²⁶ Marcia Herndon, 'Music and Public Policy,' *Music in the Dialogue of Cultures: Traditional Music and Cultural Policy*, ed. M. P. Baumann (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel Verlag, 1991).

The Australian
ARMY BAND
KAPOOKA



major contributors to the balance and integrity of society, but in authoritarian regimes they can be used to serve selfish ends; the use of bands and parades in Hitler's Germany is an all-too-obvious case in point.²⁷ The military has played a major role in the construction of Australian identity; the 'digger' image has been an enduring one long before Russell Ward identified it as such in *The Australian Legend* of 1958.²⁸ The digger image is 'typified in the qualities of toughness, independence, resourcefulness and egalitarianism.'²⁹ This is a core image of Anzac tradition and it is paraded to large audiences of Australians in military ceremonies. Military bands are essential elements in such ceremonies.

In his novel *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, Milan Kundera wrote perceptively on the use of parades by the totalitarian Communist regime he knew in Czechoslovakia. He identifies the worst aspect of Communism as its persistence in covering up unacceptable human activity by the insidious use of kitsch. The model of Communist kitsch, he says, is the May Day ceremony:

The women all wore red, white, and blue blouses, and the public, looking on from balconies and windows could make out five-pointed stars, hearts, and letters when the marchers went into formation. Small brass bands accompanied the individual groups, keeping everyone in step. As a group approached the viewing stand, even the most blasé faces would beam with dazzling smiles, as if trying to prove that they were properly joyful or, to be more precise, in proper agreement. Nor were they merely expressing political agreement with Communism; no, there was an agreement with being as such. The May Day ceremony drew its inspiration from the deep well of the categorical agreement with being. The unwritten, unsung motto of the parade was not 'Long live Communism!' but 'Long live life!'³⁰

Ronald Grimes explains that 'imperative force' is a characteristic of ceremony.³¹ The protagonists in Kundera's May Day Parade avoid the discursive symbolism of everyday speech, because arguments put into ordinary speech invite debate, while totalitarian regimes avoid debate. Rather, as Kundera continues:

In the realm of totalitarian kitsch, all answers are given in advance and preclude any questions. It follows, then, that the true opponent of totalitarian kitsch is the person who asks questions. A question is like a knife that slices through the stage backdrop and gives us a look at what lies behind it.³²

In totalitarian regimes voices of dissent, voices which question, are the hidden transcript of the politically subordinate. They are the mute voices of suppressed resistance. In Australia, military parades are part of the public transcript of dominant political interests. Yet democratic principles, however constrained by political process and dominant interests, prevail and voices

²⁷ Warren Bourne, 'Ethics on the Edge of the Musical Experience,' *Music on the Edge: Desert to Surf*, Proc. of IX Conference, Australian Society for Music Education, WA Chapter, 7-11 July 1993, University of Western Australia, ed. Kent Logie (Nedlands: UWA, 1993) 7-16.

²⁸ Russell Ward, *The Australian Legend* (1958; London: OUP, 1974).

²⁹ G. P. Hogan, 'Collectivism in the Australian Defence Force: Military Anathema or Natural Progression?' *Defence Force Journal* 77 (July/August 1989): 11-18.

³⁰ Milan Kundera, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, trans. Michael Henry Heim (London: Faber, 1985) 249.

³¹ Ronald L. Grimes, *Research in Ritual Studies: A Programmatic Essay and Bibliography*, ATLA Bibliographic Ser. 14 (New Jersey: Metuchen, 1985) 48.

³² Kundera, *Unbearable Lightness* 254.

of dissent are heard. The voices of dissent heard in Anzac Parades of past decades have subsided as the values of the Anzac tradition have become more inclusive, but they have not been suppressed as in Kundera's *Czechoslovakia*. As Inglis reports, the placard 'Fight War, Not Wars' appeared 'unlicensed but unmolested' alongside a huge Flanders poppy to 'complicate the atmosphere' at the Funeral of the Unknown Soldier.³³

Military bands are powerful symbols of the military ethos. Soldier-musicians are professional ritual celebrants employed as agents in the reinforcement of military ideology to enhance the army's public image, and to mould community values. The power of military symbols is evidenced by their ubiquity in Australia; there is scarcely a town or city in Australia which does not display a public war memorial dedicated to service personnel of past wars. I live in Wagga Wagga where, in the Victory Memorial Gardens, a graceful stone Cenotaph and Memorial Archway commemorate those who fought in past wars, and the 'eternal flame' burns to the memory of the dead. The monument is the site of each year's Anzac services and is an ever present symbol of Anzac values. I take the continued, seldom-sullied, presence of these sites as evidence of a general resonance of those values with a broad range of interest groups in Australian society. Here power is grounded in the military's celebration of Australian history as military history, in its commemoration of sacrifice in past battles. The military's agency in history legitimises its power in the shaping of Australian values. As Geoffrey Grey reminds us, 'though Australians are not a militaristic people...we have been known in the world for the quality of our soldiers.'³⁴ If Australia is known for the work of its soldiers, it is not strange that the Army, through the Anzac tradition, has had a major role in the construction of Australian identity.

Anthony Cohen argues that 'symbols do not so much express meaning as give us the capacity to make meaning.'³⁵ Custodians of symbols invest them with meanings, and perceivers of the symbols interpret them as they will, as they are able, and as they are persuaded. Grimes identifies a high degree of intentionality as a defining characteristic of ceremony.³⁶ Intention could hardly be more overt than in military ceremony; every temporal and spatial element is choreographed to serve ideological purposes. So long as the Australian Army serves democratically elected governments and those governments serve the people who elected them, military ceremonies will be agents in the construction of widely held values. Of these, the construction of gender is one of the most contentious.

Military ceremony's meaning is legitimised by its commemoration of death in the service of one's country. It is difficult to argue with the solemn ritual commemorations of the lives and deaths of military heroes of Australia's 'Golden Age,' an age whose values have roots in the events at Gallipoli in 1915. The commemorations are accepted by the broad mass of Australians as just and proper. As a corollary of this acceptance of the public transcript of governments and the military, comes an acceptance of the gendered stereotypes of men and women in the commemorations. Even in liberal democracies the immense power of the monolithic, seemingly eternal, institutions like the army, resists change in the public transcript. Yet the work, and images, of military men and women do change. The bands of the Australian Defence Force, as major elements in the public transcript of governments, play a key role in this change. We might hope that the stabilising force of military music and military ceremony continues to respond to changing mores of Australian society. We might hope too that dissenting forces continue to question, and shape, the public transcript of dominant interests in Australia.

³³ Inglis, 'The Rite Stuff' 26.

³⁴ Geoffrey Grey, *A Military History of Australia* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990) 1.

³⁵ Anthony P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London: Routledge, 1985) 15.

³⁶ Grimes, *Research in Ritual Studies* 47-48.