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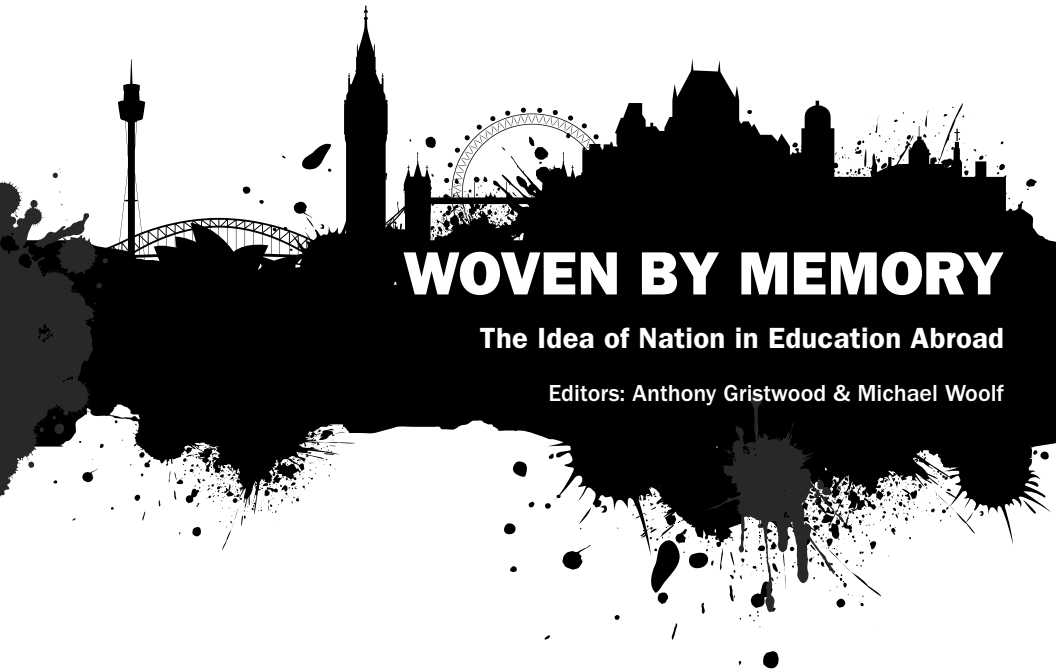

WOVEN BY MEMORY

The Idea of Nation in Education Abroad

Editors: Anthony Gristwood & Michael Woolf

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CAPA INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

CAPA International Education is an international education abroad organization committed to high-quality educational provision. Academic excellence, integrity and innovation in education abroad are at the center of CAPA's endeavors.

Our mission is to provide meaningful learning abroad experiences that challenge and inspire students to analyze and explore complex political, cultural and social landscapes within urban environments. Through our commitment to personalized learning, academic rigor and cultural engagement, we prepare students to live and work in a globally interdependent and diverse world.

This mission is served by the creation of strategic and integrated learning opportunities. We believe that experiential education is a key pedagogy in that process. To that end, the development of mechanisms for critical engagement with host societies is crucial. The CAPA learning experience is characterized by the integration of curriculum, formal and informal experiential education, and study environments conducive to the analysis and exploration of the global cities in which we are located: learning laboratories in which students are empowered to develop their academic skills.

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Contributors

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Kristin V. Dean is Associate Director of Academic Affairs for CAPA International Education in London. She earned a PhD from The Pennsylvania State University in Art History, specializing in Twentieth-Century Architecture. Her current research interests include recent contributions to the history of low-cost housing by non-governmental organizations, and the relationship between architecture and politics in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Aside from architectural history, Kristin also teaches a careers course to study abroad students at CAPA.

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Anthony Gristwood is Faculty Chair and Principal Lecturer for the *Global Cities* curriculum at CAPA International Education in London. He has been teaching in higher education since 1994 and has specialized in the field of Study Abroad for the last fourteen years, at CAPA International Education, the Bader International Study Centre of Queen's University (Canada) and the University of Connecticut in London. His current research and teaching interests include contemporary urban studies, global cities and modern London; politics, identity and culture in modern Europe, particularly Spain; British cultural studies; public geographies and participatory approaches to teaching and learning, including the use of Web 2.0 technologies. Anthony holds an MA, PGCE and PhD in geography from the University of Cambridge. He is a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers) an External Examiner for the INTO City University and University of East Anglia partnerships and has been Book Review Editor for the journal *National Identities*. Together with Michael Woolf, Anthony developed CAPA's global cities strategy.

Martha Johnson is Assistant Dean of Learning Abroad at the University of Minnesota. She has worked in international education since 1991, including on-site at Trinity College in Dublin, Ireland, and four years based in England at Leeds Metropolitan University. She managed institutional relations for several U.S.-based educational organizations and consortia previous to moving to the University of Minnesota in 2001. At the University of Minnesota she has managed study abroad programs in Australia, the UK, New Zealand, and South Africa, as well as overseeing curriculum integration and working closely with the science, engineering, and business programs. Martha has presented and co-chaired numerous sessions and workshops at national and international conferences, and served on a variety of organizational and institutional boards. She previously served on the NAFSA International Education Leadership team as well as serving and chairing multiple committees in NAFSA and the Forum on Education Abroad. She holds a BA with a double major in Literature and Theater Arts and an MA in Literature with an emphasis in multicultural and travel literature, and postcolonial theory.

Lynn McGovern is a tenured professor of Spanish language and literature, immediate past Chair and Academic Director of study abroad at Merrimack College, in North Andover, Massachusetts where she has been teaching for seven years. Prior to coming to Merrimack Lynn was professor of Spanish and Director of Junior Year in Spain at Sweet Briar College in Virginia and previously chaired the Bridgewater College Foreign Languages and Literature Department. She has served as President of the Foreign Languages Association of Virginia and as member of the executive committee of APUNE (Association of American Programs in Spain – *Asociación de Programas Universitarios Norteamericanos en España)*. Her PhD is from the University of Virginia (1992), MA from Middlebury College (1985) and BA from Boston College (1975).

Gráinne O'Connell gained her DPhil in English at the University of Sussex, U.K. Her research interests focus on the debates surrounding transnationalism in Anglophone Caribbean and South African literature and culture and the relationship between local spaces and global discourses. She teaches *Analyzing and Exploring the Global City: London* at CAPA International Education in London and has also taught at Humboldt University, Berlin, Sussex University and Ruskin College, Oxford. Gráinne is currently writing two articles on medical humanities approaches to postcolonial literature and culture. She will also be a post-doctoral fellow at Leeds University, England from June-July 2014 where she will focus on Anglophone Caribbean literary approaches to global health and HIV/AIDS.

Karen Rodríguez is currently an Academic Dean at the School for International Training (SIT). From a psychoanalytical perspective, her research asks how the Self encounters others and makes ongoing sense of difference. Within the field of global education, she has written about student encounters with other languages, new technologies and various aspects of difference as they intersect with place. Her publications include an academic book *Small City on a Big Couch: A Psychoanalysis of a Provincial Mexican City* (Rodopi, 2012), a poetry book *Dentro y Fuera: An Erotics of Place* (Azafrán y Cinabrio, 2009), and numerous articles. She has taught at the *Universidad de Guanajuato* in both the Visual Arts Department and in the Postgraduate Program in the Arts and led courses at the *Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México*, Bard College, and SIT. For fifteen years, she directed study abroad centers in Mexico and Venezuela. She holds a PhD in Cultural Studies from the University of Kent.

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Michael Woolf is Deputy President for Strategic Development at CAPA International Education. He has held leadership roles in international education for many years and has written widely on international education and cultural studies. Mike has had much of his career in an international context. Mike's undergraduate studies were in History and Politics. His MA and PhD work was largely focused on American literature and culture. Mike serves on a number of advisory boards and was a member of the Board of Directors of the Forum on Education Abroad from 2006 - 2012. He has worked with Anthony Gristwood and other colleagues to develop the global cities initiative at CAPA International Education.

Foreword

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CAPA International Education hosted the third in the CAPA seminar series for study abroad professionals and faculty at the 2013 NAFSA conference in St. Louis, Missouri and Stowe, Vermont titled *'Woven by Memory': The Idea of Nation in Education Abroad.*

These seminars offer both speakers and participants an opportunity to focus on significant and current issues of interest and concern in the field of education abroad at a level beyond the purely functional. The objective is to create a forum for the intellectual and academic exploration of relevant issues that goes further and deeper than the often administrative or practical approach usually taken with these topics. The intent is to examine our assumptions and to challenge ideas that are rarely questioned. As Mike Woolf will assert, 'we seek to disturb the calm waters of conventional discourse.'

In 2011, we launched the CAPA seminar series with our first discussion on the topic of *The City as Text*, in which we examined the history and contemporary dynamics of global cities and the implications generated by half the world's population living in urban areas: a unique opportunity for exploration and analysis by learning abroad programs. Following this, in 2012, we examined the complex concepts of cosmopolitanism and diversity, and the seemingly antagonistic relationship between them. While globalization and urbanization arguably create richer and more diverse contemporary societies characterized by stronger connections and shared identities, the diversity agenda itself continues to become progressively more complex.

Our goal has been to create a meaningful connection amongst these occasional papers: closely related to the discussions opened up in the first seminar was the notion of the cosmopolitan - a complex cluster of contested ideas and a term that resonates with notions of diversity: those ideas formed the basis for our second paper. In turn, our analyses of cosmopolitan identities and perspectives brought the converse ideas of nation and nationalism into focus for this, our third seminar and paper. This volume argues that the 'nation' is at the core of education abroad. We take students from one 'nation' or 'country' to another, but not necessarily from one 'culture' to another. That reality raises inevitably the question of what we actually mean by 'nation', 'culture' and 'national identity'.

The various papers in this volume seek to explore ideas of nation and national identity. They demonstrate the many ways in which nations are constructed and national myths sustain and define them. The role of collective memory in the creation of national myth seemed to us to raise questions that are profoundly relevant to what we do. Whatever else may be demonstrated by the essays within this latest volume, they clearly indicate that a focus on the concepts of nation would enrich education abroad in a direct and entirely relevant manner.

At CAPA International Education, our on-going interests in globalization, urbanization and cosmopolitanism have led us to consider the co-related, if conflicting, notions of patriotism, nationalism and national memory. The question of the creation and re-creation of national memory reverberates around this area of thought and raises profound questions of identity across the world and, in particular, within the cities where we host our programs. To what degree these issues impact the study abroad agenda is worth careful consideration.

My own experience in Beijing, China in 1989 illuminated this very topic in ways I have yet fully to understand. After eighteen months of learning abroad - and directing a program in Beijing - the Tiananmen massacre occurred. Until this time, I had been living in the graduate 'student fog' of a city and a nation which had been progressively generating a national identity of openness and freedom of expression unprecedented in modern Chinese history.

The Tiananmen protests were largely peaceful at first, as students gathered to mourn the death of former Communist Party General Secretary, Hu Yaobang, a liberal reformer popular with the student generation for his reformist ideas and calls for accountability from the Chinese Communist Party. As momentum built on the streets of Beijing, about one hundred million people, encompassing virtually every Chinese higher-learning institution, half the country's technical schools and countless factories, mines and offices in some four hundred cities, participated in one form or another (Chan, 2009).

On June 3rd and 4th, Chinese troops and security police stormed through Tiananmen Square to end the two-month long hunger strike and protests by force. The régime's official death toll of just 241, including soldiers, is disputed by almost every independent study of the massacre: estimates range from 2000 to 7000 dead. The repression was aimed not only at intimidating the Chinese masses, but also at sending an unambiguous message to global investors that China's police-state apparatus could be relied upon to regiment and contain the working class (Chan, 2009). The Chinese government condemned the protests as a 'counter-revolutionary riot', and has prohibited all forms of discussion or remembrance of the events since.

I left China in mid-June 1989, after witnessing first-hand the shocking consequences of the collision of a new collective consciousness with the preservation of security in the name of national identity. This generation of students was confident and passionate about their beliefs and emerging rights. They were, in a sense, victims of their own collective memory or perhaps selective memory. The truth is, that once they challenged the leadership of the nation-state, they were harshly and in some cases, fatally reminded of their place in the Chinese 'nation'.

As I sat in shock in the back of a U.S. consulate evacuation van on the way to the airport, looking at the debris littering the streets of Beijing, I listened to the U.S. officers talking about these 'insane' students and how lucky we were to 'get out of here'. I really did not agree and shut my eyes, asking myself, 'did I really ever understand China at all?' I also wondered to myself if those students really knew China all that well themselves.

In 2009, twenty years after this event which played out on the world stage, I returned to China to establish the CAPA Beijing program. My two-week trip to Beijing was shadowed by the memory of the day that I left the city and how my own understanding of China as an open and friendly place collapsed on June 3rd, 1989. In an effort to better understand the national self-consciousness of contemporary China, I asked Chinese students (and others who would have been the same age as the Tiananmen protesters) what they remember of the 1989 events. The resounding answer was 'let's talk about something else.' While I was disappointed not to have some meaningful closure for this period of my life, I completely understood why this was not up for discussion. More strangely, when I raised the topic of Tiananmen to the younger people I encountered, they claimed not to know what I was talking about. Was this the 'new' collective memory or perhaps collective amnesia? It does suggest that what we refer to as collective memory is easily edited or forgotten when it is not synchronous with the current national agenda or constructions of national identity.

Any consideration of the idea of nation will, at some point, lead to a consideration of the formative influence of conflict and war on national identities. One way that nations define themselves is by their difference from others and this can be a source of conflict and, in extremes, of war. 2014 sees the one-hundredth anniversary of the Great War, an unparalleled global catastrophe that many argue led inexorably to the Second World War and many other regional conflicts. The idea of nation and the impact of war seemed so interconnected that the discussions in this volume have defined the agenda of our next set of conversations.

This Occasional Paper signals areas of research, teaching and learning that rightly belong to the center rather than the periphery of the agenda of education abroad. In a variety of ways, this collection challenges us to think beyond the question of 'how' and seeks, in diverse ways, to engage us all with the bigger question of 'why'.

I want to take this opportunity to thank all the presenters at last year's seminars in Saint Louis, Missouri and Stowe, Vermont and to the contributors to this Occasional Paper, and hope that you will join us again in contributing to future conversations in the field.

Introduction:
Questioning Nationhood, Memory and Culture

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The genesis of this volume, and the seminars that preceded it, is in our sense of unease with the prevailing discourse of education abroad. A recurrent preoccupation with questions of 'culture' does not necessarily reflect what we really do. Our core activity is to take students from the USA to another country or 'nation' on the assumption that there is value in broadening the context in which students study. But what, precisely, is the nature of that context?

Concepts of 'nation', 'state' and 'country' are far from unproblematic: they are often used interchangeably, although there are nuanced distinctions, and popular parlance is sometimes at odds with the more precise definition of these terms employed by disciplines such as political science or geography. Moreover, these categories have been rendered unstable by the forces of globalization, calling into question their relevance and sustainability in the contemporary world. Globalization processes are themselves complex and contradictory. The sociologist Anthony Giddens argues that whilst globalization 'from above' (the 'supra-national' context) increasingly impinges on the sovereignty of the nation-state and implies cultural homogenization as it pulls power away from local communities and nations into the global arena, globalization 'sideways' (cross-border relationships, affiliations and mobility) continually creates new regional geographies and complex *transnational* identities. A third, paradoxical element of globalization also operates 'from below', creating new pressures for local autonomy and new local nationalisms; ethnic pluralism and multicultural diversity all challenge conventional categories of cultural identity (Giddens, 1999).

New technologies accentuate such uncertainty and fragmentation, dissolving national borders and stretching social relations across them in uneven ways. New forms of culture and community that transcend geographical territories are emerging, themselves generating a complex new identity politics. Such entities have always existed (consider the Jesuits), but new communication technologies and social media (Facebook, Twitter and Instagram are all examples) have democratized and united people (especially younger generations) across the globe,

providing new kinds of spaces for self-expression and collective action. The events of the Arab Spring were testament to their political significance. The notion of younger generations as 'digital natives' – a term first coined by Marc Prensky (2001) - metaphorically enforces the notion of a new kind of (virtual) space, as well as a new form of community which is defined in opposition to outsiders (the 'digital immigrants' who may, to some extent, assimilate the skills and attitudes of the 'natives', as well as the unreconstructed 'analogues' who remain beyond the pale). In this context, community and culture have been divorced from geography. For instance, in July 2010, Facebook announced that it had surpassed 500 million users worldwide – making the social network community the third largest 'nation' on Earth (*The Economist*, 2010). We might dispute the extent to which such an analogy is appropriate, but there is no doubt that the Facebook 'nation' shares some key characteristics with more conventional models of nationhood and belonging.

The conflation of terminology around the relationship between the 'state' and the 'nation' in particular has significant implications for their common usage in the context of the USA. The individual 'states' that comprise the USA do not match the conventional definition of the state as the governing agency which possesses a monopoly over sovereignty of its territory (Weber, [1922] 1968: 54). For example, although they have their own police forces, they may not secede and do not have the military capacity to rival the federal level (despite their own 'National Guards'). Because of this terminology in the U.S., the term 'state' has acquired a looser meaning, referring to one of the territorial components of the U.S. federation. By comparison, in Europe for example, the term has a much stronger meaning, and there are important consequences arising from this asymmetry (Coakley, 2012: 5-11).

If the United 'States' are the entities which have come together as the USA, what is the appropriate label for the entire American collectivity? In American usage, the agreed term is 'nation'; in addition to its application with respect to the USA, American political scientists and others commonly use this to refer to states worldwide, or to 'supra-national' organizations of states such as the 'United Nations'. Thus, references to 'nation' by American scholars often reflect a definition which describes an entity identical to the 'state'. For example, Rustow asserts that 'a "nation" is either synonymous with a state and its inhabitants or else it denotes a human group bound together by common solidarity' (Rustow, 1968: 7). Yet, especially in Europe – and amongst specialists studying the phenomena of nationalism - the term 'nation' is reserved for another type of social collectivity which is more ambiguous and multi-facetted.

In this framework, a 'country' or 'state' are frequently defined by specific political structures and territorial boundaries, whereas a 'nation' may or may not align with these. Fundamentally, the 'nation' is a cultural unit: defined thus, a nation is a group of people who share (or who imagine

that they share) a common ancestry, regardless of whether or not this group controls affairs in its own 'country'. The ultimate root of the word 'nation' comes from the Latin 'nascio', meaning 'to be born', as in the words 'native', or 'natality', which reminds us that the term implies close blood-ties between people. A nation is the largest such grouping of people, larger than the family, clan, or tribe, but sharing (and drawing upon) the viscerality of those imagined connections. Nations see themselves as coherent groups and as distinct from other groups; most nations share a common religion, language and accepted ways of behavior - a 'common culture'. Such common cultural traits act as a social glue to unite people within a nation whilst also operating as a barrier dividing them from other nations. Not all people included in the nation need to have the same language, religion or biological ancestry, as long as they come to believe in the *same myth* of their common ancestry.

The term 'nation' is, therefore, a social construct, an 'imagined community'. Crucially, for the political scientist Benedict Anderson, such a polity exists where individuals feel an intrinsic bond with millions of other fellow citizens whom they will never meet. Such a community is imagined to be inherently limited (to imply a national 'Self' and external 'Other' against which it is constructed); sovereign – or at least to aspire to the freedom to control its own affairs – and as a community, a 'deep horizontal comradeship' which transcends social inequalities to create a shared myth for which people are willing to kill - or die (Anderson, 1991: 6-7). Nationalism - loyalty to the nation – is often conflated with loyalty to the state ('patriotism'), but these only coincide when nation and state are actually the same.

A 'nation' is usually territorially-based: that territory is the homeland - motherland, fatherland, sacred soil. Thus the idea of nationhood is a very powerful one – the 'nation' is scripted as sharing a common interest, with a territorially-bounded, mystical place-based, sacred homeland (Jackson & Penrose, 1993: 8). Some nations have territorial control over their homelands, whilst others have varying degrees of regional autonomy within a sovereign state, and others have no official status whatsoever. The various Native American or First Nations are, for example, groups of people historically displaced from both traditional governance and territory; moreover, they have a unique relationship with the United States and Canada because they may be members of tribes or bands with varying sovereignty and treaty rights.

Thus, the political geographies of states and the cultural geographies of nations do not necessarily correspond. If a nation's homeland is precisely coincident with a state's territory, then such a nation is said to be a *nation-state* - but in practice this is exceptional and applies to only a very small minority of countries worldwide. More commonly, a *multination* or *multiethnic* state occurs when several distinctive nations are found together within the same state: Canada, Belgium, Spain and the UK are all such examples. In such a context, 'ethnonationalisms' are

common: the strong feeling of belonging to a minority nation contained in a state dominated by a more powerful nation – accompanied by movements toward various degrees of self-determination, autonomy or separatism / secession. Francophone Québécois separatist nationalism continues to be a significant force in Canadian politics and central to pluralist constructions of Canadian identity (Winter, 2011: 139-162). In the European context, there have been growing calls for independence from nationalists in Catalonia (Spain), Flanders (Flemish-speaking Belgium) and Scotland in the U.K., as the eurozone crisis tests loyalties across the European Union. In this latter case, the Anglo-Scottish Union arguably faces its biggest challenge in more than three hundred years, and whatever the outcome of the forthcoming referendum on Scottish independence (September 2014) the underlying relationship between these long-standing partners will be altered significantly (Devine, 2014).

Conversely, a *multistate* nation exists when the national homeland overlaps several states' boundaries - one state may encompass most of the nation, whilst others comprise its 'outliers'. For example, the Kurdish nation exists across more than one country. Another dramatic example of the distinction may be illustrated by reference to the Arab Revolt of June 1916; the uprising against the Ottoman Empire, led by Emir Feisal and T. E. Lawrence, can be seen as an ultimately futile effort to create a unified Arab 'nation'. 'Irredentism' - when people want to join their territory with the rest of a homeland across an existing border - is a term stemming from *'Italia irredenta*', an Italian term meaning 'unredeemed Italy'. In 1871, when the modern state of Italy was finally unified, Italian nationalists began referring to the Tirol, a key Italian-speaking region still in Austro-Hungarian hands, as *Italia irredenta*. More recent examples of this process include the concept of Greater Germany before World War II, when many ethnic Germans lived in Poland and Czechoslovakia (Sudetenland), which became a pretext for Nazi expansionism, as well as the current complex dispute between Ukraine and Russia over the sovereignty of the Crimean Peninsula and the loyalties of its ethnic Russian population. Fundamentally, a sense of nationhood, as a territorial ideology, also requires an imagined national territory as a 'coherent meaningful area' possessing certain landscapes, borders, frontiers, or focal points. If such an imagined national space is itself subject to disagreements over its definition or delineation, struggles to 'create a real landscape and a real geography of the nation' also reflect anxieties over which people and cultures should be included within this imaginative geography (Purcell, 1998: 433), which itself becomes inscribed and fought over in the material spaces of lived experience.

Moreover, how is it possible to reconcile a diverse citizenry with the desire for a common, shared national identity? Linda Colley's analyses of the social construction and erosion of notions of 'Britishness' reminds us that the U.K. is an imagined community born out of specific historical circumstances. The Union of England and Scotland, the succession of wars with Napoleonic France, and the shared project of empire provided a clear framework for articulating attitudes of

cultural and racial difference – and of course, innate superiority - over the 'Other' (Colley, 1992). Subsequently, the loss of empire, industrial decline, political devolution, engagement with 'Europe', and – most significantly of all – multiethnic immigration bring into clear focus the ways in which British identities have always been relational and shaped by movement: of British people to other countries and continents, and of people, ideas and influences arriving from elsewhere (Colley, 2014).

London, as the U.K.'s global city, amplifies and showcases the complex identity politics which is emerging from this process. According to the latest census data, a minority of people in Inner London now identify themselves as White British and more than one hundred languages are spoken on a daily basis in thirty of the city's thirty-three boroughs (Bentham, 2013; Easton, 2013). Such 'super-diversity' is creating hugely complex social dynamics and significant challenges for the cohesion and effective governance of community relations in the city – and increasingly, at the national scale. The experiences and backgrounds of migrants coming to Britain are divergent and transnational; their lives and affiliations are characterized by significant reference to places and people located both abroad (in homelands or scattered across diaspora communities) and in the place that they have settled, generating complex hybrid and hyphenated identities which transcend and subvert conventional models of nationality (Vertovec, 2007).

Nations are inventions: despite the myth-making which underpins them in the collective imagination, they come and go and are mutable - and temporary. The invention of national stories and identities is enhanced by collective memory which legitimizes the country and the territorial space it inhabits. The absence or destabilization of such constructed identities creates schism and discord, as recent inter-ethnic violence in South Sudan illustrates. In contrast, the critical events at Dunkirk in May - June of 1940, when the surrounded British Army was evacuated from the Nazi-dominated Continent, became an iconic element of British national identity. Ironically, military defeat in heroic circumstances may create such defining moments in national consciousness: the Gallipoli campaign in World War One served a similar purpose for Australian national mythologizing, whilst the U.S. defeat at Pearl Harbor arguably served an analogous purpose in memorializing national pride.

The imagined community of the 'nation', whose construction involves the selection of aspects of a 'shared' past and aspirations for the future, is imagined as looming out of an immemorial past, progressing towards a limitless future (Anderson, 1991: 11-12). For Anthony Smith, a shared culture and historical consciousness is a crucial prerequisite of nationhood (Smith, 1991: 14). The classic definition of nation by Ernest Renan also defines it as 'a living soul, a spiritual principle' that depends on two key features: the 'possession of a rich heritage of memories' and the 'will to preserve worthily the undivided inheritance which has been handed down' (Renan, [1882] 1990: 11).

As the historian Pierre Nora argues in the context of French national identity and memory, this 'memory-nation' is constructed from a *selective* process of collective memory in order to encourage emotional attachments to the idea of the nation (Nora, 1989: 11). The narration of this imagined 'national time' parallels in its selectivity, coherency and simultaneity the structure of the sequential novel (Anderson, 1991: 22-32). This also implies the erasure of alternative stories of nationhood - or other forms of belonging - in the creation of an historical 'national Self', as well as the deliberate omission of the violence associated with its definition.

The precise forms which this memorialization and indeed, collective 'amnesia' take are unique from nation to nation - each edits its own past to suit present purposes, as certain elements of the national heritage are remembered or forgotten by choice or coercion. For example, Renan observed that communal self-identification necessarily involves both the duty of remembering tragedies and forgetting shameful episodes of conflict (Renan, [1882] 1990: 11, 19). Moreover, the construction of coherent narratives of past events is inherently teleological (that is, such linear narrations inevitably culminate with present conditions, rather than their counterfactuals); thus, any form of remembrance therefore also implies selective amnesia - the obligation to forget, or to *forget to remember* (Bhabha, 1990: 310-311).

As Bhabha asserts, the 'nation' itself is produced in the space where the 'enunciatory "present"' of the people meshes with the monumental, eternal time of the 'nation' (Bhabha, 1990: 297), for example through the rituals of commemorative performance, or its expression in monuments, squares or street nomenclature. Traditions become 'memory that has become historically aware of itself'; collective memories are restaged and deployed at specific sites or commemorative moments – what Pierre Nora terms *lieux de mémoire*, or 'mnemonic sites' (Nora, 1997: ix), in order to bind the imaginary 'nation' together.

In a postcolonial, globalized context, by contrast, this process often generates a fragmented and polyvocal outcome. As Joanne Sharp argues, contemporary understandings of the identity of the nation necessarily occupy a 'hybrid position... [which]...presents the possibility for subverting the divisive and exclusionary national Self created in modernity' (Sharp, 1994: 74). Rather than the zealous purification of a 'unique' national heritage, imaginative reconstructions of national space and time 'can come to accept that their heritage stems... from a congeries of pasts', comprising interlinked and overlapping identities in a narrative that exists in tension between coherence and unraveling (Lowenthal, 1994: 54).

Whatever complexities may accumulate around these semantics, it is clear that what we do as international educators is essentially *inter-country* or *inter-national* in character: we re-locate students from one political / geographical location to another. However we define 'culture'

as the focus of their learning experiences (as high art, ethnographic signposts, food, music, inherited behavior or whatever else) it is evident that 'culture' is not synonymous with 'country' or 'nation', nor is the cultural landscape constrained by national boundaries.

Thus, the notion that *inter-cultural* or *cross-cultural* studies are at the heart of what we do in education abroad is based on a misconception of what constitutes a 'nation' or 'country'. These are contested categories and constructed entities formed by specific histories, politics, poetic and artistic myth-making, and, often, through warfare. For example, nation-building and nationalist movements outside Europe represent a distinctive dynamic often grounded in anti-colonial struggles for self-determination. These have been played out across a territorial framework of states which were sometimes made by foreign administrators with a map and a pencil without reference to pre-existing cultural or ethnic affiliations - as postcolonial Africa and the Middle East clearly demonstrate. The ideological conflicts inherent in the modernizing and secularizing project of modern Turkish nationalism, which emerged out of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War, continue to shape the contradictory tendencies of contemporary Turkish culture, particularly in Istanbul (Athanasiadis, 2014).

The study of nations is clearly enhanced by the ability of students to observe and experience these complexities first-hand, but inter-cultural studies are not dependent on international mobility. We might argue that that detailed inter-cultural studies are best conducted at home where barriers of language or custom are diminished. Visible cultural differences (between rich and poor, young and old, rural and urban, for example) are arguably more accessible to the participant-observer with insider knowledge.[1]

Cultural studies may or may not be part of what we what we do in education abroad but it is, in any case, not a necessary or obligatory component. A pluralist understanding of cultural dynamics focuses attention on the ways in which a 'traditional' cultural studies agenda is secondary to the core activities implied in the idea of education abroad. We offer, instead, perspectives enriched by diverse national identities and an understanding of the complex and often contradictory processes of their creation and evolution. The various ways in which 'nations' are imagined, made and continually reproduced are the focus for many of the papers in this volume. Our idea in these pages is thereby to redefine the inter-cultural agenda and place the nation at the center of what we study and teach.

The complex and shifting terrain which students encounter whilst studying abroad challenges them to understand themselves and their relationship with others in new ways, whilst also

[1] Kate Fox's (2004) popular anthropology of contemporary English cultural norms and social practices is an excellent example of the value of an insider's viewpoint.

rendering problematic that which is often taken for granted and incorporated into students' own identities: basic notions of home, family, nation and cultural identity. In that sense, our intention should be to disturb and disrupt some of the assumptions that students frequently bring with them when they go abroad. The perceived distinction between the USA and much of Europe is, for example, usually constructed around the idea of historical longevity and a taken-for-granted stability of national identity. The USA is often perceived (as Mark Twain and Henry James both exemplify) as 'newer', with a 'thinner' recorded history; a shift of focus to the study of the idea of nationhood indicates, in fact, the reverse: the USA is an older 'nation' in a political sense than Italy, Germany or the United Kingdom (formally founded in 1801).

Also implicit in the inter-cultural agenda is the idea that the category 'culture' offers a grand narrative or global explanation of difference. This constructs 'culture' as a unified rather than plural and dynamic series of phenomena cutting across - and bridging - national boundaries, as well as its conception as a barrier of constraints that students need to be taught to overcome because, the assumption implies, 'culture' defines our differences from one another. The notion that 'culture' operates as a barrier that has to be crossed (as in inter-cultural or cross-cultural communication, for example) is implicitly reactionary and parochial in so far as it prioritizes that which divides humanity over that which expresses commonality. In that respect, it reinforces the myth-making of the imagined community itself and conflicts with the ethical implications embedded in the progressive agendas of cosmopolitanism and nternationalism.

The degree to which the language of education abroad is rooted, myopically, in questions of 'culture' in its many collocations has not enhanced our credibility. Religious pluralism, social injustice and inequality, nationalism, racism, tribalism, and political histories are muted in the education abroad discourse because the unexamined term 'culture' offers an anodyne, apolitical mechanism for avoiding more troubling matters. That is an abrogation of intellectual and educational responsibility. The idea of 'nation', and related questions, are of interest not because they offered a simple or comfortable agenda, but precisely because the topic is littered with ambiguities and problematic questions. It is, for those perplexing reasons, a rich area of study. The papers which follow explore how these concepts can be addressed in education abroad and analyze how ideas of nation and nationalism are constructed in areas such as popular culture, architecture and the symbolism of ritual and tradition. Collectively, they contribute to debates about the extent to which the 'nation' itself is still an appropriate focus of study as opposed to the global or urban scales. Several also examine the relationship between national identity and other forms of community such as transnationalism or diasporic identities, as well as the interplay of national identities and class, ethnicity, gender and sexuality in a globalizing world.

The essays in this volume are collected into three sections. The first, 'Questioning Concepts', considers key processes of nation-building, nationalism, patriotism, and national or collective memory, and the ways in which these forms of belonging are challenged and re-defined by contemporary globalization and technological change. In so doing, they illuminate the ways in which students' understandings of their own identities and heritages are disturbed and destabilized by the various pluralist and sometimes provocative conceptions of nationhood and history which they encounter overseas. The second, 'Place and Identity', examines the relationship among nationhood, place and collective memory and the various ways in which national myth-making is expressed in urban and rural landscapes, architecture and popular culture. In each case, the processes involved, and the national imaginations which emerge from them, are seen to be diverse and in some cases contradictory. The final section, 'Global Perspectives', offers commentaries on ideas of nationhood and the nation-building process from diverse national viewpoints. Together, they draw our attention to the ways in which these questions profoundly impact the study abroad agenda whilst outlining the contours of a rich terrain for their comparative inter- and multi-disciplinary analysis.

QUESTIONING CONCEPTS

Beyond National Identity

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In the past few years it has become increasingly evident that the sovereignty of individual states has lost significant force, as has the democratic sovereignty of individual citizens. Although this has been most dramatically manifested by the ceding of fundamental economic control by states like Portugal, Ireland, and Greece to multinational institutions such as the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund, there are broader currents eroding both economic and political sovereignty for states and citizens everywhere as 'globalization' continues to inexorably play out its imperatives. Using the speculative framework of a de-territorialized and de-centered 'Empire' suggested by Hardt and Negri, this paper explores how 'globalization' is likely to result in an increase in banal nationalism fostered by both governments whose political power is in evident decline, and those for whom national identity is a last refuge in a world where anomie lurks in the shadows of the emerging global structures. It concludes by critiquing the disempowering function of the culture of expertise, and assessing the prospects for the development of a more inclusive sense of identity and citizenship.

In order to think clearly about the challenges facing the further realization of citizenship, I want to begin by reflecting on national identity and national citizenship. Central to social identity theories is the idea that humans self-categorize, and therefore, as Michael Billig argues in *Banal Nationalism*, '[T]here is a case for saying that nationalism is, above all, an ideology of the first person plural'. He adds however that the crucial question 'is how the national "we" is constructed and what is meant by such construction'. Since this requires that 'the nation is imagined to have an identity', it then becomes possible that '"we" claim "ourselves" to have a national identity' (Billig, 1995: 70). Furthermore, Billig claims, '[I]f nationalism is an ideology of the first person plural, which tells "us" who "we" are, then it is also an ideology of the third person', since 'there can be no "us" without a "them"' (1995: 78).

'*Odi ergo sum*. I hate therefore I am' is a central concept in Umberto Eco's recent novel *The Prague Cemetery* (2010: 17), and as such it provides a compelling point of departure from which to explore the conceptual and political problems associated with national identity in the current global context. For those readers not familiar with the novel, it is a fictional account of the fabrication of one of the most odious documents in the history of anti-Semitism, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. One of the characters in the novel, Rachovsky, who works for Russian

state security, opines that 'national identity is the last bastion of the dispossessed'. 'But,' he argues, 'the meaning of identity is now based on hatred, on hatred for those who are not the same' and that therefore, 'hatred has to be cultivated as a civic passion' because 'the enemy is the friend of the people' since 'you always want someone to hate in order to feel justified in your own misery'. It is with this sense in mind that Rachkovsky says that, 'hatred warms the heart' (Eco, 2010: 342).

As I have noted in presentations I have made since living in Northern Ireland, the hatred of the negative 'Other' - be they Muslim, Jew, or Roma - is central to contemporary constructions of national identity in Europe, and elsewhere. In Ireland, the problem is so well-known that it even provides the basis for humor about sectarianism – for example, the story goes that a Jewish tourist is making his way about in the center of Belfast when he finds himself in the midst of sectarian protest. The leaders query him – 'Are you a Protestant or a Catholic?' He replies, 'I'm neither! I'm Jewish!' Great consternation among the leaders of the demonstration ensues, but finally, one of the leaders asks, 'But are you a Protestant Jew or a Catholic Jew?'

Names and categories therefore, are central to collective identity, as well as to individual identity. Billig further notes in this regard that, 'in proclaiming the uniqueness of "our" national name', we are giving voice to 'part of a universal code for nationalist consciousness', and, thus 'no one should usurp another's name, nor their right to name themselves'. Thus, 'whichever national "we" are: it indicates who "we" are, and, more basically, *that* "we" are' (1995: 73).

One of the reasons however that we may be seeing greater assertions of national identity at the current historical moment is, as Billig argues, that the nation-state is 'no longer able to impose a uniform sense of identity' because 'the nation-state is being fatally assailed from above and below' by globalization, and the fissures caused by the assertions of multiple identities within societies informed by what John Urry in *Sociology Beyond Societies* (2000) calls 'mobilities'. As is very evident from the economic and political crises of the five years or so prior to this writing, 'the sovereignty of the nation-state is collapsing under pressure from global and local forces', and therefore Billig, mirroring the insights of Berger and his colleagues, asserts that, 'the dispossessed and insecure cannot bear this nomadic condition of homelessness: for them there is no rapture in ambiguity'. Many people are consequently drawn 'to seek secure identities', and 'myths of nation, tribe and religion seem to hold out the hope of psychological wholeness, offering the fragmented, disorientated person the promise of psychic security' (Billig, 1995: 136-137).

In addition however, 'the universal principle of nationalism - the abstractly expressed right to possess a homeland - also maintains its hold more broadly. 'By noticing the flaggings of nationhood,' Billig argues, 'we are noticing something about ourselves,' and we also 'see

reminders of "them" and foreignness'. In addition, '[N]ot only are "we" (and "them") flagged, but so is the homeland; and the world as a world of homelands'. In the process, 'the homeland is made to look homely, beyond question and, should the occasion arise, worth the price of sacrifice. And men, in particular, are given their special, pleasure-saturated reminders of the possibility of sacrifice' (1995: 175).

The 'possibility of sacrifice' in the service of national identity is therefore ever present because 'national identities are rooted within a powerful social structure' that is both national and global. Therefore, that powerful national social structure 'is direct physical power, amassed in unprecedented quantities' in some countries in the form of 'weaponry sufficient to destroy the globe'. Such power 'is conventionally called "defence" which in this context, means national defence and the weaponry for defence is nationally controlled and nationally possessed' (Billig, 1995: 175-176).

Billig goes on to argue, in a vein that is similar to that of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2000), as well as Edward Said (1993) that, 'there can be no nationalism without nation-states; and, thus, nationalism, as a way of depicting community, is a historically specific form of consciousness' (Billig, 1995: 19). Similarly, Hardt and Negri argue that, 'although "the people" is posed as the originary basis of the nation, *the modern conception of the people is in fact a product of the nation-state*, and survives only within its specific ideological context' (Hardt and Negri, 2000: 102 – emphasis in original). The problem, they suggest, is that the term 'the people… tends toward identity and homogeneity internally while posing its difference from and excluding what remains outside of it' (2000: 102-103).

Hardt and Negri then go on to invert Anderson's notion of the nation as an imagined community, and they argue that the perverse consequence is that 'the nation becomes the only way to imagine community' and thus, 'every imagination of community becomes overcoded as a nation' with the result that humans feel 'negated in the straitjacket of the identity and homogeneity of the people' (2000: 102-103). Therefore, our tendency to focus on 'the people of France' for example, means that we reinforce illusions about identity and the homogeneity of people living in particular places.

By way of exploring this further, Billig suggests that 'the term "nation" carries two interrelated meanings…as the nation-state, and …..as the people living within the state' and is therefore ideologically based on 'the principle that any nation-as-people should have their nation-as-state', and thus assumes 'there are such entities as national peoples'. It is in this respect, that nationalism contributes to 'the construction of the sense of national identity for those who are said to inhabit, or deserve to inhabit, their own nation-state' (Billig, 1995: 24). The idea therefore

'that nation-states have created national identities' was, as Billig points out, sometimes a conscious project and following Hobsbawm, he quotes the Italian nationalist Massimo d' Azeglio, who famously declared: '[W]e have made Italy, now we have to make Italians'.

The mechanism for the creation of such national identities was through 'the invention of traditions', as in Ireland where it was stimulated by Lady Gregory, W.B. Yeats, and others (Billig, 1995: 25). Said suggests that 'what Yeats does in Ireland is to help create a sense of restored community', but in his discussion of the post-World War II anti-colonialist movements he notes that 'the national identity struggling to free itself from imperialist domination found itself lodged in, and apparently fulfilled by the state'. And thus, '[A]rmies, flags, legislatures, schemes of national education, and dominant (if not single) political parties resulted and usually in ways that gave the nationalist elites the places once occupied by the British or the French' (Said, 1993: 319).

One of Billig's more interesting insights about national identity, that is particularly relevant to our ultimate focus, is his claim that 'the creation of the nation-as-people' required that a 'particular form of identity' had to be imposed, and thus, 'one way of thinking of the self, of community and, indeed, of the world has to replace other conceptions, other forms of life'. Italians therefore had to be made, and 'individuals [had] to stop thinking of themselves merely as Lombardians or Sicilians, or members of this or that village' (1995: 27). Historically, 'before the vocabulary of identity was set in place…people were able to label themselves, whether in terms of place, religion, tribe or vassalage…but these labels…bore different packets of meaning than the labels of nationhood' (Billig, 1995: 62).

Billig cites Joshua Fishman's telling story in *Language and Nationalism* of 'peasants in Western Galicia' who at the beginning of the twentieth century, 'were asked whether they were Poles'. '"We are quiet folk", they replied. So, are you Germans? "We are decent folk".' Billig recounts that, according to Fishman, 'the peasants had a concrete consciousness: their identity was with *this* village, or *this* valley, rather than with the more abstract idea of the nation'. And, Billig argues, there was more 'at stake than the way of defining the self', because the 'story tells of a conflict between two outlooks, or forms of ideological consciousness' (1995: 62). In fact,

> The peasants were standing against the very assumptions and forms of life which led to the identities of Pole and German. They were resisting the notion of nationhood, reacting against its theories as well as labels. A world in which it is natural to have a national identity, was meeting, and overrunning, an older world. And now it appears strange…that four generations ago there were people who neither knew, nor wished to know, their nationality (1995: 62)

More broadly, and more importantly, these peasants recognized that adopting a national identity meant ceding a degree of sovereignty over their social worlds.

One of the other insights of Billig that is useful for us here is his discussion of the concept of 'a language'. He notes that, 'humans might have spoken from the dawn of history, with mutually unintelligible ways of talking being developed in different places, but this does not mean that people have thought of themselves as speaking 'a language'. Billig proposes that 'the concept of "a language"….may itself be an invented permanency, developed during the age of the nation-state', and therefore, 'nationalism creates "our" common-sense, unquestioned view that there are "naturally" and unproblematically, things called different "languages", which we speak' (1995: 30). He claims that 'the mediaeval peasant spoke, but the modern person cannot merely speak; we have to speak *something* - a language', because 'the world of nations is also a world of formally constituted languages', and 'the disciplinary society of the nation-state needs the discipline of a common grammar' (Billig, 1995: 30-31- emphasis in original).

Billig's conclusion is that an 'identity' is a 'short-hand description for ways of talking about the self and community' and 'are related to forms of life', and thus, 'identity' is 'also to be understood as a form of life' (1995: 60) when 'the world of nations is set in place as *the* world', so that theories about national identity appear to become 'common sense' and 'embedded in habits of thought and life'. Similarly, Said notes that 'all nationalist cultures depend heavily on the concept of national identity, and nationalist politics is a politics of identity: Egypt for the Egyptians, Africa for the Africans, India for the Indians, and so on'. This 'creates not only the assertion of a once incomplete and suppressed but finally restored identity through national systems of education, but also the inculcation of new authority' (1993: 323).

In contrast, Fishman's Galician peasants 'were concretely resisting nationalism's habits of thought' (Billig, 1995:63) because 'the nature of the categories - the meaning of peoplehood - was at issue' as is, 'what is a nation?' today. Such categories, Billig asserts, were recognized by the Galician peasants in the story 'as dangerous missiles, from which evasive cover should be taken' (1995: 64-65). Similarly, the concept of 'the people' has real world political consequences as Billig and Shlomo Sand (2009) demonstrate with regard to Israel and Palestine. Official Israeli government representatives would not use the term 'Palestinian people', and as Billig points out, until 1993 referred to those living in the Occupied Territories as the 'so-called Palestinian people'. This phrase was meant to 'be contrasted rhetorically with the so-called genuineness of Jewish peoplehood' (Billig, 1995: 64). Thus, one can imagine the political storm a few years ago when Sand, an Israeli historian, published *The Invention of the Jewish People* (2009). As Billig points out, 'these are not haphazard labels' - they not only reflect political positions, but they are 'articulated by means of common-sense sociological ideas about "peoples", "nations" and "identity"' (1995: 65).

John Torpey's work (2000) on the 'invention of the passport' is a wider exploration of how states codify notions such as 'the people' and 'national identity'. He seeks to demonstrate that states and the state system 'have expropriated from individuals and private entities the legitimate "means of movement", particularly though by no means exclusively across international boundaries'. One consequence that is important for the matters being explored here is that 'people have also become dependent on states for the possession of an "identity" from which they can escape only with difficulty' (2000: 4). With a swipe at Anderson's notion of the 'imagined community' of the nation, Torpey also argues that 'states' monopolization of the right to authorize and regulate movement has been intrinsic to the very construction of states', and thus, the 'procedures and mechanisms for identifying persons are essential…[and]…must be codified in documents rather than merely imagined' (Torpey, 2000: 6).

Torpey further argues that we should 'regard states as seeking not simply to penetrate but also to *embrace* societies, "surrounding" and "taking hold" of their members… *in order to* penetrate' societies effectively, and therefore 'individuals who remain beyond the embrace of the state necessarily represent a limit on its penetration…and their capacity to embrace their own subjects and to exclude unwanted others' (2000: 11 - emphasis in original). He further claims that

> modern 'nation-states' and the international system in which they are embedded have grown increasingly committed to and reliant upon their ability to make strict demarcations between mutually distinct bodies of citizens, as well as among different groups of their own subjects, when one or more of these groups are singled out for 'special treatment'

– although Torpey was writing this nearly fifteen years ago, the notion that states have grown increasingly committed to singling out certain groups for 'special treatment' has become vividly apparent in the ensuing years.

Thus Torpey notes, the state needs 'to sort out "who is who"' and therefore, this has 'special relevance with regard to identities' which 'must become codified and institutionalized in order to become socially significant' (2000: 12-13). The broader consequence is that we see new forms of 'panopticism' in the ever more refined manner in which states, and corporations, attempt to surveil the populations they attempt to control and manipulate. David Lyon (2003:2) provides the flavor of the critique and argues:

> ...that there are dangers inherent in surveillance systems whose crucial coding mechanisms involve categories derived from stereotypical or prejudicial sources. Given that surveillance now touches all of us who live in technologically 'advanced' societies in the routine activities of everyday life, on the move as well as in fixed locations, the risks presented go well beyond anything that quests for 'privacy' or 'data protection' can cope with on their own

The vast array of data collection technologies attempts to make the human subject a 'calculable person', to use Foucault's phrase (1994). Essentially, such projects attempt to

make the person 'legible', and consequently more easily subject to the exercise of power - see for example, James Scott's (1998) *Seeing Like a State*. In addition however, such projects tend to 'construct' the individual who is being surveilled, as I experienced when I looked at an application for a British university post many years ago and found that I was asked to identify myself by checking one of thirteen categories - the first category was 'White', and one of the last was 'Irish'!

Thus, like so many techniques of this sort, much of the data being collected today provides the authorities with the illusion of understanding the person surveilled because, among other things, they're helping to construct him or her through the assessment of data organized in categories which include or exclude. Torpey notes that such initiatives have enabled the state 'uniquely and unambiguously to identify individual persons, whether "their own" or others….and to make these distinctions intelligible and enforceable'. That said, as with the case of whether I was 'White' or 'Irish', Torpey makes a more general point: '[T]he cases of "Hispanics" (as opposed to Caribbeans or South or Central Americans, for example), or "Asian Americans" (as opposed to Japanese-Americans, Korean-Americans, etc.) in the United States', are 'categories designed for the use of census takers and policy makers with little in the way of subjective correlates at the time of their creation'. Therefore, whether or not 'people think about themselves subjectively in these terms…..[that] they would not be likely to do so without the institutional foundation provided by the prior legal codification of the terms seems beyond doubt' (Torpey, 2000: 13).

All such approaches are in the end associated with the objectification of the subject, and thus have an embedded project of control. Today, in the case of many of the social networking sites, such as Facebook, the subject is actively recruited in the construction of his or her identity according to such categories and templates, as Jaron Lanier makes clear regarding the digitization of identity and the loss of the nuance inherent in being human in *You Are Not a Gadget: a Manifesto* (2010). The correct behavior therefore, in a world defined in this manner, is to 'watch ourselves as if already televised', (Miller, 1989: 325) photographed, or otherwise 'identified'. As in Orwell's Oceania, where the smallest thing could give you away, people surveil themselves in a more Huxleyan world where they check themselves 'both inwardly and outwardly for any sign of untidiness or gloom, moment by moment as guarded and self-conscious as Winston Smith under the scrutiny of the Thought Police' (1989: 325).

In a particularly relevant insight for the focus of this work, Torpey refers to Erving Goffman's discussion (1959) of the obliteration of identity in total institutions such as asylums, and we should add, the military. Goffman, according to Torpey, 'shows that the effort to impose control in such environments begins with systematic attempts to annihilate the "identities" - the "selves"' of those subject to such control in order 'to deprive individuals of the personality resources that they might use to mount a defense against their condition'. In contrast, he argues, the

'obliteration of individual identity would be ruinous to the state, for it would short-circuit the essential process of identifying individuals for administrative purposes in the broader social realm' (Torpey, 2000: 15).

From today's vantage point we can see that Torpey and Goffman are largely correct regarding the efforts to annihilate individual identity within total institutions. But the analyses should go further. Although it is true that the project is to annihilate the dominance of familial, religious, or self-generated conceptions of identities, for example, this is certainly not the case in total institutions such as the military, and I would argue, in the state and corporate world more broadly. Instead, although one primary purpose of basic training is to annihilate the previous civilian identity of the soldier, the broader purpose is the *substitution* of the identity of soldier for that of civilian. Thus, if we extrapolate from this, we can see that Torpey is incorrect when he says that the 'obliteration of individual identity would be ruinous to the state', but not because the state does not obliterate identity. Instead the state, and other institutions, attempt to stimulate the substitution of an individual identity that is more fully in accord with the imperatives of the state and corporate institutions. Thus, the state is still able to extract 'resources from subjects to nourish the administrative and coercive agencies that constitute and….continuously replenish states' (Torpey, 2000: 16).

Although Torpey's primary focus was on the state, today with the significance of the new information technologies, identity is of equal or greater importance to corporations as it is to the state, and consequently the relationship of the state to the corporate world is more and more collusive. Thus, when Torpey states that 'ultimately, passports and identity documents reveal a massive illiberality, a presumption of their bearers' guilt when called upon to identify themselves', we should also recognize that the corporate world acts in a similar manner, though perhaps with better customer service. Corporations, as well as the state, therefore use identity documents because of 'their fundamental suspicion that people will lie when asked who or what they are, and that some independent means of confirming these matters must be available…' (Torpey, 2000: 166).

Furthermore, just as with states, corporations, 'in the face of potentially unstable and possibly counterfeit identities', must 'impose durable identities in order to achieve their administrative, economic, and political aims', and just as 'documents such as passports and ID cards constitute the "proof" of our identities…and permit states to establish an enduring embrace of those admitted into their communities', so too, do corporations create identities for people through the use of credit cards, credit ratings, and purchasing histories. Torpey claims that because of the state's imposition of identities, 'people have to some extent become prisoners of their identities' (2000: 166), but there is little question that this is equally true for the identities

imposed on people, often with their individual complicity, by the corporate world. John Urry notes that the 'sociological concept of society is organized around the metaphor of a region' and that there thus appear 'to be different societies with their clustering of social institutions, and with a clear and policed border surrounding each society as region' (Urry, 2000: 32). He then suggests that in order to understand globalization, we need to replace 'the metaphor of society as *region* with the metaphor of the global conceived of as *network* and as *fluid*' (Urry, 2000: 33).

Conceived thus, globalization 'entails infrastructural developments routed literally or symbolically across societal borders', as manifested in technologies and machines ranging from fibre-optic cables to credit cards, and the Internet, to name just a few. Since these technologies and machines 'carry people, information, money images and risks' and are capable of flowing 'within and across national societies in increasingly brief moments of time' (Urry, 2000: 33), they have significant consequences for the idea that there are authentically different cultures. The multiple flows 'produce the hollowing out of existing societies' and therefore generate within such societies

> a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order of off-centredness, as these multiple flows are chronically combined and recombined across times and spaces often unrelated to the regions of existing societies (Urry, 2000: 36)

Conceptually, this means that the 'implied fixities of a "regional" institution and social structure' have been superseded by 'an indeterminate, ambivalent and semiotic risk culture where the risks are in part generated by the declining powers of societies' (Urry, 2000: 37).

Urry's insights complement those of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri in their trilogy which commenced with the book *Empire* (2000). Hardt and Negri's basic hypothesis is that the old territorial empires are gone forever and that 'sovereignty has taken a new form, composed of a series of national and supranational organisms united under a single logic of rule'. One of the primary symptoms of the new form of Empire is therefore the 'declining sovereignty of nation-states and their inability to regulate economic and cultural exchanges' (2000: xii), as we have seen over the past few years here in Europe. In contrast to older forms of imperialism, 'Empire establishes no territorial center of power and does not rely on fixed boundaries or barriers', and is therefore 'a *decentered* and *deterritorializing* apparatus of rule that progressively incorporates the entire global realm within its open, expanding frontiers' (2000: xii). This new conceptual framework would seem to be vividly confirmed by recent experiences in Greece, Ireland, and others countries, since traditional notions of sovereignty are now increasingly redundant. Hardt and Negri also argue that, 'Although "the people" is posed as the originary

basis of the nation, *the modern conception of the people is in fact a product of the nation-state*, and survives only within its specific ideological context' (2000:102), and thus, '"the people"... tends toward identity and homogeneity internally while posing its difference from and excluding what remains outside of it' (2000: 102-103).

Kai Erikson (2013) concludes his meditation on such speciation, and the pseudo-speciation of his father Erik Erikson, by posing the question, 'why do we humans risk so much to affirm our sense of peoplehood?' He cites his father again, and says that the elder Erikson once wrote: 'People and peoples would rather die than change. They would also rather murder than take a chance with their identity'. His father was suggesting 'that the killing of others in a time of confusion can serve as a way to confirm or even reinforce both individual and communal identity'. The younger Erikson says that he would now take that insight a step further and suggests 'that the killing of others in a time of confusion…can be a way of *creating* identity (2013; emphasis in original).

Although Erik Erikson argued that 'history provides…a way by which the pseudo-species mentality of warring groups can become disarmed …within a *wider identity*', this may be an idealization since we have seen vehement resistance to a 'sense of widening identity' because the very technological and economic factors which Erikson claims will contribute to such an identity, and thus 'overcome economic fear, the anxiety of culture change, and the dread of a spiritual vacuum', seems to be stimulating those very tendencies. That said, Erikson is correct I think when he claims that 'in all parts of the world, the struggle now is for the *anticipatory development of more inclusive identities*' (Erikson, 1993: 433; emphasis in original) - the European Union being the most extraordinary example of an initiative to develop more inclusive identities.

But there is a deeper problem that we must speak to. When Erik Erikson writes that a widening identity may 'overcome economic fear, the anxiety of culture change, and the dread of a spiritual vacuum', we must attend to the manner in which we contribute to the erosion of the sovereignty of citizens. I do not mean the reassertion of nationalist identities, but rather the assertions of the 'expert'. Let us therefore reflect on the insights of the late Louisiana essayist, Walker Percy, and his discussion of the individual's loss of sovereignty in contemporary society – the loss of sovereignty that the Galician peasants intuitively knew they should resist. Percy's fundamental argument is that for individuals living in a world of material riches, 'their basic placement in the world is such that they recognize a priority of title of the expert' and given that, 'the whole horizon of being is staked out by "them", the experts' - and therefore the individual - is meant to be satisfied when his or her experience is 'certified as genuine' according to the experts. 'The worst of this impoverishment,' Percy suggests, is that there is often 'no sense of impoverishment',

because 'the surrender of title is so complete…that it never even occurs to one to reassert title'. And, although I disagree with Percy that the expert is absolved in the individual's loss of such sovereignty, I do think that he is correct to a degree in asserting that the 'surrender of sovereignty by the layman' is willingly fostered by individuals so that they 'may take up the role not of the person but of the consumer' (1989:54). Percy further indicates that he is not simply referring 'only to the special relation of layman to theorist', but to 'the general situation in which sovereignty is surrendered to a class of privileged knowers…' and, thus, 'the sanction of those who *know*' (1989: 54; emphasis added). In other words, the 'loss of sovereignty is not a marginal process' but 'a generalized surrender of the horizon to those experts within whose competence a particular segment of the horizon is thought to lie'. That said, although Percy naively suggests that 'it is by no means the intention of the expert to expropriate sovereignty', a more political perspective would definitively suggest that the intention of the expert *is indeed* to expropriate sovereignty, not least because expert knowledge is power in a different form. It is the 'languages of power' that we are most concerned with here, because even within national communities, the differential access to such languages creates for many what Paolo Freire has characterized as a 'culture of silence'.

As I have written elsewhere (Skelly, 1995), the ultimate 'languages of power' today are the languages used by 'experts' and academics, whose 'stories' 'exclude, rather than include', and those listening are meant to know this. Unless you too are part of the priesthood that speaks in such an arcane manner, you are silenced in much the same manner as the peasants, as Freire described in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). The only ones who listen attentively to the stories of such experts 'are the tiny community of academics who share the language, their students who have ambitions to speak in such an elevated manner, and the powerful, who may see the utility of particular "research findings" to legitimate some project or other' (Skelly, 1995). What is lost when the stories of such experts displace traditional storytelling and their inclusive character, as Walter Benjamin noted, is that 'the epic side of truth, wisdom, is dying out' (1992:86).

In the Policy Review *Co-Creating European Citizenship*, there are, for example, very worthy overall objectives that focus on education and 'amplifying the political interest of young people', enabling them

> to acquire an interest in political and civic affairs; fostering their knowledge and understanding of political and civic matters; and supporting the development of the skills which they require to participate effectively in the political and civic life of their community and country (European Commission, 2013:41)

This is very laudable, but it must be done in accord with the emphasis the review has given to 'bringing the citizens in' by 'viewing citizens and their families as partners in the design of policies and solutions - and not as recipients of policies, subject to rules and mere economic actors…' (2013: 44).

Let me therefore end this meditation with a brief reflection on Erik Erikson's analysis of what he characterized as the 'Ahmedabad Event' in which Gandhi's strategy for the transcendence of pseudo-speciation became evident. It was in Ahmedabad in 1918 during a labor dispute between mill owners and workers that Gandhi's approach to conflict and the pseudo-speciation that underlies violent conflicts became evident. During the 'Event', as Erikson characterizes it, Gandhi refused 'to permit that cumulative aggravation of *bad conscience, negative identity*, and *hypocritical moralism* which characterizes the division of men into pseudo-species' (Erikson, 1993: 434; emphasis in original). Instead,

> he conceded to the mill owners that their errors were based only on a misunderstanding of their and their workers' obligations and functions, and he appealed to their 'better selves'…thus demonstrating perfect trust in them… (1993: 434)

Central to the strategy was, *'the acceptance of suffering,* and, in fact, of death', which was so basic to Gandhi's 'truth force', and constituted '*an active choice without submission* to anyone' (1993: 434; emphasis in original). The active choice of Gandhi's truth included 'the acceptance of punishment which one knew one courted' while making a 'declaration of non-intent to harm others, and…an expression of a faith in the opponent's inability to persist in harming others beyond a certain point, provided, of course, that the opponent is convinced that he is not only not in mortal danger of losing either identity or rightful power, but may, in fact, acquire a more inclusive identity and a more permanent share of power' (1993: 435).

'Such faith, if disappointed,' Erikson argues, 'could cause the loss of everything', even life, but in principle it was better to 'choose death rather than a continuation of that chain of negotiated compromises which always eventually turn out to be the cause of future strife and murder'. Instead, the idea was to create an atmosphere 'pervaded by a spirit of *giving the opponent the courage to change*', thus helping all concerned 'to discard costly defenses and denials and to realize hidden potentials of good will and energetic deed'. It is the discarding of such defenses and denials, Erikson submits, that actualizes something in humans 'which for all its many abortive applications has nevertheless provided the spiritual and tactical rationale for a *revolutionary* kind of human ritualization' (1993: 435; emphasis in original). This sensibility must inform both our strategy and tactics if we are to overcome the 'culture of silence' that so many experience, and therefore to create a truly inclusive, viable and engaged sense of global citizenship.

Taking More of the World In: Expanded Subjectivities and the Productive Destabilization of National Identity in Education Abroad

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National yearnings and dilemmas

At times, the national seems out of date - something we hold onto even though we know better… a fetish. *I know but just the same…* Borders are porous, things are globalized, cosmopolitanism and nomadism are in. Yet the national is deeply tied to collective memory, to the individuation of States, and to our sense of self whether affectively, culturally or bureaucratically. As noted by Vamik Volkan, Julia Kristeva, Jacques Attali and myriad other scholars, our affective ties to the nation only heighten with globalization even as understandings of national identities expand and swerve in a context of rapid change. Governments, too, hold tightly onto the national *je ne sais quoi*, nebulous and emotional as it may be, as they craft, reinvent and manipulate it to forge unity among a body politic deemed 'self' or to deploy these identifications for geopolitical purposes against others. In return, both internal and external groups push at these constructed national identities. As much as the national may be in flux, imagined, intangible and contested, it remains undeniably present at both the collective and individual level.

In U.S.-based study abroad, the national is equally present and equally laden with affective associations. While catalogues still tend to be organized in a decreasing hierarchy that divides the world by region, nation and city, our discourse still tends heavily to the national. Students affirm, 'I want to go to France,' or 'I studied abroad in Brazil,' as either the students (beforehand) or their interlocutors (after) are not always familiar with the cities of the world, especially the less globally recognized ones. They are less likely to come in looking to study in Durban or Valparaíso and, similarly, in most sites abroad our students are taken as U.S.-nationals (whether they are or not), not Chicagoans or Bostonians, much less someone from Durham, Providence, or Pomona. On the compliance side, our work related to visas, program registrations and other such things continues to be heavily imbued with national definitions of citizenship and national bureaucracies as well. However, and significantly, we now have a student body whose nationality is increasingly multiple as their personal/familial migration trajectories have undone the blanket American/foreign binary that used to be our conceptual point of departure for administrating education abroad programs and teaching our study abroad students.

While one might be tempted to write against the national, this hardly seems productive given its ongoing, powerful affective and administrative status. And would emphasizing the global only swerve us to another extreme that denies or downplays the specific? This would seem antithetical to an education abroad practice that generally aspires to showcase the world's still-present differences. As an interdisciplinarian with an affinity for geography, I research cities, and I am drawn to the smaller, close-up focus, or what Michael Cronin enticingly describes as 'the infinity of difference in finite spaces' (2000: 18). However, one must be careful to avoid the trap of privileging one level in the same essentialist way as another. Without denying the national, much less the importance of cities, geographer Nigel Thrift has called for scholars not to redraw the boundaries around smaller chunks of space (e.g. cities, neighborhoods, specific street corners), but to create 'representations that take more of the world in' to accommodate the flow of identities, mobilities, goods, knowledges and other pluralities that pass through or circulate within any given place, both contributing to its character and challenging its status quo at once (Thrift, 2003: 99).

The interesting question at hand when considering the national in study abroad is, therefore, not whether we should fortify or chip away at a focus on the national, but how to take up Thrift's challenge to create (and engender on the part of students) representations of the national that *take more of the world in*. How could we productively destabilize students' national identities, their understandings of other nations' identities abroad, and our own portrayals of the national in our discourse and literature? As we search for ways to think about this, Thrift suggests a point of departure in the consideration of images. He cites Bruno Latour's (1998) analysis of a religious painting in which he examined the movements and relationships behind the type of varnish used, the tools that built the frame, the positioning of the saints and color decisions - work that opens up an infinite number of flows and power dynamics in the ostensibly bounded space of the portrait. Thrift writes that 'such an example also shows that there is no direct reference to the world contained in an image but rather a never-ending set of transformations…' (2003: 101).

This would seem to offer much pedagogical interest for study abroad: if the contemporary student abroad is bombarded by a now overwhelming proliferation of images of a nation (its symbols, monuments, landscapes, famous representatives…in real and virtual contexts), we need to underline the fact that these very images form a part of complex and unfinished transformations in order to unbound or loosen up students' thinking about national identity. We need to get them considering what goes into the production, staying-power or ephemerality of these images, and we need to help them confront the sheer number of images and the impossibility of really knowing and containing it all in one conceptualization. These concerns for complexity would also help us rethink our embarrassingly limited catalogue of web-image discussions as, behind closed

doors, we censor photographs of which space or which person looks Peruvian, Indonesian, Senegalese or French enough to warrant a spot in our industry representations. Again the fetishizing of the exotic Other - we know we should not repeat clichéd images of the national abroad, we know there is more to it, yet we ruthlessly reject images and texts that stray from the expected boundaries of what the national looks like. It is as if we are afraid fully to embrace and acknowledge that there is Arabic on Parisian streets, or people in Aeropostale t-shirts texting in Accra's public spaces, or bi-national couples and families in most, if not all, sites - people who might house our students but who rarely get represented on our websites linked to country destinations because they do not look the part, even though they are very much a part of the country in question. This is purposefully overstated, of course, but the anxiety underlying these questions and decisions does infuse our everyday work, just as it enters into our students' attempts to understand and represent the national abroad.

From Thrift's encouragement to think more about images, let me move to two examples more directly tied to the art world for suggestive illustrations of how to create more inclusive and flexible representations. The first meshes painting and psychoanalytic theory, the second art criticism and architecture. Both examples offer us some interesting sets of procedures as these scholars engage the blurry aspects of their own national identities, family histories and collective memories in the work they produce so that others may find ways into these representations from their own subjectivities. Notably, in different mediums (visual art and written text), they provide us with examples of how to *destabilize* national (or other) identity while *expanding* subjectivity. Their work offers provocative ways to think about both our stateside representations of the national as well as our onsite pedagogical work with students related to national identities.

Painting as a site of expanded subjectivity

Bracha Ettinger is an Israeli-French painter who works with collective and familial memory related to the Holocaust in a way that invites the active involvement of non-descendents/participants. Rather than paint images of the tragic past that many would assign only to victims, survivors and perpetrators, she creates art that *takes more of the world in* by opening up an aesthetic site in which the past and present, one's own history and others', what is remembered and what is not, are all brought into an encounter. If Ettinger's own national ties are partial and multiple (to Poland, Palestine, Israel and France), so she assumes are viewers' own ties to national and/or other individual and collective identifications. Hers is an aesthetic of diasporic scatterings, unverbalized trauma and bits of memory, but rather than take us to a meaningless postmodern set of shards, she creates sites of heavily layered, nuanced, fluid and evolving connections. She posits art as one such temporary space in which to join others, no matter how different their

histories and memories. In the process, she creates representations that permit an expanded subjectivity through encounter. As we wonder how students may find new forms of belonging through, despite or somehow related to national and other identities they take abroad, knowingly or not, her work provides a visual reimagining and some suggestive ideas.

Ettinger frequently works with old photos from the Holocaust as a base text. For example, in *Mamalangue - Borderline conditions and pathological narcissism, no. 5* (1985-1990), she begins with a smiling photo of her parents and a friend taken in Poland before the Holocaust; before the friend, along with the majority of Ettinger's relatives, died in the Lódz ghetto; and before her parents fled to Palestine. She places the photo into a photocopier which she then opens mid-copy. By opening the copier, she liberates the grain of the toner as it copies, provoking a drift of ink and of the image that is emerging. What results is neither a true copy nor something new; rather, she breaks the filial tie (Massumi, 2006: 202) between the past and present, or the compulsion to repeat, without denying that which came before. The emerging image, like our family and national memories, is thus semi-familiar, but not complete or fully visible/knowable. We all have these fleeting and not fully cognized attachments to our personal and collective pasts to contend with because in all of our histories, time has passed, not everyone survived, languages changed, things were silenced and forgotten. This is true for both education abroad professionals' and our students' generations, and for Ettinger, it provides us with a base for compassionate connection.

Beginning from personal photos and more publically recognized photos from death camps, Ettinger intervenes and paints into this place where her semi-copied images seem to be both arriving and departing in a wash of layers which fade in and out. Reinforcing this sense of movement, she also tends to paint in series, and she paints lavishly, flowing directly from one canvas to the next in a rush. In her *Eurydice* series (1994-2009), for example, her images not only drift across time (with the photocopying move) but also across space (from canvas to canvas). Her paintings leak from streaks of purples to blues to reds, suggesting bruising, mourning, train tracks, even blood, perhaps, but through the color, a fierce luminosity and these half-copied images of Holocaust photos and other texts emerge. As a result, her works are neither figurative nor completely abstract; rather, as critic Brian Massumi notes, they are about densities and intensities: they create 'a dense pattern of mutual implication' (2006: 206). One could say that her work is very similar in this manner to globalization's compressions and expansions as we find resonances of one thing in a slightly different tenor or light somewhere else. And is this not like the national which also shows up re-represented both within and beyond the nation, in real and virtual spaces, in bits and parts that are neither exactly what they were before nor entirely new? In our own complicated blood lines and associations with national identities?

What is made possible in Ettinger's art is the opportunity for the viewer to recognize something of his or her own history and memory in the less-clear faces of someone else's past, whether Ettinger's own or others immersed in the Holocaust. By collapsing original or intended readingsand meanings in the photos and intervening on top of these, she produces a series of traces and blurrings which allow the past and present to meet in her art, and she effectively creates a link between what would be oppositions, reopening or suspending time and permitting an encounter of connection. In her understanding, this permits the viewer to place himself into the drifting image through his own associations. In the encounter with Otherness, the viewer's already unstable, unsure identity encounters the Other's equally nebulous identity. But this further destabilization as semi remembered pasts and other associations collide does not provoke distance, separation, loss or a Lacanian lack. Rather, for Ettinger, our scattered identifications allow us to connect. The other 'donates meaning' where our memories (or traumatic state) may fail us. Our subjectivities thus expand and evolve into a new resonance that is related to, yet freed from the past. And the border becomes a site of sharing instead of a barrier.

To return to nationality and study abroad: the Mexican-American student in Germany, the Jewish student in China - they each bring their own histories, differentiated Englishes, and complex power positions into a new site like the Ettigerian viewer. Their collective and familial memories (half-remembered or half-forgotten) encounter locals' equally complex national identities and memories onsite just as Ettinger's image meets the exposed, drifting toner and the light in ways that are unique and impossible to predict. And just as Ettinger does not leave us with meaningless postmodern fragments, neither are students stranded among the shards and left 'less than.' Rather, we could envision them as taking their partial, multiple, emotion-heavy national identifications into contact with others' complex associations and see them as poised to connect across difference, find resonances of the Self in Other, and - most importantly and most politically - move from repetitions of the past to the possibility of a new response.

In our own professional representations, we might consider using a similarly layered and 'leaky' approach. Perhaps we could create an Ettingerian aesthetic of layers, resonances and flowing associations in our representations of the national in our work. Thinking in terms of layers and series might enable us to represent 'study abroad in Morocco' or 'our programs in South Africa' in a radically different way. Working with overly determined images of the national, we too might ask how to open the photocopier? How to permit an intervention and recognize others in the same space? We might ask too how students could think of art (or music, architecture or urban landscapes) as meeting sites constructed of shimmering webs of associations offering ways into connecting with the others they encounter abroad. The openings in Ettinger's work offer an intriguing aesthetic, intercultural and ethical model for imagining how national, collective and familiar memories of both Self and Other can overlap and be expanded through encounter.

Writing across art criticism, artwork and place

Jane Rendell is an art critic with a background in architecture. In an effort to dismantle the distance between the critic and the analyzed artistic or architectural object (which is not unlike the relationship between the student and the study abroad site), she has experimented with creative pieces that also could be said to *take more of the world in*. As she encounters art in the bounded space of museum, she opens it with theory and her personal writing to join with the artist and the audience, creating her own Ettingeresque resonances as she moves from one piece to the next, pulling in autobiographical reflections, the words of theorists, notes from architectural plans, the artists' own comments, and bits of her own prior work. Her work thus materializes another way to complicate and destabilize identity and positionality. Once again, we can find a highly suggestive set of procedures for thinking about students and national identity in new ways.

When she is asked to write about a piece of art or an exhibition, rather than put that work at arm's length and attempt what we all accept critically as the impossibility of an objective interpretation, Rendell drills down into the complexities of the critic's position, which is heavily overlaid with heritage, experience, and current/multiple locations from which to study. Her family is British; however, she grew up in different Middle Eastern countries as her father, an engineer charged with finding water sources, was sent to different jobs. She acknowledges the impact of a nomadic youth and the unspoken but highly present colonial and power-laden aspects of this childhood abroad. As she writes about art exhibitions (some of which relate directly to Middle Eastern themes, others of which do not), rather than worry about whether she is an insider or outsider (the very crux of national identity in practical and affective terms), she destabilizes her position, weaving together a written representation /interpretation that takes in the past and present, the critic and the artist, the personal and the intellectual. She ends up with texts that are installation pieces themselves into which viewers/readers bring their own associations and identities.

For example, in one set of works, Rendell (2010) responds to what she calls the 'enigmatic message' of *Black Tent*, an installation by British artist Nathan Coley (2003), displayed in different sites over time and set up slightly differently in each space - its own series in which something repeats, yet differently. Rendell responds also in a series that mirrors Ettinger's resonances in textual form. She repeats but changes, suggests links while leaving space for each reader to draw his or her own associations, and she constantly re-situates and re-positions herself in front of the art or architectural object to show how our understandings are informed by the position from which we look. We can certainly ask this question in terms of how a student may also destabilize how he sees the national (his own national belongings or others'

abroad) from a similarly moving or evolving position. In each new writing/rendering of Rendell's (which could parallel how we tell and re-tell stories of what a particular country or city is like as time goes by), a new understanding of Self emerges while the previous Self retreats a bit from view. Again, an unstable but expanded subjectivity.

To continue with the example of *Black Tent* to illustrate, in this set of works Rendell creates four pieces in response to the exhibition. In 'Traveling,' she writes about her nomadic childhood in the Middle East with references to the architectural spaces she remembers and how they are both cultured and gendered. In 'To Miss the Desert,' she re-uses parts of the first essay but now also explores the psychic experiences of safety and danger during her Middle Eastern childhood (e.g. memories of scorpions and illness) by setting these pieces of text next to professional descriptions of architectural sanctuaries. This creates an immediate and unresolved dynamic between the personal and professional, the private and public, space as safe and space as dangerous. Through her memories she is now able to look at the un-telling black square of the tent in Coley's exhibit and miss the desert. In 'You Tell Me,' she again re-collages what she has already written and adds more analysis of the exhibit. And in her last and perhaps most interesting piece, entitled 'An Embellishment: Purdah,' she arranges parts of the 'Missing the Desert' essay into panes of texts. She hangs this next to an actual window over whose panes she writes the word *purdah* in the local languages of Afghanistan.

Through these four pieces, she draws out connections (resonances) between Middle Eastern architecture (the walls and screens), the veil and chador of purdah, and the Black Tent of the exhibition, thus entering the world of the artist from a personal/familial, gendered, intellectual and professional stance all at once. Rendell's work thus offers a new way to represent complexity without denying identity or ignoring the ethical responsibility to acknowledge one's positionality, no matter how complex or temporary. Is she aligning herself with the nationality and ethnicity of her parents? Or her experiences abroad? Both or neither? And what of the presence of the (potentially) Middle Eastern tent in the British art gallery? I find this a provocative way to illustrate 'taking more in.'

Rendell models an intriguing way of proceeding as she effectively draws more pathways into and around the space of a piece of art. She labels her experiments 'site-writing,' in which 'the repeated processes of writing and re-writing take place in response to the demands of changing sites, making patterns to and from across the border between inside and out' (Rendell, 2010: 67). Could we not use this as a mode of rewriting the national site? Write from multiple positions in multiple drafts that acknowledge the levels/layers/spaces she identifies? Her representations take in a huge world of past and present, Self and Other, while also capturing the

power of architectural tradition, national dress, and site-specific aesthetics. Like Ettinger, she acknowledges the specific and that which is different (nationally, culturally, disciplinarily) while also creating a text that invites the reader's participation. The reader brings his or her own associations about places once lived in, semi-remembered and colored with nostalgia, colonial shame or any number of other sentiments. The reader may also bring in associations with the scholarly and other texts she cites. In this manner, Rendell's readers enter the stories of the critic, the artist, and others whose histories, memories and national identities are not one's own but still joinable. She creates another temporary site of encounter.

We can take this mode of representing that both destabilizes and expands identity to think metaphorically about the student coming into the inter/intra/trans-national context of education abroad. The student writes his or her life abroad in a similarly layered, nuanced, and evolving text that will lead to future rewritings and reinterpretations. Meaning will come in multiple texts, drafts and rewritings over time that will change as the student, like Rendell's critic, changes position and as the world around changes as well. I find in this work another argument for a more creative and flexible pedagogy that would afford students opportunities to 'take more in'.

This is not to suggest that we walk away from our ethnocentric attachment to the five-paragraph essay or that all of our assignments abroad should be so innovative as to imitate her writing, just as I would not have all students find meaning through immersing themselves into visual art, as in the previous example of Bracha Ettinger's work. Rather, I would argue that thinking about how people in other fields are staking out new ways to represent such challenging and changing concepts as nationality (or other identity-markers) that seem at once both less viable and ever-more important in today's world, offers us an interesting challenge to do the same.

So again we might ask how our catalogues, our websites, our student e-portfolios and other visual/written cultural artifacts of education abroad could open up to something that more closely parallels what Rendell models. Could we textually show a place from multiple angles? Can we include different conceptualizations and affective experiences of nationality to show how nationality is intersected by temporary and permanent migration, global products, multilingualism and other modulations? Both Rendell and Ettinger prompt us to ask how we might become less linear, more flexible and creative, and from their respective fields of practice, they do so in ways that are theoretically accountable, practically rigorous, and ethically committed.

Destabilizing the national, expanding our representations: embracing messiness in design and implementation

To destabilize the national is not to deny that the nation as a construct offers a powerful affective, bureaucratic, political and familiar collection of meanings. To destabilize the national is to become less bounded and to recognize that we all (education abroad professionals, our students, and people in the places our students travel to) may have partial and changing claims on a national identity and set of collective memories that, imagined or real, still mean something.

Rather than draw boundaries around contained national areas and identities, I have suggested that we think through Thrift's provocative challenge to come up with new representations that can *take more of the world in* drawing from the work of two scholars to provide an idea of what this could look like, although any number of other artists' or writers' work could also have been cited, of course. If we take advantage of education abroad's inherent transdisciplinarity and the freedom this provides for conceptual innovation, we are well-poised to come up with ways to ask students to think more expansively about the nuances of the national and how these nuances change over space and time, both for them and their Others, with whom they may find some common ground in this very shifting and nomadic question of national identity. If art and text provide such spaces of encounter, perhaps our own representations online, in catalogues, our syllabi and even our modes of assessing can open up to the myriad flows of knowledge, experience, higher education practice, power and other mobile forces that circulate around and through our profession. The series created by Ettinger and Rendell are not the mechanistic, capitalistic and plastic series of the production line; they are highly refined aesthetic and ethical creations that are at once rigorous and flexible, open to otherness. We would be well-served to take on this intriguing question of 'whither the national' in study abroad from as many angles as possible. While seeking out new representations of the national will require messiness, risk, and perhaps some relinquishing of former expertise, such is the nature of innovation, and such is the nature of all encounters with Otherness.

Borders, Bridges, and Icebergs: Expanded Subjectivities and the Building Cultural Competency in Our Communities Here and Abroad

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Cultures only flourish in contact with others; they perish in isolation
Carlos Fuentes

I am fascinated by the concept of borderlands, those liminal spaces where two or more cultures intersect. And, it would appear that I am not the only one. One only has to consider the current Modern Language Association's job postings, to find that the Academy is increasingly fascinated with candidates who can teach courses in a growing number of intersecting areas of study; Transatlantic or Transoceanic Studies, Gender and Sexuality, Hybrid Studies, Diaspora, Mediterranean, Caribbean, Francophone, Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian studies, border studies, etc… This is a very different list than the one that I perused some few decades ago when the great divide in my field was between Latin American and Peninsular Studies. What is happening and why?

My perception is that while there have always been and will be different points of view and interests (this has been true for millennia), the reality today is that we are more interdependent and therefore forced to learn how to coexist in multicultural communities where tensions and conflicts arise. We are acknowledging the need to continue to develop new ways to resolve differences and clashes of interests, whether between individuals, groups, or nations. From financial crises, to wars all over the globe, and continued social injustice, it would appear that the situation could not get worse. In the USA, many are confused and outraged over a myriad of questionable Supreme Court decisions from the 'Stand your Ground Gun Law' which emboldens people in some states to shoot first and ask questions later, to the ongoing congressional gridlock which culminated in a government shutdown in the fall of 2013, or a recent decision to allow an American company to sue 'Europe' (European Commission) for banning a pesticide which is heavily implicated in the killing of bumble bee colonies. Is there an adult in the house? How do we move beyond dysfunction and approach ethnic, racial, and cultural differences in our communities, among neighbors, in our schools, and on an international level? I am reminded of the iceberg theory which states that 90% of the problem is invisible and only by nurturing a profound sense of curiosity, will we begin to bring the larger challenge into view.

For those of us who engage in study abroad and international programs we know that we must be curious about the *Other* in order to build intercultural bridges that go beyond mere dialogue. Just as it is not enough for students to learn about 'foreign' cultures in the classroom, it is not enough for governments and school systems to endorse the principle of dialogue and peacefulness without appropriate action to promote it. Action requires moving beyond our comfort zones and confronting barriers that prevent diverse populations from seeing one another as fellow human beings. So how do we make the hidden or imperceptible visible; how do we build bridges?

I garnered a bit of insight about this from reading a *New York Times* article on October 12, 2013, entitled 'A Bridge between Western Science and Eastern Faith'. The article referenced the Emory-Tibet Science Initiative which has brought together a team of scholars, translators, and a group of Tibetan monks clad in maroon robes (including the Dalai Lama himself), to examine issues such as how to develop methods to quantify the power of meditation in a way the Western scientific community might actually understand and accept. Two issues in opposition that they are trying to reconcile are Quantum theory - which tells us that the world is a product of an infinite number of random events, versus Buddhism - which teaches us that nothing happens without a cause, trapping the universe in an unending karmic cycle. Interestingly enough, the greatest challenges these monks are facing are not the language barrier or concepts such as 'whether or not empathy can be taught', but rather learning to like pizza and trying to understand the concept of 'Lord Dooley', the University's skeleton mascot. Can you imagine trying to explain Ohio Wesleyan's mascot the 'Battling Bishops' or UNC's moniker the 'Tarheels'? Or better yet the Boston 'Red Sox'? And you spell those socks with an 'x'. Talk about having to build enormous bridges!

Consequently, these Tibetan monks are building their intercultural competency with each bite, new concept, and response - they are agents in reframing their world view. Similarly, we aim to structure the study abroad experience to help empower students to change the way they see the world, discovering those cultural bridges. Even the savviest travelers among us have had to deal with culture adjustment - or shock - at one point or another, particularly when we go abroad.

My worldview is framed by my experiences here and abroad and informed by the study of languages and cultures. Over the past few years, I have been exploring how the experience of the Other produces change in the socio-moral orientations of Western students traveling and studying abroad but especially in Morocco. I would like to share background and research that I have undertaken to prepare the study-travel course I call '*Convivencia*: How Jews, Christians, and Muslims Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Iberia', and how it organically evolved into *Convivencia* closer to home.

Through the comparative study of three influential religious cultures that co-existed in the region that today is Spain, students develop an understanding of some of the most influential themes present in our complex cultural landscape today. Students' awareness of Self and Other is enhanced by visiting Spain and Morocco and by exploring historical sites, art, and music of these three religious groups, and by examining how they interacted and influenced one another. By visiting places such as the Jewish Quarters and synagogues, Muslim mosques and tea houses, and walled Christian cities and fortresses, students observe for themselves how these diverse flavors still intermingle in modern Spain. This inquiry prepares students to translate *Convivencia*, loosely translated as 'co-existence' or 'tolerance', into their own reality here in the United States, a country of immigrants with a multiethnic population. It has been more than five hundred years since the Spanish conquistadors happened upon the New World, bringing with them their multicultural roots but also the specter of the Spanish Inquisition. They created a new *mestizaje*, by mixing with the Amerindians, African slaves, and later with a series of great influxes of immigrants from all parts of the world. How can understanding this cultural continuity, our cultural heritage, inform and transcend disunity and fragmentation as we confront the 'face of the Other'? How much of what we see is a reflection of reality, a projection of the imagination, or both? These are some of the questions that we are exploring in the workshop 'Woven by Memory'.

Continuing with the notion of cross-cultural contact and pollination, the late Mexican writer Carlos Fuentes estimated that by 2050, almost half the population of the USA will be Spanish-speaking: 'a whole civilization with a Hispanic pulse has been created in the USA.' This begs the question: what is it like to be a second generation Cuban American living in exile in Miami or a Chicano living in Manhattan? And closer to home, what is it like to be a Dominican or Puerto Rican living in Lawrence, Massachusetts and attending College as a first-generation college student? What do Latino students bring to our classrooms? Do they have distinct ethos and values that they choose to retain as part of their heritage? What are persisting differences between Anglos and Latinos and how can these different cultures cooperate? How do these cultures co-exist with one another every day?

As higher education becomes a more accessible part of the American dream, classrooms are changing to reflect the increasing diversity of the middle class in the USA. But while our student body is changing, too often the canon is comprised solely of the voices of White/Euro Americans. The voices of Latinos and other minority groups remain under-represented in much of what we teach, impoverishing our potential because we lose the history and wisdom of the majority of the world's cultures, that invisible 90%. It is thus up to us as educators to harness all of the stories in our classrooms. The great Nigerian novelist Chimamanda Adichie tells the story of how she found her authentic cultural voice, warning us 'that if we hear only a single story about another person or country, we risk a critical misunderstanding. Our lives, our cultures, are

composed of many overlapping stories.' What is the American story? Beginning in the 1800s, immigrants, many of them Irish, came to work in the Lowell, Massachusetts mills to begin a new life in the U.S. Their labors led the way to the Industrial Revolution. Between 1900 and 1920, 24 million more immigrants arrived in the U.S., many of them Greek, French Canadian and Polish and joined the Irish in this new land. More than half the U.S. population can trace its roots back to Ellis Island. Immigration has dramatically changed the identity of the United States, how we perceive ourselves and how we are perceived by others. Today, a similar influx of Asians, Latin Americans and Africans are coming from many different countries. These newcomers are again transforming society and adding to the complex and multifaceted immigration issues we face as a nation. Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, at which time 19 foreign-born terrorists took part in bombings that caused close to 3000 civilian deaths, xenophobia, and anti-immigration policies have been on the rise. At the same time, globalization has meant that larger numbers of people are finding new places to live and many of them continue to come to the United States. They come to new cities and towns with their own cultures, including ways of dressing, religions, and basic orientation to the world. As they do, they raise new questions: how do global migrations lead to adaptations of traditions? How do states manage new degrees of diversity and demands? How do transnational structures fit with national politics? How do we begin to grapple with stereotypes and bias among us? Here, I am reminded of the diversity of the American population. The Latino population in the United States is composed of people whose roots are from Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, and South American countries. Even though these people have a similar history in that they were colonized mainly by European countries of Latin background - Spain and Portugal - they differ in languages, accents, ethnicities and local cultures. It is also important to recognize that even people coming from the same country may differ in terms of socioeconomic status, education, ethnicity and geographical origin. Moreover, even though Spanish is the dominant language in most countries except for Brazil, where Portuguese is spoken, there are many indigenous languages still spoken by ethnic minorities, descendants of native populations all over Latin America.

The complexity of cultural contact, in moments of tolerance and moments of hostility, is not easily described by one term or definition, it is like the iceberg. The mixture of cultures is a multifaceted, wide-ranging topic where clear definitions are elusive. Despite the complexity, or because of it, I am motivated to offer courses that provide a new lens through which to address and examine this multifaceted issue.

As a Spanish professor, I always emphasize language proficiency for preparing students to be citizens of a multicultural community at home and abroad. I have led study abroad immersion trips for American students to many countries, but the trip to southern Spain and Morocco as part of the *Convivencia* program has stimulated profound changes in how my students embrace the

Other, mainly because of the contrast between the customs and cultures that they encountered. While the objective of this and the other trips has been to expose students to the richness offered by other cultures in a way that up-ends the world as they know it by exposing them to a different set of truths, values, and lenses for viewing the world, they tell me time and again that this trip was a turning point, a moment that to a degree changed their orientation to the world and what they are called to *be* in it. Only by leaving the safety of the known do they become vulnerable and open enough to receive the gifts of that other culture. My experience teaching *Convivencia* has taught me how to deepen the study abroad experience and to maximize student learning. I have done this by facilitating intentional cross-cultural dialogue, thus giving students the opportunity to connect and interact with the local community in the host country. Going from the hotel to historical site and back to the hotel is not enough. This expectation is met by including some sort of service or experiential project, in which American students work together, side by side with students their own age from the host country. Successful strategies include extensive exposure and interaction with local people from as many different walks of life as possible, with intentional two-way dialogue and sharing.

For example, after leaving the ferry and taking a walk through the Tangier medina (a shocking experience for American students), they get their first real orientation at a women's organization called DARNA, where they interact with young Moroccan women who share their perspectives on politics and women's roles. Rather than coming from an American facilitator, the students are hearing perspectives from peers, first-hand. The American students are stunned by how much these women know about America and begin to feel inadequate about their own knowledge of Morocco, or even the Arab Spring. Their second interaction is with their home-stay families, who are middle-class to wealthy Moroccan families in the capital, Rabat. The next day we go to Sale, where they interact with youth living in Rabat's economically struggling neighbor across the river. Again, students participate in a question and answer session with peers, connecting on a personal level. We then go to a women's association in Amizmiz, where students learn how important it is that women sell their products, mostly woven items, directly - as opposed to through an intermediary. Students also interact with families and their children. Later, we go to the Rif Mountains, where we spend the day with a rural family with children and an elderly population. This is a stark contrast to some of the things they have experienced elsewhere; including interaction with an illiterate female population and having to use a non-western toilet. In Amizmiz, we have a cultural sharing - a talent show with youth. Again, it is not just observing, but sharing activities with local youth around the same age as the students. Both groups are giving, so it is not a touristic view of traditions in Amizmiz; people are connecting on both sides, sharing equally, and coming together instead of simply 'observing.' These activities are important because firstly, cultural barriers are broken through personal connections and meaningful discussion. Secondly, speaking

and engaging on a personal level with a diverse population, the diversity of the country and complexities of what it means to be 'Moroccan,' 'Arab,' or 'Muslim' become evident. One highlight has been speaking specifically about things like the *hijab* and about relationships with Moroccans from different backgrounds, age groups, and with differing views on how religion shapes these matters. I have found there are many ways to increase awareness of other cultures and religions, but it was not until I added the trip to Morocco - when students were part of these facilitated dialogues with Muslim students their own age, touring the medinas and working on a service project side by side - that they truly became vulnerable to the face of the Other and were forced to change their pre-conceived notions of who he or she *is* (and *is not*).

Recognizing the transformative potential of study abroad and the growing awareness of the new demographics of the classroom, I began to explore the relationship between 'Latino roots' and *Convivencia* as part of my multicultural inquiry. Two summers ago, I created 'Borderlands: Exploring Cultural, Geographic, and Ethnic Borders', a course for K-12 teachers of Spanish. The course explores Hispanic culture, what it means to be a Latino/a in the United States, what these cultures bring to the USA, and what differences persist between Anglo- and Ibero-America as they come into contact with one another, opposing, influencing, and clashing with each other. I offered it as a graduate level course, conducted it predominantly in Spanish, and invited heritage speakers from the neighboring communities. We created learning environments that were responsive to the needs of diverse students, explored ways that 'Anglo' students benefit from the presence of Latino students, began to understand community attitudes and dynamics surrounding 'Latinos' in the USA, heightening our sensitivity to their impact in our classrooms and developed activities to bridge barriers.

'Borderlands' can be seen as *liminal* spaces in which the myth of 'Self' versus 'Other' is challenged by the interactions between two worlds which are as defined by their overlap as much as they are by their distinction. The two-thousand-mile border between Mexico and the USA is one of the only visible land borders between the developed and developing worlds. It is also the perceived boundary between Latin America and Anglo America. I emphasize that this is a geopolitical perception, not a reality. The Strait of Gibraltar (traversed in only an hour by ferry) separates Spain from its developing neighbor – Morocco. It is also the border between predominately Muslim and Christian worlds. The Strait of Florida (ninety-miles distance) separates the powerful USA from its poorer southern neighbor Cuba, and symbolizes all the tension that fifty years or more of communist rule has sparked between the two governments. Beyond economic and political factors, immigrants who cross these borders participate in a broad social and cultural process of great importance to demographic frameworks and the quality of relationships between countries. In the case of U.S. culture and Spanish American cultures, most Hispanics arrive across a land border, not across the sea like their Irish, German, Italian,

and Slavic predecessors. Nonetheless, this borderland is the contemporary equivalent of Ellis Island, even though it is in the middle of a desert or sometimes a tunnel dug between the two Californias (the Mexican state of Baja and the North American state of California). Currently, Los Angeles is the second largest Spanish-speaking city in the world after Mexico City – ahead of Madrid and Barcelona - and the Spanish-speaking population of the city is growing rapidly. How do Anglo and Hispanic cultures co-exist with one another every day? What can we learn from one another? These are some of the questions that were highlighted in the 2012 presidential elections, and that we explored in another course I developed called 'The Evolution of Hispanics in the New World.'

In all three courses, I appeal to students to consider crossing that real or invisible border, and think about what it would be like to view the world from the Other's perspective. Of course, this is more straightforward and effortless when you are on the other side of a border, or in a community different from your own, collaborating on a common goal or service project with people from the other culture, as in Morocco. In these courses, students discover that representations of the Other change over time through contact and conflict, through shifting policies and laws. We visit buildings - mills - that were built and modified over time, as reflected by power and conquest, and come to realize that borders are permeable and move, which brings us back to Medieval Iberia, when Spain was a land of three cultures with a moving frontier. Students quickly draw a parallel between that moving frontier and the U.S.-Mexico border and the artificial wall that some are trying so desperately to construct so that its own frontiers remain immutable. Students learn that a large portion of the USA belonged to Mexico and discover that the past is often remembered and reconsidered anachronistically, through the lens of later realities. They begin to see that power is constantly redefined as cultures meet and clash, or tolerate differences. Some have become interested in the Dream Act, the Latino vote and immigration reform. Sometimes students see, for the first time, how the terrorist attacks of 9/11 captured the modern imagination about Muslim Iberia and begin to understand how countless lessons of the past apply today, as cultures continue to come into contact across borders that either allow fluid diffusion of ideas or block their passage. A postmodern world continues to contend with problems as cultures challenge one another and open or close borders to ideas, customs, ideologies, and the arts. The conquerors of the New World were heirs to a multicultural experience of *Convivencia* - commingling in tension with Jews and with Moors - and at the same time, they were heirs to the Spanish Inquisition, the official policy of expulsion, standing in stark contrast to the tendencies toward co-existence with respect for the Other. The thing that stands out in my mind, is how Spain's cultural singularity has been its recognition of the Other: battling, embracing, mixing - and begging the question: how to live with the Other? How am I to understand that I am *what* I am only because another person sees me or completes me?

As Fuentes states,

> people and their cultures perish in isolation, but are born or reborn in contact with others of other cultures, races, and creeds. If we do not recognize our humanity in others, we shall not recognize it in ourselves. When we fail to meet this challenge, social justice is impaired, and our world is impoverished. The chance to do so is our only hope (Fuentes)

So how do we respond to the face of the Other? How do we cross bridges, navigate the borderlands and begin to see the 90% below the surface? At last Sunday's church service, one of the readings was a poem called 'Red Brocade' by Naomi Shihab Nye from her book, *Nineteen Varieties of Gazelle*. She writes,

> the Arabs used to say, when a stranger appears at your door, feed him for three days before asking who he is, where he's come from or where he's headed. That way, he'll have strength enough to answer. Or, by then you'll be such good friends you don't care (Shihab Nye)

By suspending judgment, you are more likely to witness one another's humanity, cross borders, enter into a common liminal space, demystify the iceberg and reframe the face of the Other, abroad or at home in our back yard, improving our chances of achieving *Convivencia*.

Memoryscapes:
Heritage, the Cityscape and the Idea of Nation

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'Heritage' is an elusive term, covering an enormous variety of activities, cultural forms and practices. It has become a global phenomenon and symptomatic of a widespread historical consciousness. Nevertheless, the objectives of this 'crusade' for the 'spoils of history' (Lowenthal, 1997) are different from that of pure historical investigation. *History* may be regarded as an open-ended debate about the past, whereas *heritage* is a specific re-presentation of what it is deemed appropriate to have made public about the past, a strategy of fixing space to control and 'sanitize' time.

The burden of 'heritage' is truly a Janus-faced conundrum. For one thing, the sheer weight of past achievements may impinge heavily on the present, stifling innovation or creative impulses. To forge a new identity is by definition to break away from the immediate past: Nietzsche asserted that in order to achieve anything, it was necessary deliberately to forget what had gone before (quoted by Thomas, 1998). The reactionary modernism of Nazism, for example, was profoundly ambivalent towards both historical preservation and the antithetical desire to sweep away the 'detritus' of history (Koshar, 1994). The heritage impulse engages with collective cultural, national anxieties in complicated, and sometimes subversive, ways to shore up perceived vulnerabilities of nationhood and foster continuity (Koshar, 1994: 217-224). Such anxieties, concerning the contingency of certain identities, the transitory nature of nationhood and its vulnerability to decay are expressed, elided or erased by their objectification as the 'building-past'. This is a dual process of creation and containment as attempts are made to 'fix' an essentialized national culture or identity, as Lebovics demonstrates in the case of pre-war and Vichy France (Lebovics, 1992, 1994).

Notions of 'fixity' and 'authenticity' form the crux of critical responses to the rise of the 'heritage' industry in the U.K., often couched in terms of neurosis or repression. The search for reassurance in the past at times of national stress or breakdown suggests the inherently pathological nature of nostalgia. Several writers have argued an explicit connection between a British national obsession with heritage and deindustrialization, closely identifying it with the rise of the New Right in the 1980s (Wright, 1985, 1993; Hewison, 1987; Urry, 1995). The agenda of this hegemonic 'heritage' project, built on the premise that history was 'over', systematically commodified that history as a set of bowdlerized representations in order to distract attention

from contemporary conflicts (Hewison, 1987: 141-144). Urry asserts bleakly that under such an agenda, 'the protection of the past conceals the destruction of the present' (Urry, 1995: 160-161). National heritage involves the extraction of history from everyday life and its restaging at certain 'sanctioned sites, events, images and conceptions'. This abstraction and re-deployment of the past as 'a unifying spectacle' implies collective amnesia more than the stimulus of collective memory as, paradoxically, these are commemorations 'in which we appear to remember only in order to forget' (Wright, 1985: 69-70).

Crucial to these critiques is the distinction drawn between 'authentic history' as a dynamic, provisional and therefore, intrinsically subversive, category, and 'packaged heritage' ('bogus history'). The latter is often characterized as a symbol of national decadence that testifies to a romanticized golden age, rendering the past harmless and unthreatening to the present. Thatcherite British society was arguably 'drowning in honey and aspic' (Hewison, 1987: 144) a symptom of profound disturbance in the symbolic order of the nation and post-imperial struggles over the authority to represent the nation as either 'British' or 'English'. Immediately after New Labour's 1997 election victory, the celebration of aspects of contemporary British art labeled as 'Cool Britannia', emblematic of a 'youthful' nation's creativity, effectively wrote 'heritage' out of the text of visions for a 're-branded' nation (Davies, 1999). This ideology of anti-heritage itself represented a new form of state-sanctioned forgetting, an attempt to invent a future without recourse to *any past*.

Lowenthal warns that inevitably, 'a present-minded view of the past is bound to celebrate and forget selectively'. Such a bias in heritage appears to be 'as widely acceptable to the public as...autobiographical fictions' (Lowenthal, 1997: 148). Thus, history converted to heritage, 'clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes'; domesticating its foreignness for present causes. Paradoxically, the means for telling stories about who we are and our origins, by explaining an ever more opaque past, are also instrumental in that past's coercion as it 'renders up the spoils of history on untold altars of aggrandizement', a process at once of effacement and despoliation. Historical residues are converted into witnesses attesting to our own 'ancestral virtues', an upgrading of the past which contributes to a mystique of superior uniqueness (Lowenthal, 1997: xii-xiii, 149, 153).

Remembrance and Forgetting

Heritage, then, is potentially a resource used to improve upon the past, a process enhanced by erasure. Amnesia becomes an integral part of the national heritage as individual loyalty is ensured by forgetting past crimes (Renan, [1882] 1990). Erased memories may be replaced with more palatable accounts of the past. That which threatens the stability of identity is

actively suppressed, whilst false recollection resists revision if it is central to self-identity. The memorialization of something which sits within a discursive framework of exclusion inherently unsettles other, dominant frameworks and may be strongly resisted, as with the British debates about a national monument to the Holocaust, whose delayed installation was influenced by assumptions about its 'irrelevance' to the national experience (Cooke, 1996).

Only if past sufferings are made integral to the *raison d'être* of a modern state does the commemoration of an unpalatable past become the dominant narrative of its identity, for example in the case of nation-building in postcolonial states, or radical returns to a 'purified tradition' (Afrikaner nationalism's deployment of Boer suffering in British concentration camps, or Zionism's appropriations of the Holocaust). More commonly, an ambivalent relationship exists between erasure and recollection, a struggle to reconcile a history which, to paraphrase Joyce, is like a nightmare from which one tries to wake. Arguably, nowhere is this issue more starkly posed than with regard to questions of collective national 'guilt'. Remembrance does not necessarily imply the justification of past iniquity; to remember is not automatically to celebrate.

For example, contemporary Spain's relationship with its imperial heritage and the continuing legacies of its fascist dictatorship (as the cultural politics around the commemoration of the Quincentenary of the 'Discovery' of the New World in 1992 amply demonstrated) clearly embodied this ambivalence of memory, an uneasy mix of working through - and erasing - past trauma (Gristwood, 1999). The Spanish dilemma may be gauged by comparison with the more acute Post-war German experience. Fundamental disagreement emerged from the German Historians' Debate of the 1980s over how best to engage with the past in order to construct the present and future nation (La Capra, 1998: 43-72). The intensity and scope of national self-reflection prompted by Daniel Goldhagen's later revisionist account of the Holocaust, and what the author termed the 'public embrace' of its implications, suggested for him a strong desire by Germans to 'have an honest reckoning' with their collective past and eschew more comforting mythologies of the attribution of guilt. The national willingness to do so, he contended, was indicative of the radical transformation and robustness of contemporary German democracy (Goldhagen, 1997: 465-466). Arguably, the act of commemoration may be just as important, or more so, than the subject of commemoration itself (Nora, 1999). Open debate about how, or even if, an event should be memorialized may be of intrinsically more value to national well-being than the eventual outcome of that discussion (Grasskamp, 1999).[2]

[2] Libeskind's Jewish Museum and Eisenman and Serra's 'Stelenwald' memorial in the heart of Berlin have generated much debate about the scope and appropriateness of constructing such prominent 'monuments to national guilt' (Jeismann, 1999; Rudolph, 1999).

Certainly the renewed German capital represents the quintessence of a cityscape saturated by reminders of discomforting political histories, which 'mark themselves on the architecture, in its forms, in bullet holes and bolt holes' (Leslie, 1996: 6). A particularly vivid example is provided by Finlayson, who notes the extent of street re-naming policies, post-unification, which he interprets as the promulgation of a unitary historical myth of an 'authentic' German social democracy emerging naturally and inevitably from history. Legitimation becomes superfluous as the 'context of guilt' over Nazism is buried under the erasure of the East German State (Finlayson, 1995: 11-14). For Leslie, the process of reunification itself entails willful amnesia, a 'politics of façade' as the new state revises its relationship with its past (Leslie, 1996: 7-8). The ambivalent act of 'wrapping' the Reichstag by the artist Christo intended to signify a clear break with the unwholesome past embodied by the tangible ruins of the building. As a hiatus, the installation also symbolized resumed continuity with a pre-totalitarian past (Baal-Teshuva, 1995). The subsequent reconstruction of the Reichstag by Foster re-forged the past as a continuous whole, erasing tangible evidence of guilt. However, whilst complete erasure of a site may represent a 'metaphysical denial' of past events, even its sanitization for present consumption potentially encourages understanding more than full disclosure (Lowenthal, 1997: 161). Like any neuroses, such pasts are encountered and engaged with through a process of ongoing management, through a variety of localized strategies and practices.[3]

Similarly, contemporary Italians have to reconcile the visible legacy of Mussolini's fascist régime, whose surviving inscriptions, artwork and large-scale interventions are still apparent in the cityscapes of Rome and other Italian cities (Benton, 1997; Fuller, 1997). How is such iconography dealt with in memory? Such symbolism may be highly emotive, but not necessarily immutable. A continuum of possible interactions exists, between defacement and removal to restoration and celebration. Graffiti slogans, partial erasure of inscriptions or names, rehabilitation and alternative uses suggest that instead of a binary opposition between memory and amnesia, a dynamic suite of memory practices relate to problematic relics of the past. Such practices involve the ambiguous use of imagery, re-labeling and transformative action, which together create spaces for individual 'memory-work'. For example, partial erasure allows memories to be maintained whilst new meanings become attached to sites through continued re-use.

Memoryscapes

In a variety of ways, cultural landscapes forge powerful connections between historical meanings and contemporary cultural identities. These landscapes, whether urban or rural, may be regarded as signifying systems which communicate and reproduce social systems such as the nation

[3] The retention of selected Red Army graffiti in the refurbished interior spaces of the parliament and the national anxieties over the appropriateness of retaining the 'Reichstag' label or re-designating the building, due to its imperial, Nazi and wartime associations, indicate a complicated negotiation of remembrance and forgetting (Bahr, 1999: 16).

(Cosgrove, 1984; Cosgrove & Daniels 1988). All systems of authority draw on landscape as a kind of text to legitimize their role: 'landscape serves as a vast repository out of which symbols of...ideology can be fashioned' (Duncan, 1985: 182). They possess the power to naturalize social ideologies by masking the social relations that actually create them (Duncan, 1990; Zukin, 1991; Baker, 1993a, 1993b) but are also sites of contestation. The tapestry woven by this process, an 'unglamorously disheveled tangle' of cross-cutting threads, represents the interpolation of diverse signifying systems and is therefore ripe for critical deconstruction (Eagleton, quoted by Baker, 1993a: 9).

'Memoryscape' is a term which was first coined by the sociologist Tim Edensor to categorize sites 'which attempt to materialize memory by assembling iconographic forms...[around which] social remembering is organized' (Edensor, 1997: 178). Their deliberate orchestration belies their significance as active sites of struggle over the meanings of the past. These meanings may transcend their intended iconographies and instead derive from subsequent contexts, practices or perceptions. Urban spaces can serve to symbolize the aspirations and identity of inhabitants, yet these public meanings are both dynamic and malleable. For example, the process of selecting street names embodies the struggle for control over the means of symbolic production within the built environment (Azaryahu, 1996a; Yeoh, 1996). Streetscapes are literally re-written through toponymic inscription, contributing to the social construction of the nation and the collective memory of its sanctioned, 'official' pasts. Historic place-names may be decontextualized and salvaged as signifiers of heritage in a transformed cityscape bereft of other mnemonic markers (Yeoh, 1996: 299), and such historical narratives become embedded in everyday urban experience (Azaryahu, 1996a: 328). Orchestrated memoryscapes can also be found in other urban spaces: squares, plazas or even public gardens or parks. For example, nineteenth-century Vienna's public gardens were intended as (and were consumed as) a socially cohesive force, embodying shared values and ideals of civic responsibility and citizenship (Rotenberg, 1994).

Such places are highly significant for the stories we create to make sense of ourselves and our place in the world. More than this, they are memory devices for the transmission and preservation of cultural knowledge (Stock, 1993: 323). The cultural geographer Laura Cameron suggests that tangible landscape features are 'durable visual loci' for the 'holding, reinforcing, and retaining of stories' (Cameron, 1997: 76, 85-87). Such 'homescapes' articulate a deep connection among place, community and memory. Particular features of the cultural landscape can be symbolically inscribed with power and identity, becoming firmly embedded in the symbolic matrix of nationhood and are constantly remade (Harvey, 1996: 306-310). This may apply to certain key features of the built environment, for example the Parisian Sacré

Coeur (Harvey, 1979), Hikone Castle's successive scriptings of 'Japaneseness' (Mock, 1993), or competing Classicist or Hellenistic re-inscriptions of the Acropolis in Athens (Loukaki, 1997; Caftanzoglu, 1999). Natural topographies integrated into urban environments may also become significantly loaded with a palimpsest of meanings over time, for example Mount Royal's symbolic currency within the myth-making of Francophone Canada (Debarbieux, 1998).

Landscape imagery also provides a potentially powerful means of shared knowledge and social engagement, becoming an agency of the 'symbolic activation of time and space' and reinforcing social identities by 'picturing' the imagined community of the nation at certain periods and at associated 'hallowed sites' (Daniels, 1994: 7-8; 244-245). For example Saint Paul's Cathedral in the heart of the City of London is a significant site for British (and English) national identity where various narratives of empire, national cohesion and post-imperial decline overlap (Daniels, 1994: 4-5; 11-42). Here, the cityscape operates as a kind of 'symbolic field' which can be approached analytically by multiple passes from differing standpoints. Such mnemonic sites constitute the 'inscape' of national identity (Bhabha, 1990: 294-295) or develop a function as 'patriotic shrines' (Lowenthal, 1997: 154). Making 'heritage' concrete in a fusion of myth and landscape, these sites arguably constitute the sacred spaces of modern secular societies (Entrikin, 1991: 67), connecting past meanings with contemporary cultural identities and social relations.

Cityscape and Nation

In her analysis of the orchestration of public memory in urban space, Christine Boyer has attempted to draw a straightforward contrast between what she calls a cityscape of 'collective memory' and the 'city of spectacle' (Boyer, 1994). She examines the ways in which 'public space [has been] frequently arranged as if for theatrical performance', arguing that both theatrical and urban space are 'places of representation, assemblage, and exchange between actors and spectators, between the drama and the stage set' - spaces which attempt to order the experiences of 'chaotic' everyday life. Both are also viewing mechanisms that 'metaphorically spatialize reality' in an orchestration of 'authentic' or 'truthful' spectacle. Theatrical and architectural 'scenographies', she theorizes, 'impose coherent meanings and illusory representations that determine...a well-made performance'. These 'scenographic stagings' act as 'civic portraits intended to be remembered': architectonic forms borrowed from stagecraft, inserted into urban space, establish these 'theatrical compositions' as focal points, a kind of 'artificial memory device' for 'citizens of the nation, the region, and the city' (Boyer, 1994: 74; 77), and offer a variety of panoramic vistas and backdrops for the gaze of inhabitant or visitor. This is a totalized vision of space under a 'director's'

vision - urban landscape as 'theatrical production' (Boyer, 1994: 97-102). Thus, perception and memory are intentionally shaped by what I term 'orchestrated scenographies' of memory.

For Boyer, memory has an inherent spatiality, as the depiction of space and time in the physical fabric of the cityscape acts as a potential trigger for remembrance – reminiscent of the Renaissance concept of the 'memory theater' (Yates, 1966). The utopian 'city of collective memory' entails a 'continuous urban topography', an integrated spatial structure including public spaces for debate and collective recollection, as well as stimuli for private memory. History is embodied in the fabric of the city's ordered structure and monuments, as a landscape of pedagogical intent that enables spectators to 'understand the heroic and virtuous lessons of its shaping'. By contrast, the 'city of spectacle' imposes the ideologies of the powerful and reconfigures history as commodified spectacle (Boyer, 1994: 3, 9-11, 26-27). Haussmann's Paris, with its axial boulevards, squares and monuments (Harvey, 1985; Woolf, 1988; Gregory, 1994: 217-226), or the more piecemeal interventions of Trafalgar Square, The Mall, or Strand in London's cityscape may be read as self-conscious 'scenographies' for the imperial metropolis, heavily loaded with intended meanings. These cultural spaces were consciously designed to be consumed as spectacle and to frame imperial – and national - identities through pageantry or exhibition (Driver & Gilbert, 1997, 1998).

Two further examples demonstrate how specific narratives about the past can make the cityscape readable as a set of 'pertinent appeals' to national memory. Firstly, Gerry Kearns' study of the Parisian Revolution Bicentennial celebrations finds the events it commemorates becoming 're-invested' with significance for the revolutionary and national foundation mythologies of modern France (Kearns, 1993: 55-78). A multi-dimensional cultural politics emerges, which articulates urban space, architectural design, memory and spectacle into a terrain for contested rights to speak for nation and heritage. Such articulations are paradoxical negotiations of modernity and tradition: President Mitterand's extravagant architectural commissions (the Louvre Pyramid, the Grand Arche of La Défense) make 'modern statements' which are 'respectful of historical context', a modernism which attempts to engage with what Kearns identifies as the 'desire for rootedness which the French esteem as their love for history'. Yet, rather like Cool Britannia a decade later, their intention is also to signify 'imagination, ideas and youth' (Kearns, 1993: 92-93).

Jane M. Jacobs' studies of the transformation of the City and East London under contemporary turbo-capitalism also attempt to locate the agency of the commodified past within the 'constantly renewed and variably manifest' power relations of the heritage impulse (Jacobs, 1992; 1994a; 1994b). Variably empowered interest groups (such as residents, workers, or developers) each

seek to 'preserve and enhance' the past in the context of, and in differing relationships with, cycles of capital re-investment and urban transformation (Jacobs, 1992: 196). An intricate power dynamic of capital accumulation emerges, in which differing 'fractions' of money capital are interlinked with 'complexly grounded sentiments about locality and nation, past and future' including the explicitly politicized defense of local traditions - such as market trading in Spitalfields (Jacobs, 1994a: 377-378). The protracted (two-decade) planning battle over the highly symbolic Bank Junction site in the City of London reveals how notions of heritage and identity are embedded in social processes and expressed through the various terrains of capital and power which 'constitute the present'. The controversial project at its heart (the present-day building by Sir James Stirling at Number One Poultry is the result) thus embodies the anxieties accompanying London's transition from imperial capital to global city and the shift of national identity and global status that this implies, as well as the deepening U.K. engagement with (and discomfort about) the European Union (Jacobs, 1994b: 753-755).

The ongoing redevelopment of East London at Docklands (Schneer, 2005: 263-285) and post-Olympic Stratford (Poynter, 2010), as well as the rapid transformation of London's corporate skyline in recent years (Charney, 2007; Kaika, 2010) also exemplify the ways in which in contemporary settings such as the global city, 'global' and 'local' scales become drawn into a nexus of complementarity, where

> the global does not simply reach into the local. The local does not always resist the global. In the contemporary moment that which may be identified as the local constitutes itself through an inward-outward 'gathering of difference' (Jacobs, 1994b: 770)

The geographer Doreen Massey summarizes the significance of such examples clearly in her assertion that 'identities are formed and articulated in a never static state-of-being in which the global and the local intersect' (Massey, 1993: 156). Places and landscapes – and the often contested forms of heritage which they embody - become the 'terms of reference' for this constant re-shaping of ideas of nation in a globalizing world.

The Tyranny of Home

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Recent research in the field of Education Abroad has served to shatter one of the more precious myths about student learning through the international experience: when confronted with the foreign, most students do not naturally and effortlessly expand their understanding and increase intercultural competence. Travel, particularly international travel, allows for and perhaps even promotes, intellectual and personal transformation but most U.S. students are trapped by ideological structures that prevent them from easily re-framing their perspectives. The concepts of nation and home are particularly damaging in this sense: to de-center either notion is incredibly challenging given the legendary status of the patriot in U.S. culture. Yet I believe it is pivotal that study abroad students learn to deconstruct both ideas: in the dismantling of hearth and homeland lies the potential for intercultural understanding.

Depending on her specific background, a typical student in the U.S. may or may not have a sense of self that is connected to a sense of nation: in other words, some students have and can articulate a sense of a national identity while others do not. In many cases, the education abroad experience draws the national identity to the forefront since students abroad are often called upon to perform the national identity and/or are perceived with that national identity regardless of their own preferences and conceptualizations. In her study of American students abroad in Australia, Nadine Dolby argues that 'students' national identities shifted from a passive to an active identification during their stay in Australia…' (Dolby, 2004: 152). In the students' experiences, and in this discussion broadly, the focus is on the concept of nation - the idea of nation - rather than the political body of the nation-state. While most individuals can identify themselves as members of a particular nation-state, it is the identification with the nation as concept that wants to be examined. For students in the U.S., the concept of nation is not necessarily clearly defined. Rather, as Dolby suggests, national identity may sometimes be passive and not well understood, or, as in the case of mixed heritage, international and/or immigrant students, it may be a layered or fractured concept.

Unlike the nation, which may or may not loom large in relation to a student's identity, the concept of home is particularly powerful and extends across national identities. Regardless of whether a student lives away from home on campus or in off-campus housing, or commutes from home, home remains a dominant ideological structure within the student's understanding

of self and world. This importance is marked by the use of the doubled term 'home-home,' used to signify the permanent home or place where family/parent resides: this home is the home of return, of stasis. This is the place students come back to after every term, after each adventure, after each foray to a less permanent home-space. Moreover, in its ideal conceptualization, home is a space of stability and security: a space where the individual can be 'at home.' Home should be the place where authentic identity is expressed and accepted, or at least the concept encapsulates this desire, whether or not the actual spaces of house and family live up to this ideal: 'in this sense, home really comes to be a space where we feel we belong in a much broader sense of the term' (Silva, 2009: 697). Home is simultaneously a place of belonging and longing because belonging can be understood as an expression of desire for an ideal space.

The material elements that construct the space of home are immensely important since 'in the case of students it is evident that mental homemaking is preceding by material homemaking' (Cieraad, 2010: 90). In the space of the familial home, this material homemaking has been likely enacted largely by the family or parent(s), though within the space of the student's room (or other personal space), the act of material homemaking becomes intimately connected to the development and continued development of a sense of self. The act of returning to the parental or familial home is marked by the material familiar (the childhood bed, the specific favorite mug, etc.) and triggers memories constructed in and around that space. For students who move out of the parental/familial home when they begin higher education, it is the first time that they are able to engage in material homemaking outside of the home-space. In the U.S., the ritual of the transition to the dormitory or off-campus apartment is often closely connected with home/family, such as the trip with mom/dad to Target to stock up on all the essentials for the new home, as well as the literal recreation of the home-space through the familiar objects that have been brought from the familial home to this new space. Therefore, though many U.S. students move away from home, the concept of home remains largely undisturbed as the dormitory or off-campus apartment is reconstructed as an extension of the space of the familial home.

Complicating both the concept of home and the concept of nation is the fact that the borders between home and nation are blurry, if not nonexistent. The slippage between these two concepts is particularly emphasized by the rhetoric surrounding nationality and nationalism, most obviously through the term 'homeland,' which quite literally compounds the two ideas. The bordered territory of land is carefully delineated as that which is home. There are also other linguistic overlaps as well: the term patriotism; the concept of country as family - the fatherland, the motherland. The nation is rooted in family - the nation is a secondary or perhaps even a parallel parental figure. Especially for a college student, to whom home is an idealized space connected to familiarity, memory and self-expression, this is a powerful linkage. Moreover, home

and nation are also blurred through the term and concept of citizen/citizenship. Not all theories of citizenship mention the nation or nation-state and though you can argue that the presence of nation/nation-state is assumed and implicit, you might also claim, as Stuart Hall and David Held have done, that

> the fact that it was not actually mentioned opened the gate for definitions of citizenship that were not only loosely related to the nation-state but that considered the nation-state as only one of the layers of people's citizenship, which could relate also to other political communities, sub-, cross-, or supra-state, such as local, ethnic, religions, regional, and international political communities (quoted in Yuval-Davis 2006: 206)

In this construction, the community/ties of home can be understood also as part of the *citizen-scape*, and further, home and nation might be seen as variant but equal expressions of self-in-the-world.

Both nation and home are also reliant on similar understandings of place and time. Doreen Massey argues that a traditional conception of home as a secure and stable place depends explicitly and implicitly on its juxtaposition with the world outside the home (away):

> Such understandings of the identity of places require them to be enclosures, to have boundaries and - therefore and most importantly - to establish their identity through negative counterposition with the Other beyond the boundaries (Massey, 1994: 169)

The construct of the nation depends on the same understanding - the secure space of nation is only secure and understood when placed alongside the risk and the unknown beyond the borders. Moreover, the longing for belonging also connects nation and home by constructing nation as the community where we belong:

> The boundaries that the politics of belonging is concerned with are the boundaries of the political community of belonging, the boundaries that separate the world population into 'us' and 'them' (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 204)

Through the blurring of nation and home, this longing for belonging becomes also the longing for the idealized notion of home as the space for authentic self-actualization.

Homi Bhabha's discussion of nation as narrative also points to the interweaving of nation and home:

> The scraps, patches and rags of daily life must be repeatedly turned into the signs of a coherent national culture, while the very act of the narrative performance interpellates a growing circle of national subjects (Bhabha, 1999: 215)

The 'scraps, patches and rags of daily life' that signify nation can also be (and often are) the same 'scraps, patches, and rags' that signify home. Thus, through the material homemaking that students

engage in both in the space of the familial home and in the space of the college-university-home, they are actually engaging in both mental homemaking and mental nation-making, without necessarily being aware of any distinction between the two concepts, or even the distinction between the material construction(s) and the mental construction(s).

The conceptualization of home/nation has the potential to be constructed quite differently for bi- and multicultural, immigrant and/or international students; however, we should not assume that a bi-or multinational concept of home and/or nation is any less tyrannical. Since third culture individuals often find themselves existing already in a liminal space of conflicted or complex belonging, it is possible that the further displacement of study abroad will serve to concretize their concept of self/nation/home. A student might cling to hybrid identity as if the hybrid identity itself, when faced with expanded multiplicity, becomes a more fixed and therefore safe space. Further, we should not assume that the very fact of a bi- or multicultural existence presupposes an understanding of the complexity of this existence. For example, a Dominican-American student who immigrated to the U.S. in her childhood might not actually have confronted her cultural hybridity if she has lived most of her life among others who express the same hybridity. For this student, the study abroad experience may be quite similar to that of her American, non-immigrant peer. In the same way, international students studying in the U.S. who then choose to study abroad elsewhere may or may not have, through the experience of living and studying in the USA, succeeded in deconstructing their sense of home or nation. This student simply transitions from being an X national studying away from home in the USA to being an X national studying away from home in another location. For the purposes of this discussion, then, we assume that our typical college or university student, regardless of cultural and/or racial background, relies largely on the same bounded and fixed notions of the nation-home, even if the nation-home is plural.

This stable understanding of world structure is simultaneously threatened/destabilized and supported/reinforced through the Education Abroad experience. One of the core precepts in Benedict Anderson's seminal work *Imagined Communities* is the journey or pilgrimage as a key element in the creation and reinforcement of the construct of the modern nation. The journey is one of the oldest tropes in human literature and oral traditions, appearing as a core narrative structure in mythologies from both East and West. The specific mechanisms of the journey itself provide a foundation for learning. The subject, the traveler, the study abroad student, leaves behind nation and home and ventures into the unfamiliar. He or she boards a plane and flies out of the comfort zone and into the in-between. For the average U.S. student, this excising of the self from home and nation can be deeply unsettling, but also has the potential to be deeply transformative. The movements of the journey create a space for re-imagining, but can also serve

to reify what is already understood. As the study abroad student prepares for departure and then leaves behind friends, family, and the physical limits of home, she is likely to see the journey as a linear progression, the boomerang path of a round-trip plane ticket. The study abroad student ventures into the liminal knowing that the journey actually ends back where it began. Since liminal spaces and contact zones are generally understood as unstable spaces, the defined teleology of the round-trip journey provides students with a safety-net, a narrative that helps them manage the unsettledness of the space away.

There is a similar tension created by the distance between the student and his/her home:

> Acknowledging the complications of 'home' as a constructed concept, Morley writes: 'if home is an inevitably problematic space, still to be without home in a home-centered culture is a traumatic experience' (Silva, 2009: 695)

By extension, to be away from home, is, while not perhaps entirely traumatic, certainly a disorienting experience. Unlike in the space of the college-university home, the living space abroad is rarely marked by material homemaking. Practically speaking, students abroad are extremely restricted in terms of what they bring: it must all fit within one or two suitcases. Moreover, in many residence halls, apartments, and homestays abroad, the rules governing student spaces are quite strict and may include, for example, putting nothing up on the walls. As a result, students abroad are most likely living out of spaces that cannot be easily constructed as home or like-home in any physical sense. This further exacerbates the instability of the study abroad experience and in this newly insecure space, students grasp quite naturally towards fixed understandings of themselves and the world: 'as a rule, the emotional components of people's constructions of themselves and their identities become more central the more threatened and less secure they feel' (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 202). Similarly, applying Bhabha's dual understanding of nation to the education abroad experience reveals the potential for students, when removed from the familiar 'scraps, patches, and rags' that typically construct nation and home, to express their desire for these secure and understood constructs through the performance of the constructs without examination, interpretation or reconstruction. The student's inevitable connection to home via technology becomes a vehicle for this performance. Through technology, the student can express (perhaps even daily) the understanding of home versus away and the defined boundaries that exist between the two. Despite the student's removal from the physical markers of home, the understandings of home and away and their relevant boundaries are reified through the performance of home/away through the use of technology. This is supported by research which suggests that

> study abroad students show a stronger identification with their home culture at the end of a sojourn than they do at the beginning and shows that home culture identity was significantly higher in study abroad students at the end of their sojourn than in matched students who stayed at home (Vande Berg, Paige & Hemming Lou, 2012: 230)

There is then a struggle between the disorienting forces (the journey and the student's distance from home) and the reifying forces (the home that exists at the end of the journey and the desire to perform the missing home). This struggle is magnified and further complicated by the student's relationship to, and with, media and communications networks. Anderson posits that the advent of print technology was an integral factor in the development of nation as category. As the newspaper and the novel emerged as popular modes of communication, they both depended on the assumption that the reader had implicit knowledge through his/her membership in an imagined community. A textual gesture towards a particular value, place or person would be comprehended by the members of this community without a deliberate explanation on the part of the journalist or author. Further, through the act of reading (particularly in the case of the newspaper), the reader was connected to the other members of this imagined community and could understand and depend on their existence, just as he/she would understand and depend on his/her own continued existence within the confines of the imagined community. Thus,

> an American will never meet, or even know the names of more than a handful of his 240,000,000-odd fellow-Americans. He has no idea of what they are up to at any one time. But he has complete confidence in their steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity (Anderson 2006: 26)

In the case of study abroad - laden as it is with not just print technology, but with the contemporary bombardment of media connection through cellphone, Skype, Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, etc. - Anderson's premise is compellingly relevant. In fact, the effect is intensified by the ongoing increase in both the number and variety of texts (meant as broadly as possible), as well as the speed with which these texts are read and answered. Though the study abroad student is literally far from home, she is constantly aware of home: she knows it is there, although she herself is not there. As Thomas Friedman has argued, one of the primary results of modern communications technology is the creation of a 'flat world,' where distances are eclipsed and elided (Friedman, 2005).

The impact of the flat world is further exacerbated by Baudrillard's theory of the hyperreal. According to Baudrillard, the hyperreal is a continuous conflation of the real and imaginary where the imaginary becomes so like the real that it is indistinguishable from the real, and therefore becomes the real. In this sense, the difference between real and imaginary collapses, and the two categories fold in on each other in an endless spiral. Baudrillard argues that we are living in a hyperreal world (Baudrillard, 2001) and many of the technologies our students use to reach across time and space are prime examples of the hyperreal since they encourage or exaggerate the dissolution of boundaries between the real and the imaginary. For example, in a Skype video conversation, how real is the communication that occurs? Is a video that a friend uploads of a party back home a real glimpse of what the student is missing or is it a framed (read: imagined) perspective? Though these same questions might be asked of any human interaction, the

uncertainty is increased in the space of the digital. With the distinctions lost between the real and the imaginary, the latter becomes as important and as valued as the former. In this sense, when our study abroad student connects to home through media, it is more than just a form of communication. In the world of the hyperreal, the study abroad student never leaves home.

While the very act of the journey and the impact of communications media help to reify the imagined communities of nation and home, the field of Education Abroad and professionals and academics, such as ourselves, also bear some responsibility. The language we use to discuss study abroad reinforces these tropes. We speak of a home country and a host country: a home institution and a host institution. We speak to students through pre-departure materials and in orientations about their responsibilities as visitors in another country and we remind them that they carry their nationality with them, that they may be identified as Americans, with all the range of responses that might entail. We might also discuss homesickness or perhaps recommend to students that communicating with a friend or family member back home might be one way to reflect on the study abroad experience. Further, we often speak to students about other countries in monolithic terms, without highlighting the imagined and constructed nature of the nation-state: 'in other words, we encourage our students to accept uncritically and reproduce the nation-state system' (Reilly & Senders, 2009: 251). We are of course well-meaning when we use this type of language, and in many cases we are limited by practical constraints - when writing a program handbook, for example, home and host country are handy differentiations. I do not mean to say that we should immediately eliminate all such language from our daily work; however, we do need to be aware that the words we choose often help to construct the study abroad student's transient role and create a false dichotomy between home and away.

It is worth asking at this point whether there is truly a problem with a stable concept of the home-nation. Even Anderson identifies the continued pre-eminence of the category: 'indeed, nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time' (Anderson, 2006: 3). If this is the case, cannot the study abroad experience be considered a tool or resource that helps students understand where they come from - their roots in the homeland? The problem arises through what we assume about the 'nature' of the modern nation. Anderson again:

> the formal universality of nationality as a socio-cultural concept - in the modern world everyone can, should, will 'have' a nationality as he or she 'has' a gender… (2006: 5)

This suggests that nation is somehow inherent: genetic. We are born into a nationality; we do not choose our nation. Setting aside the fact that gender probably ought not to be considered inherent either, this understanding of nationality and the slippage between nation and home leads to the conclusion that home, too, is an intrinsic element of ourselves, our identities. If this

is true, then we cede control over our sense and definition of home. Home and nation might be imagined communities, but we are not the imaginers.

In this way, not only do home and nation become fixed, but they also take a pre-eminent place in a hierarchy of *our* nation and *our* home among the multitude of other nations and other homes. If nation and home are both innate, then they are both somehow *natural*. If we are born into nation and home, it is altogether too easy to prioritize home over away. Home becomes the exalted diasporic communities: '…in many instances, immigrants pastoralize, immigrants pastoralize a homeland that stays frozen in time - the time that they left it.' (Silva, 2009: 700). The immigrant relies on a nostalgic vision of home as idealized: through the lens of distance, the grass is greener, the complexities smoothed over, forgotten. Even in the shortened temporal distance of the education abroad experience, this simultaneous forgetting and rewriting exerts a powerful influence over the experience of the Other and the space away from home. The binary of home/away takes its place in the pantheon of binaries with home securely in the privileged space and aligned with 'Us', with a sense of belonging; while away waits beyond the borders, unknown, unsettling and with 'Them.'

Our movements throughout the flat world, tethered tightly through technology to the literal and figurative space of home, reify this splitting - the sense of home and away as permanent antonyms. We see the impact of this in some of the research conducted on the AUCP campus:

> After years of intentionally restricting email and Internet use to the computer lab, in spring 2007, we finally gave in to the growing availability of WiFi and allowed students campuswide, at-will connection… Student learning outcomes suffered dramatically as a result (Vande Berg, Paige & Hemming Lou, 2012: 293)

The consequences of this pervasive connection to the virtual objects that signify home is a dampening of the student's ability to reframe his/her perspective. If through the digital, the student is constantly inheriting and performing the home-nation, then the student's view of the host culture will always be influenced and structured by this ultimately ethnocentric attitude. When our students study abroad and venture into the unsettling liminal, it is much easier to rely on prior understandings than to deconstruct and redefine: if home and away are fixed, then the host country is comfortably defined and understood as not-home.

I moved six times between the ages of five and fifteen, and by the time I was packing for college I had a firm conception of myself as a turtle: I used to tell people that I carried home on my back. Now that I work in Education Abroad, I realize that this conception of home and self allowed me to more easily adapt to new environments and integrate aspects of each new place into my personal interpretation of 'home.' In the same way, some students with diverse backgrounds,

extensive travel experiences, or bi- or multicultural families may already have deconstructed home and nation. These students already see home as a fluid space that integrates their own disparate cultural identities. When this is the case, we might seek, as Education Abroad practitioners, to help these students understand their position. How can such a student help empower his/her peers to redefine home by serving as an example of an individual whose home is a constantly evolving hybrid?

To do this, we need to go beyond our current ideas about home and nation. Although Anderson firmly establishes the nation as an imagined community - a community constructed through a variety of shifts and events that occurred through the colonial and postcolonial periods - he never seems to acknowledge that what is imagined, can be re-imagined. The ultimate potential in the view of nation and home as imagined spaces is that they do not need to be fixed, either spatially or conceptually - they are not tied to any particular location or any particular idea. In a world where identities are complex and layered, and global movements increasingly common, more and more people belong to multiple imagined communities and may call more than one nation/city/building home. As Doreen Massey suggests,

> if it is now recognized that people have multiple identities then the same point can be made in relation to places. Moreover, such multiple identities can either be a source of richness or a source of conflict, or both (Massey, 1994: 153)

For international educators, either richness or conflict can serve our aim of learning when students are appropriately guided: it is in the space of the multiplicity, the contact zones between and among identities that learning, and transformation, occurs. If we follow Massey's prescription for a new understanding of place, we must see 'places as processes' (Massey, 1994: 155): imagine what impact this has on home and away, and on nation and identity. If places are processes then home, too, is a process, and as such cannot be neatly packaged, materialized, memorialized, idealized or hierarchized. It can only - and consistently - be de- and reconstructed in a constant cycle of growth and learning.

We must shatter the tyranny of home, exposing home as an imagined space that is specific to the individual and can be carried from place to place and re-imagined in myriad ways. Home then becomes a vehicle for possibility and integrates the Other, the host country, and the cultural elements, habits, and values that resonate for each student. This changed perspective of home allows the individual student to more easily acknowledge a multifaceted understanding of nation as a web of overlapping communities. If we begin at home, we might succeed in disrupting our borders, the divisions that exist between countries and individuals.

PLACE AND IDENTITY

Competing Nationalisms and London's Imperial History: Trafalgar Square and the Postcolonial World

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Competing nationalisms and Trafalgar Square

London's imperial past is overtly reflected in the nineteenth-century imperial design of Trafalgar Square and its surrounding buildings. Those who envisaged the square as a rival to nineteenth-century Paris would have been pleased by how Trafalgar Square continues to stand as a testament to British imperialism (Driver and Gilbert, 1999: 9). New visitors, no matter how unsuspecting or disinterested, will be drawn to the larger-than-life figures of Lord Horatio Nelson atop Nelson's column and the three plinths of George IV, Sir Henry Havelock and Sir Charles Napier even if, as Ken Livingstone notes, the latter three are largely unfamiliar to the visiting public including Livingstone himself by his own admission (Kelso, 2000).

The fading relationship between the former three plinths and the wider public, however, does not erase the hegemonic ideals of British imperialism within the square. Nor does it negate Nelson's pivotal status as he faces Whitehall and the houses of parliament at Westminster. But the public interest sparked by the Fourth Plinth since it became a space for contemporary art projects in 1999, in light of how it was never installed with a permanent figure, is indicative of the highly complex role of Trafalgar Square as a site of national memory ('Fourth Plinth', Greater London Authority, 2013). These debates, especially surrounding the wider role of Trafalgar Square as an urban and political space, form an important backdrop for the following discussion of student responses to Trafalgar Square, anti-colonial nationalisms and a CAPA field study exercise at the Natural History Museum. The latter exhibition focuses on the production of nature images for the East India Company in South Asia during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries ('India collection temporary exhibits', Natural History Museum, 2013).

Much of the furore surrounding the Fourth Plinth has revolved around the choice of art, but a thematic focus has been the relationship between art and contemporary discussions surrounding British nationalism. Indeed, the links between Trafalgar Square as an urban space and Britishness are increasingly being explored. Shanti Sumartojo analyses the Fourth Plinth via Michel Foucault's idea of discourse in which the historical emergence of modern institutions,

and the attendant – but nascent – socio-legal codes, are represented as contested sites of power exchange and knowledge formation (Foucault, 1998):

> The Fourth Plinth shows how a site like Trafalgar Square can be re-imagined, demonstrating its ongoing relevance as a *lieu de mémoire* in which British national identity is made visible, re-created and subtly contested (Sumartojo, 2012: 78)

In utilizing Foucault's concept of discourse, Sumartojo analyses the Fourth Plinth as a dynamic symbol of cultural history and memory which facilitates resistance to dominant historical constructions of British national identity.

Such avid potential to subvert dominant portrayals of British national identity is made visible by the current installation by German artist Katharina Fritsch which was unveiled on 25 July 2013 ('Fourth Plinth', Greater London Authority, 2013). Her piece is a 4.72m high blue domestic cockerel entitled 'Hahn/Cock' and it has already generated some heated debates with Charlotte Higgins describing Fritsch's piece as 'gleefully feminist' (Higgins, 2013). Most exchanges have focused on the double entendres of the installation including the artist herself who has commented on the deliberate mockery of installing a traditionally French icon, a cockerel, at Britain's imperial center: 'it's a nice humorous side-effect to have something French in a place that celebrates victory over Napoleon' ('Giant French rooster ruffles London feathers', France 24, 2013). The humorous tone of Fritsch's piece has clearly hit home with the British and French media, including the current mayor of London, Boris Johnson, but some onlookers have vociferously objected to the appropriateness of the piece though these have so far been ignored ('Blue Cockerel takes roost on Fourth Plinth', BBC News, 2013).

The contradictory function of an urban space which ostensibly celebrates British imperialism but which also allows for expressions of dissent - though carefully controlled dissent as suggested by the strategic support of the current and previous mayors - has been a characteristic of Trafalgar Square since its planning stages (Schneer, 1999: 22). But, on a broader level, heterogeneous interpretations of Trafalgar Square mirror how the European colonial empires were, as Alan Lester notes, never unified by a single goal:

> [The] emergence [of modern European colonialism] by the late nineteenth century was the product of geographical contingency, rival state deliberations, and warfare and a proliferation of different colonial agendas as Europeans realized the different opportunities that diverse colonial spaces provided, for example, for material gain, enhanced family security, escapes from the constraints of European gender and sexual mores, the acquisition of scientific knowledge, new careers, or Christian prosleytization (Lester, 2009: 176)

Competing interpretations of the square have repeatedly arisen in class field studies and rather than focusing exclusively on the diverse agendas of British imperialism, or expressions of dissent, I want to focus on more low key, but no less central, aspects: the links that the square

exhibits with non-British nationalisms and identities, especially the emergence of anti-colonial nationalisms during the high point of nineteenth-century British imperialism, and student responses to suggested connections between anti-colonial nationalisms and Trafalgar Square. As Partha Chaterjee notes, anti-colonial nationalisms, such as those which emerged in late nineteenth-century Bengal, are directly related to British imperialism (Chaterjee, 1994: 217). Though for most visitors these nationalisms are rarely the primary focus, the connections with Britain's former colonies, and its current Commonwealth, are written into its overt nineteenth-century imperial vision: the square is flanked by South Africa House, Canada House and Uganda House. India House, where the Indian High Commission is located, is also nearby on the Strand (Schubert and Sutcliffe, 1996).

For some invested in the idea of the British 'nation', there is a contradiction between the idea of the British 'nation' and the British empire but as Wellings has shown, the emergence of the British 'nation' went hand-in-hand with the expansion of empire both inside and outside of Europe from the eighteenth century onwards and Trafalgar Square is a firm articulation of this in London's urban context (Wellings, 2002). Moreover, Paul Gilroy, a British cultural studies critic, notes that the hegemonic patterns of imperialism continue to inform contemporary British nationalisms via narrow and deterministic ideas of ethnicity, gender, sexuality and class in popular representations of British nationalism (Gilroy, 2002). Crucially, these anxieties are predominantly linked to urban spaces, such as London, which, as Panikos Panayi notes, has a long and complex pattern of migration both pre- and post- World War Two (Panayi, 2007). Though most of Gilroy's critiques focus on British nationalism in the 1970s and 1980s, debates surrounding who does and does not count as British are major contemporary themes in British, and wider European, media - especially the portrayal of immigration as a supposed 'threat' (Buonfino, 2004). Panayi also notes how immigration has been a popular source of anxiety in British political and media discourses since the nineteenth century and it is no coincidence that this same century, particularly the latter part, is referred to as the highest point of European colonialism (2007).

Alongside student responses to Trafalgar Square, I will also discuss some student responses to a field study exercise at an exhibition at the Natural History Museum (NHM) which runs until the end of February 2014 and which focuses on the production of nature images by and for the East India Company in the broader South Asian context during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries ('India collection temporary exhibits', Natural History Museum, 2013). The exhibition includes visual images produced by Indian artists who were commissioned by the East India Company, discussions of the emergence of botanical gardens as sites of colonial experiments and knowledge exchange, and an artistic response to the East India Company's repertoire of

images by the contemporary Indian artist Sunoj D. I recommend the exhibition to my students as a co-topic alongside Trafalgar Square for potential field study papers because of the significant presence of the British Empire for both site visits, especially the complex portrayal of the East India Company as an agent of the British Empire in the NHM exhibition. Though one student has described the exhibition as simply 'a bunch of pots', other students have incorporated it as a case study which illustrates the complex links between the British Empire, colonial knowledge production in South Asia and the relationship between the colonial center and the periphery. The latter is discussed by Lambert and Lester as a central characteristic in the formation of global imperial networks from the eighteenth century onwards and this dynamic relationship is evident in the broader link between colonialism and anti-colonial nationalisms in Trafalgar Square which I will discuss in due course (Lambert and Lester, 2004).

Colonial and anti-colonial nationalism in Trafalgar Square and beyond

Benedict Anderson's conceptualization of the 'nation' as 'an imagined political community' is useful for initiating critical analyses of nationalism (Anderson, 1991: 6). Key to the workings of Anderson's 'nation' is that it is imagined as separate from other nations and that a sense of belonging to a respective 'nation' is imbibed via quotidian tasks, such as newspapers, national anthems and daily exposure to national symbols. Turning to Trafalgar Square, the symbolic depictions of Lord Nelson's military conquests over France in the reliefs on the side of the column, and the direct reference on Sir Henry Havelock's plinth to his 'success' during the 1857 Indian Mutiny, are examples of how the British 'nation' is imagined via the idea of unity as shared difference. Britishness, in other words, is cast as simultaneously not French and not Indian. Indeed, the instrumental role of empire in maintaining the distinction between Britishness and Indianness is articulated by Edward Said's idea of cultural imperialism in his book *Orientalism* (Said, 1976). In this classic text, Said analyzes how European imperial cultures systematically represented themselves as culturally superior to those of colonized nations and peoples from at least the late eighteenth century and, for Said, ideas of cultural superiority are central to the wider socio-economic, ideological and political impetus of empire.

In considering Said's idea of cultural imperialism alongside Trafalgar Square, it is evident that military victories are underwritten as symbolic victories for the British 'nation', and by the idea of the British Empire. This is wistfully seen in the grandeur associated with military conquest and British national pride as individual people's actions are imbued with symbolic, larger-than-life, dimension(s) and national pride is heavily invested in imperialism. Indeed, the urban site of Trafalgar Square is particularly important for the inculcation of this nationalism because, as Shanti Sumartojo notes, 'urban space plays an important role in the ongoing construction of

national identity' (Sumartojo, 2009: 410). One need only witness any recent national events such as the Olympics and Margaret Thatcher's funeral procession on the way to St Paul's to see how centrally the square is tied to 'official' British nationalism. However, the critic Fintan O'Toole discusses the unique problems of popular public support for British figures, such the Queen during her 2002 Golden Jubilee, where he suggests that public support when it is presented as a neutral celebration is dangerously inward and shuts down comparative discussions with the role of public support in ex-colonies such as the Republic of Ireland (O'Toole, 2002).

Moreover, though Anderson's work has fostered extensive discussion surrounding nationalism as a socio-historical process, and building on O'Toole's critiques, there are paradoxical and, at times, painful links between the conditions of colonialism, British nationalism and anti-colonial nationalisms. Critiques of Anderson by postcolonial critics, such as Partha Chaterjee, have pinpointed that studies which aim to map a general theory of nationalism are markedly Eurocentric and sidestep the imperial context from which European nationalisms emerged (Chaterjee, 1994). For example, Chaterjee pinpoints the unique relationship between nationalism and South Asian cultures and offers a rejoinder by proposing that though late nineteenth-century South Asian nationalisms would have reflected the modes and power structures of European nationalisms at that time, they would not have been complete carbon copies:

> By my reading, anti-colonial nationalism creates its own domain of sovereignty within colonial society well before it begins its political battle with the imperial power. It does this by dividing the world of social institutions and practices into two domains – the material and the spiritual... The colonial state, in other words, is kept out of the 'inner' domain of national culture; but it is not as though this so-called spiritual domain is left unchanged. In fact, here nationalism launches its most powerful, creative, and historically significant project: to fashion a 'modern' national culture that is nevertheless not Western (Chaterjee, 1994: 217)

Similar arguments have been made about anti-colonial African nationalisms, Irish nationalisms and Caribbean nationalisms as noted by Silvestri (2000). Though critiques have also been made of anti-colonial nationalisms since at least the late nineteenth century, not to mention recent debates surrounding Nelson Mandela's legacy for post-apartheid South Africa, the tendency largely to present nationalism from the perspective of ex-colonial powers has over-simplified the discussion of the links between colonialism and nationalism, especially the ways in which this dynamic affects anti-colonial nationalisms (Smith, 2014). Thus, the remainder of this paper focuses on the links between empire, British nationalism and non-British nationalisms made by my students during field studies in Trafalgar Square and in some students' field study papers.

Field study exercises and student responses to Trafalgar Square and Indian art works exhibition at the Natural History Museum

One of my class field studies involves a short survey of Trafalgar Square and its immediate surrounding area. I usually divide my students up into groups of three or four and I set them a self-guided group exercise where they need to map the square as imperial architects. I set five questions and the group who manage to capture the aims of the original architects of Trafalgar Square in the most convincing detail, win a mini-competition I set for them. The competitive spirit usually spurs the groups to work collaboratively, but I also give them a detailed map and they have been asked beforehand to consider specific questions in relation to Trafalgar Square and urban space as well as some background reading on the historical development of the square itself.

I lead students into the group exercise by giving a brief talk on the importance of nationalism for the square and surrounding area and especially how this is linked to Trafalgar Square's nature as a public and political space. The latter idea has been brought home vividly for my students on several occasions due to the presence of political protesters amongst the general throng of tourists in the square. Relatively recent protests include one against the Turkish government in June 2013; and some students voiced express disappointment about the lack of vocal political protest in Trafalgar Square during the television coverage of Margaret Thatcher's funeral procession in April 2013!

Some students do not immediately connect ideas of empire to ideas of British nationalism in Trafalgar Square and a few struggle to make any such link. However, one question in particular generates some thought provoking responses: 'what connections does Trafalgar Square have with nineteenth-, twentieth- and twenty-first century anti-colonial nationalisms?' Some students notice Canada and South Africa House to the east and west margins of the square, but others venture further and find Uganda House for example. In the summer of 2013, students witnessed protests against the Indian government by British Sikhs outside the India High Commission on the Strand. However, some actively utilize their own understandings of nationalism to read the wider Trafalgar Square area and this has worked particularly well with the links I asked them to consider between Dublin and London, specifically Parnell Square in central Dublin, which used to feature a similar structure to Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square, but which was called Nelson's Pillar. The latter structure was blown up by former members of the IRA in 1966. The exact reasons why the pillar was destroyed were never firmly established, but some people point to the fiftieth anniversary of the Irish Easter Rising in 1916 as a major factor, together with the general lack of support for the pillar's initial erection in 1806 (Higgins, 2007).

I want to focus on three of my students' shorthand responses to the question about links between Trafalgar Square and anti-colonial nationalisms. The first group answered that they could see definite links due to the physical proximity of South Africa House to Trafalgar Square via the 'similar architecture' and 'symmetry' of the wider area which in their words symbolized that the 'British empire is more than Britain'. Such responses are quite common in this field study, although this particular group was not able to articulate what the essential objectives of an imperial architect would actually be for Trafalgar Square. In other words, the group did not comment directly on the explicit reasons why the square is laid out the way that it is.

The second group, from a different field study, commented on similar aspects such as 'imperial architecture', and 'colonies' but they also mentioned how the square, in being flanked by South Africa House and Canada House (which I remind students were two of the most important settler colonies for the late nineteenth-century British Empire) offers a 'vision of unity'. This latter response is particularly interesting for my reflections on experiential approaches to Trafalgar Square, as though students generally tend to agree that the square itself - and its self-conscious referencing of Roman and Greek architecture - have something to do with a desire to project a link between Britishness and empire, the specific links and connections with anti-colonial nationalisms in the late nineteenth century rarely emerge unless I directly ask students to think of specific case studies, such as Dublin. Significantly, most students tend readily to be able to see the link between anti-colonial nationalism, Trafalgar Square and the 1966 destruction of Nelson's Pillar in Dublin (Higgins, 2007). I think this is most probably because of the historical link between violence and anti-colonial nationalism in Irish history, especially via the salient presence of the IRA both inside and outside Ireland and Great Britain. Indeed, Robert Young comments on the particular role of violence in Ireland's history more generally, comparing this explicitly to the violent process of decolonization in Algeria (2001: 293-307). Thus, students tend to be fairly familiar with nationalisms that can be read as opposing British nationalism.

Moreover, the involvement of the U.S. in the Northern Ireland peace process is most certainly a connection with which some of my students are familiar, especially via the role of Bill Clinton's administration and George J. Mitchell. President Barack Obama's references to contemporary Northern Ireland as a 'blueprint to follow' at the G8 Summit in June 2013, also signify the global debates which link Ireland, the U.S. and Britain (McDonald, 2013). But one must not ignore the calculated nature of Obama's intervention here, especially in his suggestion that the Northern Irish peace process is something on which both Democrats and Republicans can agree, as this does negate a whole range of both U.S.-specific and wider global debates surrounding the 'success' of the Northern Ireland peace process. A detailed assessment of Obama's

presidency is outside the remit of this paper, although his visit to Ireland in 2011 - and the ramifications of this, as noted by Horschfield and Weaver (2010) – are relevant for any consideration of multicultural and multiracial histories in Ireland, the U.K. and the U.S.

The third group, from the same field study as the first, came with more of a dedicated interest in Trafalgar Square and the British Empire. This group responded to the question by linking the architecture of the square, echoing the previous two groups, with the expansion of the British Empire during the nineteenth century. In shorthand, this was noted as 'increasing size of empire', and 'more territories outside of Europe; e.g. India'. At least two students in this group wrote a paper on Trafalgar Square and the NHM exhibition, and thus they had richer background knowledge than other students. I will briefly mention some of the connections from their papers below.

One student chose to focus on the institutional role of Trafalgar Square and the exhibition at the Natural History Museum as sites of the construction of Britishness. The main link I found intriguing in this paper was how the student considered the multifaceted role of the British Empire through the analysis of these different urban sites. For example, they contrasted the 'masculine imperialism' of Trafalgar Square with the 'surprising place' of the Indian exhibition at the Natural History museum ('Paper A', 2013). In terms of the latter, students particularly focused on the lack of explicit reference to the experience of empire in colonies such as India and the ways in which some aspects of imperial history, such as the reasons why the East India Company came to be in India in the first place, were notably muted.

Another student chose to focus on how Trafalgar Square itself, as an outside space, contrasts with the experience of the Indian art works exhibition in an indoor space at the NHM - and specifically how this affected their perception of the surviving history of imperialism in London. A primary focus in this paper was how British imperialism and the British Empire are represented in sometimes contradictory ways throughout London. For example, the student noted how the 'size of Trafalgar Square inspires awe' whereas the exhibition in the NHM 'is very contained though educational' ('Paper B', 2013).

Conclusion

In considering these written responses alongside the students' initial responses to fieldwork in Trafalgar Square, it is apparent that the memory of the British Empire, and its relationship to nationalism, is both ever-present and contradictory. Moreover, this is especially salient for examining the complex relationship amongst colonialism, anti-colonial nationalisms and the urban landscape of London itself – a city which was historically the center of the largest modern

European empire, but which now exists in a postcolonial global order in which empire is institutionally ingrained in, for example, its education institutions and urban spaces, though the latter, as indicated by Sumartojo and Fritsch, are in no way sacrosanct. Thus, whilst my field study exercises are deliberately designed to engage students in reading the competing nationalisms of Trafalgar Square, these exercises are pitched in relation to a long, and sometimes paradoxical relationship between the colonial metropole and the colonial periphery. Although many scholars (especially new imperial historians) have disputed the idea of the metropole and the periphery as being directly opposed, the display of British imperialism at sites such as Trafalgar Square and the NHM operates as a highly ambiguous reference to the past. At the same time, as the critical analysis of both case studies demonstrates, such representations exhibit a direct, and complex, relationship with historical and contemporary anti-colonial nationalisms (Kennedy 1996).

We'll Always Have Paris?
Architecture, Class and Identity in Buenos Aires

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Many know Buenos Aires as the Paris of the South. Through the lens of architectural history, this paper looks to the physical environment of the Argentine capital and asks: how can this comparison between Buenos Aires and Paris be helpful to visitors, especially students studying abroad, in understanding the manners in which this city, and its nation, constructs its identity? Through the formal and comparative analyses of a single case study - a small, low-cost housing cooperative in the barrio of San Telmo - this paper argues that rather than pointing toward a general affinity for the French capital alone, the city's moniker is indicative of a broader, yet distinctive sense of cosmopolitanism that is at once particular to the architectural identity of Buenos Aires, and characteristic of its population.

Resulting from field and archival research undertaken between 2008 and 2010, this study first situates the cooperative within the physical landscape of the city, and analyzes its current organizational structure and architectural transformation. This study then turns to compare the cooperative with two antecedent building types, both local forms of tenements from around the turn of the twentieth century. This comparative analysis illustrates how this cooperative's - and arguably this city's - identities have been woven by memories of social, economic, political, and cultural changes throughout their history. To conclude, this paper asserts how the methods undertaken throughout this case study can serve to further enrich the study abroad agenda, providing examples of fruitful ways in which students' learning experiences can be enriched through case studies in architectural history.

After a leisurely stroll down the Avenida de Mayo - the iconic route linking the seat of Argentina's executive branch, the Casa Rosada, to the home of its national congress - any visitor to Buenos Aires can see how this city has come to be known as the Paris of the South. This broad avenue is elegantly lined with trees. Its buildings are capped by mansard roofs and richly ornamented with those undulating art nouveau details that recall Paris at the end of the nineteenth century. Street-side cafés buzz with visitors and locals alike. They are all there as much for the refreshments as they are for the spectacle of the street.

If considered from the vantage of Avenida de Mayo alone, the comparison between these two great world cities would be truly uncanny. Yet, anyone who ventures beyond this broad

thoroughfare encounters a far richer assortment of architectural forms. Just to the south rests the barrio of San Telmo: this neighborhood once housed steel factories and shipping yards, along with thousands of European immigrants during Argentina's industrial revolution - when the Avenida de Mayo itself was constructed. Today, San Telmo retains its old cobble-stone streets, and many of its older building forms - including *conventillos* (tenements) and *casas chorizo* (sausage houses) - but has more recently transformed into a place of residence for many *porteños* (a colloquial reference to Buenos Aires residents), as well as a major hub for Buenos Aires tourism.

Within San Telmo stands the case study for this investigation: Cooperative Perú. At first glance, it is a curious, narrow building with a minimalist façade. Named for the road on which it is situated, this building's residents, designers and builders are a group of families that together constitute a housing cooperative. These families gained ownership of this building through the guidance and support of a small non-governmental organization, the *Movimiento de Ocupantes e Inquilinos* (MOI, Movement of Occupiers and Tenants). Aside from its organizational support of the group, MOI additionally provided the families with consultations with professional architects and builders, who guided the families through the collective processes of designing and constructing the adaptive re-use of the old, formerly derelict *casa chorizo.*

Cooperative Perú was founded in 1994 by a group of families illegally occupying the narrow building on Avenida Perú. The home enjoys a central location, with subway and bus stations within walking distance, and is just blocks away from two of the city's most frequented tourist attractions, the Plaza de Mayo and Plaza Dorrego. Nestled between an old high school and a parking garage, the aging building stood abandoned for years, occupied illegally by a population of more than twenty families. The story of what the building at Avenida Perú 770 was like before becoming a MOI cooperative was best told by Leonore, a single mother and the president of the cooperative, who recounted her story within MOI's self-titled publication:

> *Vine con Leila, mi hija. Paramos en la casa de mi amiga, pero era una situación muy rara: no teníamos ni agua, ni luz y no había puertas. Ella me decía que no hable con nadie, que siempre siga directo para casa, algo pasaba pero no llegaba a darme cuenta qué… Se vivían abusos por parte de un ocupante que tomaba el rol de dueño del lugar, les alquilaba habitaciones a familias necesitadas y los hacinaba. Las mujeres del edificio estaban cansadas de esa situación.*
>
> (Rodríguez and Barbagallo, 2007)

> [I came to Buenos Aires with Leila, my daughter. We stayed in a friend's place (within the building on Avenida Perú), but the situation there was pretty weird. We didn't have water, gas or doors. She told me never to speak with anyone, to always go straight home, something was going on, but I didn't realize just what… The people living in this house were all living with the abuses of another squatter who had taken on the role of landlord of the place. He rented out rooms to families in need and he just packed them all together like sardines. The mothers of the house were getting tired of the situation.]

Leonore came to Buenos Aires in 1987 from Salta, a province in northern Argentina. By 1994, she and the other mothers had heard of MOI and the work they had done at Cooperative La Unión, the NGO's first housing initiative, located just a few blocks away. Several times Leonore approached architect Nestór Jeifetz, now MOI President, but the architect did not agree to help the group until late that year after the police arrived at the location of the squat with an eviction notice that revealed the identity of the owners of the property: the City of Buenos Aires.

With their first Cooperative - La Unión - Jeifetz and the other MOI advisors had learned how to negotiate the necessary bureaucratic avenues to purchase property from the national government. With Cooperative Perú, they would have to navigate how to do the same from the city. After three years of negotiations, the cooperative succeeded and the City of Buenos Aires sold the property to the collective at a price of AR$105,000, with a 10% down payment from the cooperative. Aside from being a personal triumph for individual families, this sale was an important precedent for the city as it was the first sale of a government-owned building to a group that had previously occupied the same property illegally.

At the site of Cooperative Perú, MOI advisors, including architect and University of Buenos Aires professor José Barbagallo - who is now in charge of overseeing the design and construction activities at the site - found a late nineteenth-century tenement in decay. Like all *casas chorizo*, the building stands on a long, narrow lot that measures 7.5 meters wide by sixty meters long. The house had a ground floor and one upper floor, both with six-meter-tall ceilings. The space was then very dark and very narrow with no windows or skylights to provide natural light to the ground floor, and only a few small patios open to the sky on the first floor. An extremely cramped corridor linked the rooms along a lateral axis, with portals to the street at either end.

During an interview in 2009, Barbagallo explained that MOI's design intervention at the site of Cooperative Perú was focused on two goals. Firstly, the group wanted to open up as much of the cooperative as possible to natural light and air. Secondly, they wanted to make changes to the building that would make the space more comfortable, more livable, and importantly, more conducive to community development within the cooperative and in relation to its neighbors.

To open the building to light and air, the group decided to widen the passageway that links the apartments by opening the ceiling above. This forced a decrease in the size of living spaces, a problem that was solved with the addition of mezzanine floors within each individual apartment. Along the widened corridors, MOI also decided to broaden patio spaces to allow for more light, as well as to give families a place to dry laundry and grow plants.

While these small patios punctuate the corridor with light and fresh air, they are not large enough to serve as communal spaces for large gatherings. Therefore to achieve their second goal, the group was keen to include spaces where cooperative members and neighbors could intermingle. On the rooftop, the cooperative built a terrace, which provides a space for children to play, neighbors to visit, a venue for the all-important *asado* (a weekly family barbecue traditionally held on Sunday afternoons). On the first floor, a multi-use salon was built and equipped with bulletin boards, a computer and other office supplies. Completed in 1998, the salon was the first finished room in the building, illustrating that community construction truly was the first, foundational step for Cooperative Perú. After construction finished in May 2011, Cooperative Perú now houses eleven member families within eleven newly renovated, split-level apartments.

Built from the skeleton of a century-old tenement, Cooperative Perú shares more with its antecedent than physical structure. In fact, this building (and those who have transformed it) occupies an interesting place within the discourse of low-cost housing production in Buenos Aires. A comparison of this cooperative with previous examples of other housing types effectively reveals how architecture and design illustrate the ways in which identity across economic classes in Buenos Aires is woven by memories of significant economic, political and social shifts throughout the city's history.

Two of the earliest types of low-cost housing in Buenos Aires were the *conventillo* and the *casa chorizo* (Leandri, 2001).[4] In articles published on their website, and within self-published texts, MOI asserts that not only do this organization's cooperatives deliberately bear formal elements in common with these early housing types, but also MOI cooperatives share a spirit of cooperation and cohabitation with these earliest examples (Rodríguez and Barbagallo, 2007: 31-49). Upon further investigation, however, the differences between Cooperative Perú and these earliest examples of low-cost housing reveal the manners in which the city's social, political and urban landscapes have changed over time. Furthermore, in its selective revision of the *casa chorizo*, Cooperative Perú is evidence of an important shift in the identity of the poor populations in Buenos Aires.

The *conventillo* and the *casa chorizo* were multi-family, low-cost housing types that simultaneously appeared in the southern barrios of Buenos Aires at the end of the nineteenth century. Reflective of its name, the *casa chorizo* is a long, narrow dwelling, defined as a series

[4] The *conventillo* and *casa chorizo* were certainly not the only types of low-cost housing in Buenos Aires throughout this period. Other options included: hotels or boarding houses, some lived within the factories where they worked, maids' quarters in the homes of elites, as well as a variety of self-made houses. The *conventillo* and the *casa chorizo* have been selected for analysis here for the symbolic value which they have accrued over time, which has led MOI to reference these structures within the construction of their cooperatives (for more on early twentieth-century low-cost housing alternatives, see Leandri, 2001: 201–38).

of rooms in a row, which open up to a lateral patio. Within this housing type, families rented a single room, and shared toilet facilities (typically an outhouse located behind the main building structure). Within that single room, or series of small rooms, families conducted virtually all other daily activities.

By contrast, *conventillos* are multifamily dwellings with groups of rented rooms distributed around a central patio (Scobie, 1974). As with the *casa chorizo*, outhouse facilities were located behind the main building structure, and were not supplied with running water, whilst families (or groups thereof) performed all daily activities in the space of their shared, often cramped room. Unlike the *casa chorizo*, which were purpose-built into narrow, empty lots within the already cramped urban fabric of southern Buenos Aires, the *conventillos* were originally built as the grandiose homes of *porteño* elite. Since most of these residences were originally built by those families who first settled in Buenos Aires after immigrating from Spain or Italy during or directly following the Spanish colonial administration of Argentina, most *conventillos* share important similarities to vernacular forms of southern European architecture (Oliver, 1997). In fact, these residential forms, with their open courtyard and central water collection cistern, can be compared to residential types as old as the *Roman Domus*. The appearance of this architectural form in Buenos Aires is sensible, as this housing type is suitable to the climates of the Mediterranean, an environment not unlike that along the Rio de la Plata.

When first built, these mid-nineteenth-century homes were located at the heart of Buenos Aires's commercial center, the southern *barrios* of La Boca and San Telmo (Scobie, 1974). Near Buenos Aires's original commercial port, this location was then the hub of Buenos Aires meat and grain export and the first point of entry for immigrants and imported goods. In 1867, and then again in 1871, Buenos Aires experienced two yellow fever epidemics centralized in these southern *barrios* (Liernur and Silvestri, 1993) which drove the affluent families that formerly inhabited this zone to flee to higher ground in the northern neighborhoods of Barrio Norte and Recoleta. There, the families escaped the frequent seasonal flooding that catalyzed the spread of disease, and built even grander new residences in these *barrios* often in the French style which also characterizes Buenos Aires's major boulevards, like the Avenida de Mayo. Today, these northern zones - and their grand homes - remain the home of *porteño* elites. Those families with the financial wherewithal were those to relocate, leaving those without behind in the south. This movement served to geographically segregate the population of Buenos Aires according to economic class. Over a century later, Buenos Aires remains a city geographically divided along these same socio-economic lines.

The late nineteenth-century disappearance of affluent populations from this southern zone of of the city additionally opened up the opportunity for large industrial enterprises to settle and

further expand their facilities. During the 1870s, this part of the city witnessed significant shifts in its urban composition due to two important appearances: the railroad and the steel industry (Frank, 2006). Between 1870 and 1914, the British Empire financed railroad lines that ran throughout Argentina's interior. As the new locus of industrial activity, these southern *barrios* were the ideal location for the termination point for these railroads. With the appearance of the railroad, which facilitated further growth of the Argentine meat and grain export industry, came greater national wealth.

The most significant of the industries to be built in this region was the steel industry. Originally founded to provide the materials needed to create the railway lines and bridges throughout the country, the steel industry in Argentina was the only one of its kind in South America until decades later. This industry grew quickly, as it was not only responsible for supplying the materials for construction of railways in Argentina, but throughout the continent.

With industrialization, and the subsequent economic boom, came more than four million immigrants from European countries (primarily Italy, Spain and Germany), 60% of whom settled immediately in Buenos Aires (Aboy, 2004: 494). With this mass immigration, the population of Buenos Aires doubled, and then tripled between the years 1880 and 1914 (Torrado, 2003). Most of these immigrants settled in southern Buenos Aires, in barrios including San Telmo and La Boca. Francis Korn has shown that between these years, twenty-five percent of the city's population was living in the *conventillos* and *casas chorizo* (Korn, 1974; 2004).

Within a city that was geographically segregated according to economic status, a visible boundary line was drawn between the upper and working classes in the north and south, respectively: comparative differences between the homes of different classes could not have been more apparent. Affluent families living in the north owned single-family, detached homes, often styled after French models, with individual dormitories, separate kitchens and service facilities, equipped with newly-installed running water. The working-class immigrants in the south, however, rented rooms in overcrowded, multifamily dwellings with rooms that simultaneously served as the spaces for sleep, food preparation, dining, entertaining, intimacy and personal hygiene.

The crowded and unhygienic living conditions within the multi-family *conventillos* and *casas chorizo*, along with the seasonal floods that inundated this southern region, exacerbated continued outbreaks of disease following those yellow fever epidemics in 1867 and 1871 (Liernur and Silvestri, 2003). Yellow fever is a disease spread by mosquitoes; although mosquito-borne diseases such as yellow fever were less common in Buenos Aires due to

cooler climatic conditions, ships carrying immigrants from Europe always stopped in Brazil where the disease was much more prevalent. Immigrants who contracted yellow fever on their way to Argentina arrived five days later, just when they were beginning to show symptoms of the disease.

The immigrants arrived and typically found housing in tenements. Medical professionals in the nineteenth century had not yet learned of the correlation between yellow fever and mosquitoes. As a result, measures were not taken to prevent and contain the disease. Within the *conventillos*, large uncovered cisterns in central courtyards collected rain water for use in wash basins and in food preparation. The exposed standing water in the cisterns (and the low-lying marshes that lined the southern *barrios*) provided breeding grounds for mosquitoes during the warm summer months and thus the impetus for the spread of the disease. In 1871, the National Medical Authority reported more than 16,000 deaths due to yellow fever, over 6,000 of which were amongst Italian immigrants (Lierner and Silvestri, 1993).

Yellow fever was not the only disease to trouble the tenement dwellers. Tuberculosis remained a threat throughout the turn of the twentieth century. Since tuberculosis is spread by inhaling droplets from an infected person, the crowding of the *conventillos* and *casas chorizo* further exacerbated the spread of this disease. That the majority of those infected with diseases such as yellow fever and tuberculosis were immigrants, living in crowded tenements without running water in the southern, poor and working-class parts of the city, helped to further delineate class contrasts in Buenos Aires.

Given the city's insufficient hospital facilities and hygiene programs, this threat of disease was a source of public unrest, and consequently, a platform for political action. In his book, *Buenos Aires, From Plaza to Suburb* (1974), James Scobie described how the conditions of tenement dwelling provided impetus for social activism. For instance, the poor populations living within the tenements founded labor unions in the 1880s to protest long working hours and insufficient wages. By 1905, union members established new housing organizations to draw public attention to rents that continued to increase - whilst crowding and living conditions continued to worsen. Organizations including the *Liga de inquilinos* (League of Tenants) and the *Liga contra alquileres e impuestos* (League Against Rents and Taxes) worked to encourage local newspapers, including *La Protesta*, to publish stories about the tenements for the general public. In 1906, a federal committee was formed to mediate the demands of the new housing organizations and landlords. The conflict culminated in the Rent Strikes of 1907, which resulted in violent demonstrations and the eventual eviction of hundreds of tenants.

These collective protests were carried out on the public stage (Yujnowski, 1983; Baer, 1993).

Although largely unsuccessful, the consequent formulation of social activist organizations served to galvanize tenement populations. According to Yujnowski, this social activism served to foster a sense of collective identity amongst tenement dwellers, defining this group not only as residents or factory workers, but as consumers (1983). Since populations infected with diseases such as yellow fever were concentrated within southern Buenos Aires, and since public efforts to improve living conditions had failed, the perceived identity of those tenement dwellers and the self-constructed identity emerging from within the tenements themselves were at odds.

All of the following conditions contributed to the construction of a distinct identity for the working poor living in southern Buenos Aires: the architectural composition of the *conventillos* and *casas chorizo*; changes in the buildings' usage; changes in population demographics; and shifts in the use of public urban space. The contrast between the residences located in the north of the city and the architectural forms of low-cost housing in southern Buenos Aires reinforced the perceived identity of the working class as poor, unhygienic foreigners who did not own their own homes (Leandri, 2001: 201-38).

Within the *conventillos* and *casas chorizo*, however, the conditions inherited from these architectural forms lent themselves to other important cultural developments, which helped to construct alternative cultural identities for the working poor. Multicultural immigration from Italy, Spain and Germany created the conditions for the hybrid dialect of Lunfardo[5] in the multi-family dwellings of the southern city. The *conventillos'* open courtyards became a locus for communal activity for parents and children alike, and were the birthplace of today's tango (Taylor, 1998; Thompson, 2005). Like Lunfardo, tango is the musical confluence of these immigrant cultures: Spanish flamenco, African percussion, and Italian tarantella. These courtyards were also the crucible for early discussions regarding growing anxiety and anger over working conditions and rent increases. From these courtyard conversations were born Argentina's (and South America's) first labor unions (Frank, 2006; Scobie, 1974). Although at the time Lunfardo, tango and labor unions all represented the social inequalities of Buenos Aires, these cultural developments have since become iconic of Argentina, and specifically *porteño* culture, on the world stage.

It is the combination of labor, sacrifice, and creativity that they represent which is now a source of pride for all *porteños*. MOI embraces this legacy of the *conventillos*, and openly recognizes that this earliest form of low-cost housing has influenced both the architectural form itself and the social sentiment behind its construction (Rodríguez and Barbagallo, 2007). The consistent inclusion of a central courtyard in its cooperatives - with the exception of Cooperative Perú,

[5] A synthesis of Yiddish, Italian and Spanish that is the dialect spoken in Buenos Aires today (Terrugi, 1974)

which has exchanged the central courtyard for a rooftop terrace and expanded internal patios to accommodate its long, narrow footprint - is the strongest architectural evidence of this legacy. Likewise, its appropriation and adaptive reuse of existing structures is another important parallel, marking the necessity to conserve both financial and physical resources. Most of all, however, MOI's model for multifamily dwelling and its spirit of cooperation can been attributed directly to this oldest of antecedents.

Further comparisons between MOI cooperatives and these earliest examples of low-cost housing can be made by placing these housing types within their historical locations in the urban fabric of Buenos Aires. Today, Buenos Aires remains geographically-divided according to economic class. As at the turn of the twentieth century, the Avenida de Mayo (the monumental boulevard that connects the Casa Rosada and Congreso) marks the class divide in the contemporary city. Just a few blocks south of the Plaza de Mayo in the *barrio* of San Telmo, Cooperative Perú has become a valuable part of its working class community. By integrating architectural forms adopted and adapted from immigrant cultures with other forms to accommodate the cultural practices and preferences of its inhabitants, Cooperative Perú is exemplary of the distinctive qualities of the type of cosmopolitanism that is still characteristic of Buenos Aires, the 'Paris of the South'.

The key difference between these historical moments, however, is that the turn of the twentieth century was a moment of rapid industrial growth, while recent decades have witnessed equally rapid de-industrialization. Cooperative Perú is not a tenement, and MOI has not simply refurbished the old *casa chorizo* or restaged historical lifestyles for its inhabitants. For example, rather than providing individual rooms for families to share and conduct all daily activities, MOI has built eleven apartments, each with either one, two or three bedrooms, with separate spaces for hygiene, entertaining and intimacy. Unlike the original tenements, these apartments are fully equipped with bathrooms, kitchens and living space. Further formal comparisons between the new cooperative and other examples of low-cost housing in the region - for instance, government-sponsored housing built in the late 1940s and early 1950s, or the peripheral *villas miserias* (informal settlements) - provide students, educators and researchers with additional opportunities to better sharpen an understanding of how the construction of these new cooperatives illustrate the re-shaping of identities for the city and its inhabitants in the context of more recent political and economic shifts.

By noting the close geographical proximity of Cooperative Perú to the more Parisian Avenida de Mayo, this study exposes how the striking architectural contrasts observed throughout the city of Buenos Aires are illustrative of a tightly woven and complex urban tapestry, a tapestry

woven by the interplay of recent and more distant memories of social, economic, political and even cultural change through this city's history. Buenos Aires will always have (its references to) Paris; however, studies of its architectural histories at different scales reveal how this city, its architecture and its population – and the distinctive sense of cosmopolitanism which has emerged from the relationship amongst them - is much richer than the singularity of this moniker would seem to indicate.

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The Women's Institute, the Jews, and William Blake's 'Jerusalem' (With Passing Reference to President Obama)

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Introduction

There is a real place called Jerusalem, which is verifiably the contested capital of a troubled country called Israel. But that is not the place referenced in William Blake's 'Jerusalem'. Nor is it the place celebrated in the anthem of the Women's Institute who adapted Blake's poem as their own. Nor is it the place that Jews mean when they end the Passover service with this fervent wish: 'Next Year in Jerusalem!'

My Quixotic intention is to draw a wavering line between Blake's 'Jerusalem', the Women's Institute, the Jews, and Barack Obama. Something elusive that is embedded within the idea of nation is illustrated through this arcane set of connections.

The Women's Institute

The origins of the Women's Institute (usually referred to as the W.I.) are Canadian (where it still flourishes). In the U.K., it was founded in 1915 with the objective of enhancing rural life for women and helping with food production at a time when many productive men were engaged in the cataclysm of World War One. By the 1920s, the W.I. had emerged as a substantial organization with a predominantly non-urban membership and with an activist agenda on the votes for women question. Nevertheless, the W.I. is still largely known for domestic activities and is sometimes satirized for acting as an agency that enforces traditional stereotypes of the role of women.

That being said, the W.I. operates an adult education college in the United Kingdom at Denman, with circa 6000 students attending annually. The current membership in the U.K. is over 210,000 and there are some 6500 branches. For our purposes, the relevance of the W.I. is that, in 1924, they adopted Walford Davies' arrangement of Charles Parry's music (1919) for William Blake's 'Jerusalem' as their unofficial anthem, a position it still occupies today. At every W.I. meeting the following words are sung with enthusiastic gusto:

And did those feet in ancient time
Walk upon England's mountains green?
And was the holy Lamb of God
On England's pleasant pastures seen?

And did the Countenance Divine
Shine forth upon our clouded hills?
And was Jerusalem builded here
Among these dark Satanic Mills?

Bring me my bow of burning gold!
Bring me my arrows of desire!
Bring me my spear! O clouds, unfold!
Bring me my chariot of fire!

I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land

The poem is of course open to many varieties of interpretation. Written in 1804, it was, in fact, an extract from a much longer work, 'Milton', which was published in 1810 (Blake, [1810] 1907: xix). The content is complex and ambiguous. It may refer to the so called 'lost' years of Jesus (the 'countenance divine') when, between the ages of twelve and twenty-nine, his whereabouts appear to have been unknown. Legend has it that Jesus visited England with his uncle Joseph of Arimathea, and that he studied with the Druids at Glastonbury. In that respect, it is infused with Blake's prophetic inclinations.

The poem also resonates with other potent possibilities. Most clearly, the contrast between the 'pleasant pastures' and the 'dark Satanic mills' relates to the impact of industrialization. The metaphors of struggle, 'arrows of desire', indicate that spiritual aspiration is a form of action, not simply introspection, which may suggest a dimension of activism and social justice. The 'bow of burning gold', arrows, spear, the 'chariot of fire', and the sword: these are weapons in a 'mental fight' to achieve some form of concrete spiritual fulfillment embodied in the notion of Jerusalem. The source of this aspiration is uncertain and unconfirmed; the first two stanzas are in the form of four unanswered questions. The third stanza is in the form of an exhortation to battle, while the last signals a state of aspiration which will only be achieved when realized in concrete form: to build 'Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land.'

Without laboring on literary exegesis, it is clear that this Jerusalem is not the capital of Israel (population circa 800,000) described by the Israeli Ministry of Tourism as 'a city of overwhelming emotions... that promises a religious and spiritual experience, excitement and pleasure,

interesting tours and entertaining adventures' (Ministry of Tourism, n.d.). Blake's 'Jerusalem', and that enthusiastically celebrated by the W.I., is a constructed, mythical place more aligned to Atlantis and Avalon than it is to the bricks and mortar of Israel's capital. It is precisely this version of Jerusalem (the 'city on a hill' that Jesus describes in the Sermon on the Mount) that links Judaism with the W.I. This is a dreamed location, potent precisely because it is unobtainable, a mythic landscape defined by unfulfilled and permanent longing.

The Jews

When the Jews of London, New York and, indeed, Jerusalem end the Passover prayers with the exhortation 'Next year in Jerusalem,' they are expressing a desire to go to a place beyond current geographical reality. They are decidedly not creating a travel itinerary. What is dreamed is more like Eden than Sweden: a place lost in a mythic history where (in one concept) the Temple is rebuilt and the righteous are at one with the will of God. It expresses a spiritual rather than geographical aspiration and relates to the historical Diaspora: the Jewish experience of forced dispersals from homelands. In that respect, it reflects a desire to return to some constructed notion of home both on earth and in heaven.

Jewish history is characterized by exile. In addition, within the Judeo-Christian tradition separation from a place of wholeness, perfection and innocence is a recurrent myth. Eden and Jerusalem are lost worlds from which yearning humanity is banished. A notion of exile is found throughout the works of the imagination that comprise Judeo-Christian literature. It is expressed in the notion of a landscape of perfection to which flawed humanity permanently aspires to return.

For the Jews, that concept of exile has a further dimension. Jewish history records a sequence of forced escapes from hostile environments. The Wandering Jew is both a figure of Christian myth and a reasonable metaphor for the historical experience of the Jews in the Diaspora. There is, additionally, the complicating factor of the notion of Jerusalem and Zion - a place of golden, spiritual wholeness distant indeed from the geopolitical reality of the State of Israel. The biblical representation of these places conflates them into one metaphorical entity: an idealized, dreamed landscape defined precisely by its elusiveness, by the fact that it can only be sought and never found; it is a place out of time and space that exists only in the imagination yearning for spiritual completion. Through that notion, all Jews, even the Jews of Jerusalem, live within a state of exile. That condition is a complex spiritual and cultural isolation from an image of the kingdom of God.

In his novel *The Messengers Will Come No More,* Leslie Fiedler defines the essential nature of Judaism as 'waiting for what can never come yet must be expected forever....' (1974: 113). A Messianic myth deepens and enforces a sense of separation from some notion of spiritual perfection. This Jerusalem is clearly not the place served by numerous airlines for either the Jews or the members of the W.I. It is a construct of the mind: a metaphor for yearning for some version of idealized perfection. It exists as an idea: a dream, not geography.

The Psalms of the Old Testament further define this place, most potently in Psalm 137:

> By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion
>
> We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof.
>
> For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song; and they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion.
>
> How shall we sing the LORD's song in a strange land?
>
> If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.
>
> If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.
>
> *(King James Version)*

Jerusalem is melded into Zion throughout the Old Testament. To abandon the dream of Jerusalem emasculates and disfigures, renders the unfaithful speechless and paralyzed.

To aspire to Jerusalem alternatively confers blessing, as in Psalm 128:

> The Lord shall bless thee out of Zion; and thou shalt see the good of Jerusalem all the days of thy life
>
> *(King James Version)*

The common thread that links the Jerusalem of Blake with that of the W.I. and that of the Jews is clearly drawn through the fabric of longing for an elusive and idealized past: yearning for a place to which it is impossible to return. These dreamed locations express a characteristic of what makes us complex humans: they demonstrate that there are dimensions and worlds that cannot be visited by train or airplane. These are symbolic worlds that reflect and extend our histories, real or imagined, verifiable or dreamt. It is not necessary to have a religious faith or a spiritual sensibility to recognize that these places are metaphors for those aspirations that go beyond the material. They express our capacity to dream. Zion, Jerusalem, Avalon, Atlantis, Eden: these are, metaphorically, countries without land, borders or territory. They nevertheless align with the ways in which nations are conceived. Of Italy, Giuseppe Mazzini said: 'a country is not a mere zone of territory. The true Country is the Idea to which it gives birth {sic}' (1860: 93).

It was similarly the *idea* of America that impacted on the immigrant imagination as exemplified in the villages and towns of Eastern Europe (the *shtetls*). *Shtetl* Jews, suffering both deprivation and persecution, began to generate a notion of America as a land that was both real and mythic refuge, a 'magic land'. That distant place represented both a geographical reality, a distant magnet, from which parcels and news intermittently arrived, and a secular version of Zion, a dreamed world that could be yearned for, and invented in the imagination. Mary Antin describes attitudes in the *shtetl* in the 1880s:

> America was in everybody's mouth. Businessmen talked of it over their accounts; the market women made up their quarrels that they might discuss it from stall to stall; people who had relatives in the famous land went around reading their letters for the enlightenment of less fortunate folk...children played at emigrating; …all talked of it, but scarcely anyone knew one true fact about this magic land (Antin, 1899: 12)

The connection between these various concepts of place is that they originate in an idea. They are not dependent on territory, or on a political structure, or on some form of statehood, citizenship or constitution. They are nevertheless precisely analogous to one manifestation of what we mean by nation. Whereas a country or nation-state may be defined by political structure and geographical boundaries, and is a concrete place (airplanes fly there), a nation may or may not have such a tangible existence. The Native American Nations are, for example, groups of people historically displaced from both traditional governance and territory. The Kurdish nation exists across more than one country. The Arab Revolt of June 1916 offers a dramatic example of the distinction between country / nation-state and this idea of nation. This uprising against the Ottoman Empire, led by Emir Feisal and T. E. Lawrence, can be seen as an ultimately futile effort to create an Arab nation within an Arab country. The impetus behind the Revolt was the idea of a Pan-Arab identity extending beyond existing borders. That the Revolt failed was an indication that separatist political allegiances and interests were stronger than the idea of an Arab nation.

Nation-states may collapse and fail because, at some level or another, they do not have a potent idea; they may lack myths and stories of cohesion that permeate collective memory. The fragmentation of Czechoslovakia, the collapse of Yugoslavia, the fragility of South Sudan are examples of entities that did not create or sustain a sense of identity profound enough to ensure the continuity of a national idea. In contrast, the USA has historical and mythical continuities that are profoundly embedded in a sense of nation.

Barack Obama

On 21 January 2013, in his second inaugural address, President Obama drew heavily on the rhetoric of American history in many ways. Early in his speech, Obama makes a point that

precisely echoes that made by Mazzini, and that is embedded in immigrant literature, in the dreams of the 'magic land'.

> What makes us exceptional, what makes us American, is our allegiance to an idea, articulated in a declaration made more than two centuries ago (Obama, 2013)

The idea of land and territory is not the core concept. The appeal is to an idea of America rooted not only in history but also in myth and idealized aspirations. This is no less a construct or dreamed concept than Zion or Jerusalem.

The speech consciously resonates with the rhetoric of Lincoln. 'We made ourselves anew' echoes Lincoln's belief articulated in the Gettysburg address that 'this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom' (Lincoln, 1863). Continuity with key moments in American history is enforced rhetorically through the echoes of Lincoln's great, iconic speech of 1863 and with the language of the founding creed of 1776. On five occasions (in a short address) President Obama connects and resonates with the rhetoric of the constitution through the phrase 'we the people.' The appeal is to a past infused by wholeness, idealism and moral certainty. The challenge envisaged by Obama is to recreate those values in the future in a fashion that is consistent with the imperatives that founded the nation. To build 'Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land' is the poetic equivalent of Obama's prosaic notion of 'fidelity to our founding principles.' The future is built upon the values of an idealized and re-envisioned past, be they the ideals of 1776 or the meanings of Jerusalem because, as Obama asserts, 'we the people still believe.'

Conclusion

The mythical place dreamt by William Blake and adopted by the W.I., the Jerusalem or Zion of the Jews, and Obama's vision of America (that echoes Mazzini's notion of Italy) collectively demonstrate and illustrate some key characteristics of ways in which nations are formed and sustained.

In summation: nations are ideas, not just geography. They are invented and subject to alteration and amendment, not fixed but mutable constructs. What is Yugoslavia now? Little Montenegro, which awarded Jay Gatsby a medal, came, went, and came back again. The nation is one mechanism through which we structure reality. At one level, nations exist as emotional landscapes made from myth, spiritual aspiration, idealism, patriotism; beyond geography, they reflect the dream of community and belonging. The making of nation and the dream of nation are correlated.

This has something to teach us in education abroad. Firstly, our marketing tends to construct national identity around perceived icons enforcing a sense that these places are fixed in their significance. This is an illusion demonstrated precisely by the most popular place for study abroad students: in reality, the United Kingdom is neither united nor a kingdom; it is the 'Disunited Queendom'. We have, therefore, an educational obligation to teach students about the fluidity of identity. Istanbul offers a very potent example: a place that was Constantinople and, before that, fabled Byzantium. Africa also demonstrates the ways in which nations can be made and unmade sometimes by aspiration, by colonial invention, by invasion and war, by the force of words and the power of literature.

The making of the Irish nation offers an example of the ways in which the conjunction of poetry and violence can create a momentum that becomes, ultimately, irresistible. In the poem 'Easter 1916', W. B. Yeats transformed a hapless group of ill-organized insurrectionists, who 'lived where motley is worn', into martyrs for a national cause:

> I write it out in a verse -
> MacDonagh and MacBride
> And Connolly and Pearse
> Now and in time to be,
> Wherever green is worn,
> Are changed, changed utterly:
> A terrible beauty is born
> (Yeats, 1989: 182-183)

Yeats, among other literary artists, helped to create public sympathy for Irish nationalism that defined the emotional landscape in which a national ideal became politically credible.

Mazzini also illustrates another persistent thread in the idea of nation:

> God has given you your country as cradle, and humanity as mother; you cannot rightly love your brethren of the cradle if you love not the common mother (1848)

Nation is god-given and part of what he calls 'the divine design' (1860: 83). That concept is embedded in the Gettysburg address and permeates the rhetoric of nationalism.

Nations are ideas: constructed by faith as demonstrated by the discussion of Zion, Lincoln and Mazzini; by memory, politics and history as exemplified by Barack Obama's Presidential address; by poetry and myth as expressed in the poems of William Blake and W. B. Yeats. The core of what we do in education abroad is to take students across national boundaries into spaces that are products of a complex synthesis. The focus on nation needs to be part of our educational agenda if we are to empower students better to understand how the worlds in which they live were invented.

A Place in the Tuscan Sun: from the Grand Tour to *Tuscanyphilia*. The Perception of Tuscany among English speaking travelers and the Review of *Under the Tuscan Sun* among American Study Abroad Students in Florence

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A man who has not been in Italy is always conscious of an inferiority

(Samuel Johnson, 1709-1784)

The objective of this paper is to explore the increasing interest towards Tuscany during the past two decades and how this trend has been influenced by recent travel literature. With the publication of *Under the Tuscan Sun* and the release of the film, a very captivating 'promise' of Tuscany has piqued the interests of the readers and intrigued the viewers' perspective. This paper reflects such promise, a perception of 'imaginary reality' that symbolizes a slow-paced and idyllic lifestyle envisioned by English speaking travelers to Tuscany. Such perception is also reflected in opinions expressed by a select group of American study abroad students in their critiques of the movie during their educational experience at CAPA in Florence.

It is a stereotypical scenario: a well-educated American woman – and a successful magazine journalist with a passion for food and houses - restores an abandoned rural villa in Tuscany and writes a book about her experience. Predictably, there are endless, mouth-watering descriptions of languorously long lunches under the pergolas of wisteria interspersed with charming descriptions of the locals. The book, *Under the Tuscan Sun*, published in 1997, has become a worldwide bestseller. The story is set in Tuscany, within its glorious pastoral countryside of green rolling hills covered with cypress trees and olive orchards, dotted with charming farmhouses and stately mansions. Globetrotting Americans who first viewed the region from a bus window while on a Kontiki camping trip in the 1970s and 1980s, are returning time and again. The bus tour has been replaced by upscale cycling tours, cooking and language classes, and sophisticated tours of the ruins. And renting Tuscan villas is de rigueur. Upon returning to the States, the travelers are inspired to build salmon-pink Tuscan homes with green shutters, where they entertain *al fresco*. Eating bruschetta with cold-pressed olive oil and drinking Chianti wines, they pretend they are still in the 'lost' Paradise of the Tuscan *campagna*, the land of Michelangelo and Leonardo, Lorenzo dè Medici and Botticelli.

Furthermore, this paper will explore how far into the past such interest in Tuscany can be traced within American culture and society. The study will examine the change of interest towards Tuscany during recent decades and how this trend has been influenced by travel literature and media. From the beginning of the Grand Tour until the recent publication of *Under the Tuscan Sun*, followed by a myriad of other similar travel diaries and memoirs, the perception of Tuscan landscape has certainly been guided and influenced by such travel accounts, creating in readers and prospective travelers a 'promise' of Tuscany. This paper also intends to show how the 'promise' of such landscapes has been pivotal in generating a particular perception of 'imaginary' reality that symbolizes a different lifestyle for American travelers to Tuscany.

Tuscanyphilia

We possess mental pictures of the landscape we experience, pictures which are invested with symbolic value (Gold, 1980) generating strong attachments (Walmsley and Lewis, 1984: 159). Such symbols yield pleasure, pain, melancholia or nostalgia. Pleasurable landscape experiences can be summarized by the word *topophilia* (Tuan, 1974), as 'love of place' or unexplained attachments to place. The term also implies a response to warm emotions connected to particular landscapes, even to those that we have never seen or that perhaps cannot even exist. In this sense it has powerful links to the human dream of *Utopia* and Heaven (Gold, 1980: 118). Landscapes which have seemingly exerted powerful topophilic effects are Byron's beloved Italy and idealized twentieth-century California (Vance, 1972). In recent years, Tuscany has generated similar topophilic effects, perceived by tourists as a region of high living. Thus, this study will employ the term *Tuscanyphilia*.

Quality of life specifically related to a geographical area can be broadly defined as an individual's happiness or satisfaction with an environment (Cutter, 1985). The definition amalgamates the concept of individual well-being and space, but focuses more on places rather than individuals. Cutter's conceptual model incorporates a number of dimensions within the general concept of quality of life. Such dimensions are social (accommodation, food, recreation, crime), environmental (climate, pollution) and perceptual. This last one incorporates the relative importance of the objective conditions (social and environmental) with a more subjective assessment of people's image of a place, their views towards this place and their attachment to a place. From cultural and geographical perspectives, quality of life is defined as the relationship among all three model elements (Cutter, 1985: 3).

Furthermore, there is an additional factor which greatly influences the perception of quality of life in Tuscany, represented by both sophisticated and generic travel literature. This literature is

identified with the travel diaries of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British travelers on the Grand Tour, followed by Americans and Australians in the early twentieth century, as well as with more recent literature on travel experiences in Tuscany, including magazine articles about traveling in the region. Such dimensions – in addition to social, environmental and perceptual components - have played an important role in generating a specific perception of Tuscany. Each traveler has an image of landscapes in mind (Barthes, 1957: 137): 'mental luggage' that includes personality, interests, moral and cultural values, as well as 'stereotypes and previous readings' (Pesman Cooper, 1985: 242).

The Grand Tour in Tuscany

The Grand Tour - the voyage around Western and Southern Europe undertaken by the wealthy British and Northern European social elite for culture, education and pleasure since the seventeenth century - involved a trip to Paris and a tour of the principal Italian cities, namely Venice, Florence, Rome and Naples (Black, 1992). Opinions on the date of origin of the Grand Tour vary from the break with the Church of Rome in 1534, which changed spiritual pilgrims into secular tourists, to the mid-seventeenth century (Ford, 1981). Its decline has been attributed to the French revolutionary wars of the late eighteenth century (Wilson, 1935) and to the increase in middle-class travelers and changing cultural attitudes (Brand, 1957), although travel literature increased in frequency throughout the late-nineteenth century.

For geographers, interest is focused on the accounts of such travels and the written production which followed most of the tours to Italy, to the extent that such literature has been considered a valuable source for a more comprehensible reading and interpretation of the visited and described landscape (Boncompagni, 1995). Travel literature is represented by a few categories of extant tourist writing: manuscript reports, accounts published by contemporaries, and those published subsequently (Black, 1992). The first and third categories differ from the second, there being a clear division between material that was intended for publication and that designed for personal recollection, family or friends.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines the Grand Tour as 'a tour to certain cities and places in Western Europe undertaken primarily, but not exclusively, for education and pleasure'. Hence, the Grand Tour was not exclusive to one social class, although its diffusion was mainly among the young offspring of the British aristocracy and upper class. British travelers reflected the cultural luggage of the social classes to which they belonged. Their knowledge – and perception – of Italy was born within this frame, which played the role of mentor in their travel literature (Boncompagni, 1998: 162).

British travelers' and writers' perception of the lands and societies they visited was influenced by the images and pre-conceived ideas of Italy and Italians that the British aristocracy and cultured upper classes possessed before departing for the Grand Tour. If the British impression of Tuscany since the early eighteenth century was that of the center of a new humanism in art and literature, such perception became the expectation of the prospective travelers even before setting foot in the Italian region (Boncompagni, 1998). The foci of British tourists in Italy were Venice, Florence and Rome. They came to Florence from Bologna, and from the Tuscan coast through Lucca, Pisa and Livorno. As English traveler William Lee wrote in 1752, 'Florence stood for art as the most agreeable place abounding in every species of virtue that one can wish to see: sculpture, paintings and the arts carrying to the greatest perfection' (Black, 1992: 46).

Travelers appreciated Florence as a big art *smorgasbord*, the central home of many forms of artistic expression. For lovers of Tuscany and Florence, it was an easy step to transplant such a perception of harmony into most aspects of the Tuscan countryside (Camporesi, 1992) they had to journey through on their way to Rome. For centuries, rural Tuscan landscape has been admired for its features. The artistic perfection that British travelers perceived in all manifestations of Florentine art was assigned to many aspects of the most enchanting Tuscan rural landscape, the bearer of a peculiarly artistic *genius loci*. This perceptual process, formed essentially during the Romantic Age in the early nineteenth century, is responsible for the investment in symbolic values that Tuscany has represented for generations within British society.

Travel accounts generated a concept of Tuscany that went beyond the precise correspondence between 'reality' and its literary description, and turned into a stepping stone for the creation of a Tuscan *Utopia* within cultured British society. The appreciation for Tuscany grew slowly from the early nineteenth century until the twentieth century, when such strong adoration for the Italian region was still confined to a sort of 'colony' of British gentlemen settling in Florence and its immediate surroundings. The region has inspired many novels and romances within its urban and rural scenarios, as in the case of Forster's *Where Angels Fear to Tread* (1905) and *A Room with a View* (1908).

The trend accelerated during the 1920s and 1930s, when a consistent group of Englishmen and affluent Americans settled in Florence and in the surrounding Tuscan countryside. With the exclusion of the two world conflicts, these settlements consolidated during more recent decades to the extent that the rural area south of Florence has often been coined *Chiantishire*, a term that has entered our language due to the notable presence of English speaking retirees, artists and professionals. This long-standing fixation on Tuscany has had its effects on

Anglophone authors, from Ruskin, Henry James, D.H. Lawrence, the already mentioned E.M. Forster to Michael Ondaatje and contemporary travel writers. In fact, since the mid-1990s there has been a veritable spate of travel literature on Tuscany that extols the *dolce vita* in rural Central Italy.

American yearnings for Tuscany

Although only a few wealthy American travelers could afford a long journey to Europe during the nineteenth century, within the cultured American upper classes the perception of Italy and Tuscany was comparable to that of the British (Seddon, 1997). A number of Americans began to arrive in Florence and Tuscany in the early 1920s and 1930s, with a shared perception of Florence as the 'Cradle of the Renaissance'. The visit to Florence was merely a stopover between Venice and Rome, and the Tuscan countryside was largely ignored due to the rapidity of the tour schedule.

Until the late 1950s, travel to Europe from the United States was considered a once-in-a-lifetime journey. Consequently, Tuscany could rarely be a destination in its own right for the average American tourist, while many British travelers had already made Tuscany the culmination of their tour. In more recent decades, the lower cost of air fares, mass tourism and globalization have made travel affordable for many, and a trip to Europe is now rarely considered a once in a lifetime Grand Tour experience. Such factors are pivotal to understanding the changes involved in the formation of a 'promise' of Tuscan landscapes among Americans. During recent decades, American travelers, and some Australians, have discovered Britain's love of Tuscany. As traveler and writer Shirley Hazzard states, 'we realize that we had always dreamed we might dwell among such scenes and sentiments' (1994: 157). Although the possibility of visiting the land of the Renaissance is a reality, many will prefer to dream about Tuscany and its countryside. After all, it is the 'imaginary' perception that counts.

Under the Tuscan Sun and the 'Promise' of Tuscany

It is within this cultural and, indirectly, geographical context that Frances Mayes wrote *Under the Tuscan Sun* in 1997. Whether it was perfectly-timed or just a coincidence, the book has fuelled the dream of a place of peace, harmony and love. As a paradigm, Tuscany had already been perceived as a quant, affordable heaven by other travel writers:

> Whenever I think of Tuscany I think of hills and fields, coloured with the brilliant yellow of rape or the tumultuous scarlet of the poppies, or scored by the contour lines of a plough. The hills may be the gently rolling soothing shapes that catch and pocket sunlight in their dips and folds, or bare craggy outcrops or rocks *(St Aubin de Terán 1989: 28)*

The appealing cover of Mayes' book is a bucolic re-presentation of Tuscany, with rolling green hills, cypress trees and a charming farmhouse. Her later work, published in March 1999, is entitled *Bella Tuscany* and is intended to be a sequel to *Under the Tuscan Sun*, with a similarly attractive cover.

Frances Mayes describes her restoration of an abandoned Tuscan villa, while 'struggling' with her new rural environment. In doing so, she liberally sprinkles her book with Tuscan recipes, from robust garlic soups to basil and mint sorbets. The Tuscan landscape is both in the foreground and in the background. Sometimes the spatial descriptions are meticulously detailed and specifically focused on the eastern Tuscan hilly areas, characterized by the scattered presence of farmhouses and mixed cultivation of grains, vineyards and olive trees. This is the most common rural landscape of Tuscany, which has often been paradigmatically perceived as harmonious in many British travel accounts. Often, on the other hand, Mayes writes about her experience of socialization with the local Tuscan peasants and village people. In this instance, the landscape becomes of minor importance, as a frame to her 'ethnographical' descriptions.

Yet, the writer's rapport with Tuscany and Tuscans and, therefore, Italy and Italians, is fundamentally conflicted. On the one hand, she seems to want to maintain her sense of being foreign and thus continually categorize Italians as 'Others'; yet, on the other, there exists a desire to prove herself 'Italian', as fully integrated into Italian society, as Silvia Ross pointed out in her recent analysis of travel diaries (Ross, 2010: 123).

The literature of travel is often concerned with 'primal scenes and first encounters between travelers and natives' (Curtis and Pajaczkowska 1994: 204). Such a pattern derives from the century-long British tradition of exploring new environments and cultures in search of 'Otherness', where human presence draws more attention and curiosity than the natural landscapes (Boncompagni, 1998: 113). As Seddon states, '[T]he English were more pragmatic (than the French): to describe a land as *like a garden* or a *second Eden* was generally a prelude to occupation' (1997: 181). Certainly this drive for 'occupation' arising from the encounter with the others is now different from the past. While in the past, British travelers were probably driven by the pleasure of bringing home the suggestions of a landscape and a society which told them of art and natural harmony, modern 'occupation' could be the hope to write a bestseller, to occupy the Tuscan landscape with the visitor's culture.

In *Under the Tuscan Sun*, the romanticized filter through which the author observes landscape and locals is openly addressed. On one hand, Italians are represented as embodying an alien Otherness and yet they simultaneously symbolize a more 'genuine' way of life to which she, as well as many other travel writers, aspires. In Mayes' text the relegation of Italians to the status

of Others is effected through reliance on essentialisms about the (stereotyped) Italian character that creates this distance: '[L]ike many Italian men his aftershave surrounds him with a lemony, sunny aura only slightly dispelled by the cigarette smoke' (Mayes, 1997: 43). In another interpretation, the memoir could almost become the paradigm of modern *Tuscanyphilia*: an enormous desire to experience pleasurable landscapes, able to suggest warm, sensitive emotions in which history and geography blend, creating an updated *Utopia*. As the Greek origin of the word *Utopia* suggests, the landscape exists in these terms only in the mind of travel writers, as the oxymoron 'Imaginary Reality' may suggest.

Traveling constitutes a change from the regular rhythms of mundane existence; it leads to a place where time 'stands still or is reversed into a utopian space of peace and tranquility' (Curtis and Pajaczkowska, 1994: 199). The longing for such peace and tranquility has certainly driven many Americans to visit Tuscany and its most secluded rural areas in recent years. Also, travelling to Tuscany and *Tuscanyphilia* are likely to become increasingly positional goods that say something about the status of participants (Faulkner and Walmsley, 1998).

The most recent travel literature on Tuscany has so strongly stressed these elements that the place has become able to generate expectations of fulfilling the innermost feelings of peace and stability, as in the case of this enlightening excerpt from an Australian magazine:

> [W]e all dream of spending a few weeks in Tuscany, at some time in our lives. The very name, Tuscany, evokes a myriad of emotions and dreams, and there are many reasons why this should be so – the beauty and peacefulness of Tuscany is hard to surpass anywhere in the world and the lifestyle is simple*' (Perth Weekly, May 1999)*

The perception of *Under the Tuscan Sun* among American Study Abroad students

During recent semesters spent at CAPA teaching a course on contemporary Italian culture to American study abroad students, our interest has been focused on the perception of Italy and Italians generated among them, both first-hand and through the analysis and review of the film *Under the Tuscan Sun*. When students have been asked to comment on the more relevant issues depicted in the film, which is an almost perfect replica of the travel memoir written by Frances Mayes, the large majority of them – out of a sample of about fifty essay answers selected – have picked and concentrated on the two main points that are also addressed in this paper.

On one hand, a relatively small number of students (approximately 30%) have pointed to the environmental scenario, stressing symbols and often stereotypes of the Tuscan and Italian landscape, as representatives of an 'imaginary' reality, of a land of dreams, peace and, often,

love. One student writes: 'the film shows several scenes of the picturesque Tuscan landscape that ultimately draws Frances in and makes her want to stay. There are images of green rolling hills in the countryside, clear-blue skies and incredible historical architecture'. Another student delves deeper:

> the scene that intrigued me more is when Frances decides to take her friends' plane ticket to Tuscany to 'escape' her dreadful divorce and life back home. Often Italy is perceived as a place to escape, to solve all your problems. It is often viewed as a place to start over, find self-discovery, and reinvent oneself

Substantially, we have a precise analysis of the representation of *Tuscanyphilia*, the perception of Tuscany as the 'lost Paradise'.

On the other hand, the majority of students have instead drawn attention to the 'Otherness' of which the Tuscan inhabitants – and Italians in general – are the bearers. Out of the many very interesting comments and analyses written by students, here is a very selective sample: 'the young lovers who use Mayes' bed enforce the idea that Italy is a place of wild passion'. More specifically: 'the meeting of Marcello is an example of the perception that all Italian men are handsome, flirtatious and ultimately unfaithful'. Quite a few students have made use of the manipulation of symbols and stereotypes in order to reframe the 'Otherness' of Italians, as also emerges from most travel literature about Tuscany and Italy:

> Italians in this film are depicted as being lazy or having nothing to do. When Frances goes to visit Marcello and they have a conversation in the street, behind them is a group of Italians sitting on the steps chatting, playing the guitar, eating, smoking and simply doing nothing. This can be described in the Italian culture as *dolce far niente*, the sweetness of doing nothing

Lastly,

> There is a scene where Frances asks Marcello whether Italians abide by stop lights. He replies that a red light is "just a suggestion". This represents the chaos of Italians who don't follow rules for safety and do what they want, within the frame of the "paradise inhabited by devils" context

Obviously, some students have examined the film placing the Tuscan landscape in the foreground, whilst the majority have concentrated on the wider picture, in which Tuscans – and Italians – are the 'Others' to observe and analyze. In these latter examples, we even retrieve Wolfgang Goethe's famous quotation on Italy and Italians, perceived in the 1820s as 'a paradise inhabited by devils'. This statement seems to have lasted substantially for almost two centuries and to still be central in any more or less sophisticated analysis of both the country (the 'paradise') and its inhabitants (the 'devils'): a dichotomy between such a great land (including Tuscany for our purposes) and its arguable national character.

Conclusions

The seeds of *Tuscanyphilia* in the United States date back to the late stage of the Grand Tour. Whether love for Tuscany is driven by cultural reminiscences of art or by the serene beauty of its human landscapes is not the intent of this paper; rather the intent was to single out the subtle thread that links travel experiences to travel reports which create expectations and pre-conceived perceptions of a place and its inhabitants, thereby fostering a phenomenon which has been inherited from the British by the American traveler during the twentieth and twenty-first century.

From the first enthusiastic travel accounts on the Italian Grand Tour to the most recent memoirs and travel diaries detailing the preparation of Tuscan *pasta* in the American suburbs, the 'promise' of Tuscany has become one of the most alluring lifestyles of western cultures. This trend has bred a Tuscany-related business, where the 'product' Tuscany and its most stereotyped landscape are marketed to represent a sophisticated, yet rustic lifestyle. Nevertheless, the intrinsic appeal of Tuscany has been heavily romanticized and commercialized by Anglophone travel literature, both in the most idyllic and derogatory connotations.

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The Italian City-State in Education Abroad: A Case Study of Regional and National Identity

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In her examination of fascist Italy's re-appropriation of medieval architecture, Medina Lasansky aptly writes that 'cities are repositories of memory, defined by the interrelationship between past and present' (Lasansky, 2004: xxx). Building on the seminal work of Jacques Le Goff, Professor Lasansky contends that a close reading of city landscapes and urban geographies enables us to glean how 'modern' political institutions have reshaped public sites and promoted certain festivals to help define a collective memory. I find this excerpt – and methodology – to be an appropriate pedagogical approach to U.S. education abroad, particularly as so many of our students arrive in-country with little-to-no understanding of what constitutes a nation. Indeed, those students who claim to grasp the concept of nation often disembark with preconceived notions that they are cohesive, unified states steeped in historical tradition. In the paragraphs which follow, I would like to present an abbreviated case study, or rather curriculum, that I developed which challenged students to question their assumptions of the unified state. Using the urban landscape of Florence's *centro storico* as text, the curriculum exposed students to an eclectic variety of primary material, from fourteenth-century frescoes and *palazzo* facades to political treatises and architectural plans. Through dialectic discourse on the streets of Florence, the students were challenged to tease out the strict regionalism that is still prevalent in the Italian peninsula and how certain icons, above all Dante, have been continually appropriated and molded over the past half-millennium to manufacture collective memory whilst bolstering political legitimacy.

My use of the Florentine landscape in this context is quite deliberate. For one, I called Florence home for several years during which time my graduate research explored the civic spaces of the medieval and Renaissance city. And as many of us in the field of international education well know, Italy in general (and Florence in particular) is a perennial hot spot for study abroad, second only to the U.K., where in 2011-12 over 30,000 U.S. undergraduates studied in the peninsula in some capacity (Open Doors, 2013). My position as undergraduate field lecturer for an American institution in 2010 allowed me to design an urban studies curriculum founded on a multidisciplinary framework combining experiential learning with classroom rigor. A lesson on medieval piety and charity, for instance, might incorporate passages pertaining to Florentine famine from Giovanni Villani's fourteenth-century *Chronicles* accompanied by a visit to the religious shrine of Orsanmichele, a Gothic structure that continues to house the miracle-performing Madonna

that locals claimed help feed the city's indigent during bouts of dearth. As recent pedagogical studies have shown, such an interdisciplinary, 'urban' approach encourages a student's intellectual, technical, and personal development whilst overseas (Gristwood, 2012; Gristwood and Woolf, 2012). One such lesson from this course entitled 'Tuscan Memory and Italian Myth' explored regional identity, nationalism, and the reinvention of history – themes which resonate strongly with CAPA's 'Woven by Memory' seminar – which is where we turn to now.

Palazzo dell'arte dei giudici e notai

Roaming the winding streets and alleyways of Florence's historic center, the *centro storico,* the student cohort would begin its analysis at the *Palazzo dell'arte dei giudici e notai* (Palace of the Judges' and Notaries' Guild). The rather bland and unimpressive façade of the palazzo – located at the corner of Via Proconsolo and Via Pandolfini – belies the importance this edifice once held in the city's pre-modern history. Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, the rooms and chambers within its walls functioned as the meeting place and headquarters for the most powerful guild in a city ruled by corporate bodies. Florentine judges and notaries came almost exclusively from the elite ranks of society and, given their legal duties and expertise in law, were deeply implicated in municipal affairs and Florentine statecraft. More importantly, the palace also played host to a variety of civic and consultative committees and debates, bringing in citizens from all socio-economic stripes and suggesting the interior was indeed a very public space.

The *palazzo* has since been partitioned into apartment suites and, more recently, a high-end restaurant, 'Alle Murate', with a *prix fixe* menu that would make any graduate student baulk. The main dining area is situated in a large vaulted room that was once designated as the guild's Audience Chamber, or *sala*, where many of the aforementioned civic debates and meetings convened. During the final stages of the restaurant's alteration in 2002, several frescoes commissioned in the last quarter of the fourteenth century were discovered and meticulously restored, making the site a particularly exciting one for students engaged in urban exploration.[6]

The first image the cohort drew its attention to upon arrival was a large, circular figure found on the vaulted ceiling. The image spans over three meters in diameter and is composed of five concentric rings. Keeping the dialogue open and informal, the group would tease out the fresco's intrinsic features. The outermost ring, for example, depicts the city's thirteenth-century walls, complete with eight turrets, four gates, and the River Arno. Inside these walls, we find two nested but interconnected circles: the inner ring consists of twenty-one quatrefoils bearing the crests of Florence's twenty-one guilds; the outer ring, although damaged by centuries of neglect, is

[6] Private viewings of the *sala* can be scheduled during the afternoon hours before the restaurant opens for dinner patrons.

embellished with the patron saints of the conjoining guilds. Within the guild quatrefoils, bunched into rectangular groups of four, are the standards of the city's sixteen neighborhoods, or *gonfaloni,* civic divisions that played a vital role in Florence's electoral politics. In the center of the fresco a blue square adjoins and unites the tops of four shields, which, in turn, depict Florentine civic markers including the *fleur-de-lys* and the sign of the *popolo*, or 'people' (a white shield emblazoned with a red cross). These heraldic devices – the group would point out – continue to function as the civic emblems of Florence's municipal government today. And, finally, within the central blue square where the four shields converge, lies a white sphere.

Upon identifying the rings and individual components of the figure, the dialogue would then turn to an iconographical analysis of the image where I would pose the question: what was the fresco meant to embody in the context of its fourteenth-century commission? Located in a public chamber that brought together an eclectic group of traders, artisans, and politicians, what did the circular figure communicate to its viewers? The students were not ill-equipped to answer such queries. In-class discussions and individual presentations prior to the walking tour introduced them to the iconological methods of Sarah Carr-Gomm and Erwin Panofsky. Assigned readings from the oeuvres of historians Marvin Becker and John Najemy supplied the undergraduates with the socio-political and cultural milieu of the medieval Italian city. This confluence of interdisciplinary material provided an appropriate toolkit to chart and analyze the Florentine landscape confidently and effectively.

After some discussion and debate – and a little scholarly supervision – the cohort would generally conclude that the image visually manifests the political structure of medieval Florence, a polity known as 'guild republicanism'. Dating back to the historic Ordinances of Justice (1293), Florence established a republican government strictly composed of the city's tradesmen and traders. This federation of guilds – from wealthy banker to baker – comprised the executive and legislative branches of government in which guildsmen were elected to short terms of office (typically two to four months). Here, the guilds are clearly presented in the fresco as equal and autonomous corporations essential to the body politic. The clustered groups of *gonfaloni* further accentuate this political symbolism given their aforesaid role in electoral affairs.

On a metaphysical level, the concentric rings and white sphere also correspond to the pre-modern, Catholic cosmos: a geocentric universe in which the four elements, planets, and heavenly bodies were centrically encapsulated within one giant sphere ordained by God. The semiologist James Hall fittingly declares that the 'circle and the sphere were looked upon as the perfect shape conforming to the Renaissance concept of God' (Hall, 1974: 297). A contemporary image found in Pisa's Campo Santo (c. 1390), in fact displays Christ the Redeemer commanding a

universe that bears a striking resemblance to the Audience Chamber's circular image. Thus, the vaulted ceiling would have evoked the order and concord of the Florentine polity and a civic ideology founded on harmony, unanimity and grace.

The last quarter of the fourteenth century was a period of great upheaval in the city's history. On one hand, Florence was still recovering from the social dislocations wrought by the Black Death, the infamous outbreak of bubonic plague that literally wiped out half the city's population in a three-year span (1348-50). On the other hand, Florence was involved in a series of military crises that threatened the republic's very existence. Continued conflicts with the Avignon pope Gregory XI over territorial expansion, a dispute known as the War of the Eight Saints (1375-78), placed the entire Florentine citizenry under papal interdict with the unprecedented threat of excommunication. The despotic Duke of Milan, the cunning Giangaleazzo Visconti, led a ruthless campaign in the 1390s to bring all of northern Italy, particularly 'republican' Florence, under his hegemonic banner and nearly succeeded in doing so if not for a fatal case of influenza to which he succumbed on the eve of battle. This was also a watershed moment in European history where many cities in modern-day France and Germany, for example, were strategically – and coercively – absorbed by centralized monarchies. In the wake of these military and political crises, the Florentines formulated a civic ethos and identity that championed their republicanism and fashioned a memory that saw Florence as the direct descendant of the republican tradition of Greco-Roman antiquity. The circular image was an appropriate symbol of Florentine republicanism and a constant reminder to those who sat in this public hall of its unique civic patriotism.

Another manner in which Florence shaped civic identity was through its cultural prominence. It is important to recall that this period coincided with the full flowering of the Renaissance. The cross-fertilization among artists, wealthy patrons, and humanist-statesmen helped foster the revival of linear perspective in painting, a new sense of realism in public statuary, as well as a renewed interest in the rhetoric, logic, and grammar of the ancients. These observations prompted the cohort to make its way to the Audience Chamber's southeast lunette. The semicircular-shaped bay that once flanked the *sala* from above now acts as a backdrop to the restaurant's mezzanine-level dining area, affording intimate and up-close viewings of the damaged fourteenth-century fresco. Even with only fragments remaining, however, one can still discern that four figures adorned in robes and laurel wreaths appear at the foreground of the lunette grasping open books. The pronounced underbite and mediocre stature of the figure to the left, in conjunction with archival evidence, suggest that he is the renowned Florentine poet Dante Alighieri. Indeed, the fresco depicts a pantheon of famous Florentine authors in which Petrarch, Zanobi da Strada, and Boccaccio sit or stand to Dante's right. These figures, clad in

triumphant laurel, hold aloft passages from their respective literary corpora; Alighieri, for instance, clutches the opening stanzas from his magnum opus, the *Divine Comedy*, whereas Petrarch likely displays text from his poem, *Africa* (Stanley, 2011: 220-223).

Once again, the students were encouraged to explore the iconological implications of the lunette. Why would the Judges' Guild commission a posthumous representation of native literary figures? Quite simply, this visual pantheon was employed to emphasize Florentine superiority in the arts. The Milanese conflict referenced above produced a slew of invectives aimed at denouncing and discrediting Milan's despotic ruler as well as the city's dearth of cultural collateral. In response to a public letter written by Milan's chancellor (lauding the magnanimity of its intrepid leader), Florentine statesmen Coluccio Salutati and Cino Rinuccini retort, quite polemically, that it is precisely Florence's republican ethos that cultivates artistic and literary genius while Milan's autocracy stifles any such ingenuity (Lanza, 1991: 50-64). In the years around 1400 there was a government directive to pepper the city with similar visual pantheons. Public spaces such as city gates and municipal buildings were adorned with Florentine cultural icons, past and present, in an attempt to develop a shared sense of Florentine history.

However, the lunette also offers an interesting example of the reconceptualization of history to serve the objectives of this new civic identity. As an interdisciplinary course, the students would have read passages from Dante's political treatise, *On Monarchy* (c. 1313), and known that he not only harbored strong monarchist values but was also banished from Florence nearly a century earlier, dying in exile in 1321. The same government that championed Dante alongside Petrarch and Boccaccio at the turn of the fifteenth century was thus presented with a challenging conundrum: how to reconcile the author of the greatest poem in the Florentine language with the same man who loathed republican autonomy and the city that banished him. One approach the government took was to literally rewrite Dante's biography. Florentine chancellor Leonardo Bruni was charged in the early fifteenth century with this very task. In his *Life of Dante,* Bruni extols Dante as a virtuous citizen who fought in the armed forces and held political office in the then nascent republican government. He notes the perversity of the law that ultimately banished him in 1302 but focuses more or less on Dante's life *within* the walls of Florence, strategically eluding his political convictions following exile. In a city where close to 50% of adolescents attended primary and secondary school, Bruni's *Life of Dante* reached a widespread audience and effectively refashioned Florentine memory of its cultural icon (Grendler, 1991: 77-78).

The students thus ascertained two important concepts from the Audience Chamber's interior design. For one, the frescoes highlight the strict regionalism that characterized pre-modern Europe. With the near absence of papal and imperial rule, the patchwork of city-states that comprised medieval Italy slowly began to shape distinct regional identities. The artistic campaign

to affirm Florentine republican values and cultural heritage is just one example of the variety of civic identities that were being forged contemporaneously in urban areas like Venice, Mantua, and Siena, for example, and helps explain the political and cultural disunity that is still prevalent in the Italian nation today. Furthermore, the example of Dante serves as a reminder of the need to reinvent heroes in collective memory to achieve certain political agendas. In order to resonate with and support Florence's republican identity circa 1400, Dante's life story had to be carefully reconstructed to portray a model Florentine who espoused virtuous citizenship. As we shall see, this appropriation of Dante did not end in the Middle Ages.

Casa di Dante

Upon departing the *palazzo*, the group would make its way due west on a narrow street, fittingly called via Dante Alighieri, to the *Casa di Dante* museum – the poet's supposed birthplace that now houses artifacts pertaining to his life and Florentine history. Standing in the small piazza adjacent to the museum, the cohort would comment on the rusticated masonry and portal that make up the structure's medieval façade. A handout was then circulated depicting two architectural plans that highlight the surrounding neighborhood's drastic urban reconfiguration of 1868. In essence, the schematics show a highly concentrated cluster of separate residence units that were converted into a large single dwelling where the *Casa di Dante* currently resides. The plans also reveal that several units were completely razed to make way for the piazza on which the students currently stood.

At this point the class reflected on the historical context of the surrounding area's physical transformation. The third quarter of the nineteenth century, and specifically the decade of the 1860s, marked the unification of the Italian peninsula – a period known as the *Risorgimento*. Riding the waves of European Romanticism following the Napoleonic occupation, Italian nationalists including Giuseppe Mazzini, Camillo Benso, and Giuseppe Garibaldi sought to unite the disparate kingdoms and regions of the Italian peninsula into a single nation. With the successful implementation of a parliamentary system in 1861, Victor Emmanuel II and the newly created government were challenged, among other things, with establishing a cultural genealogy to strengthen national identity. Italy's past was mined extensively where regional icons were recast for contemporary use. As the new nation's capital from 1865 to 1871, Florence, and its long list of cultural dignitaries, played an important role in this strategy. Not surprisingly, Dante was employed to help manufacture the myth of Italian grandeur. *The Divine Comedy*, one of the earliest works written in the vernacular no less, became required reading for schoolchildren from the Veneto to Palermo and garnered the reputation of a sacrosanct text. His scathing critique of corrupt local politics, nobility, and the Church stoked national sentiment and successfully transformed Dante from a Florentine icon into a fully-fledged Italian one (Porciani, 1988).

In the capital, the Florentine cityscape was reworked to venerate the country's newfound cultural nationalism whilst encouraging pan-Italian tourism. Thirty-three plaques inscribed with extracts from Dante's corpus, for example, were strategically fastened onto important civic monuments and historical sites throughout the *centro storico* to establish a walking itinerary akin to modern-day Boston's 'Freedom Trail'. In 1865, the quincentenary of Dante's birth was celebrated in parade-like fashion on the main pedestrian boulevards and squares and officially incorporated into the nation's festival calendar. That same year, a colossal marble figure of Dante sculpted by Enrico Pazzi was promiscuously placed in the center of Piazza Santa Croce along the axis of the Franciscan church's central nave.[7] These urban strategies encouraged the public to 'actively and unquestioningly [participate] in historic tourism as part of a newly defined self consciousness' (Lasansky, 2004: xxviii).

In tandem with these touristic tactics, the government also endeavored to locate Dante's homestead. Although records indicate that he was an active member of the Santa Margherita parish, Dante's actual residence had long bewildered scholars. A committee called the 'Communal Commission for the Research of Dante's House' was founded and, in 1865, the group proudly declared it had discovered Dante's birthplace and dwelling. In actuality, this claim was completely unfounded and brazenly fabricated. Using the furtive method of selective restoration, the committee commissioned a renovation (as highlighted in the student handout) that clandestinely converted a group of residence units into the '*Casa di Dante*'. The new structure was artificially adorned with a rusticated façade to bolster its 'medieval' appearance and flanked with a piazza to afford visitors broader views in a neighborhood densely packed with towers, churches, and artisan shops (Frullani and Gargani, 1865: 5-18).

The Italian government has since acknowledged this fabrication and, as referenced above, the *Casa di Dante* now serves primarily as a museum of medieval history. Nonetheless, this politicized urban planning remains imprinted in the city's topography and reminds students of the lengths to which the *Risorgimento* went to manufacture a new national identity. Indeed, Dante would generate particular resonance with Benito Mussolini's claims of Italian cultural superiority and would thus again be re-appropriated to fit the symbolic values of Italy's fascist regime (Lasansky, 2004: 57-106).

[7] Pazzi's statue has since moved to the northeast quadrant of the piazza, adjacent to the church's façade.

Conclusions

The nineteenth-century French philosopher Ernest Renan once asserted that the birth of national communities contains three indispensable ingredients: collective memory, collective forgetfulness, and historical error (Renan, 1994). My curriculum endeavored to expose undergraduates to all three of Renan's concepts using an interdisciplinary approach that took to the streets. The Florentine landscape, coupled with the appropriate coursework, provided students with the intellectual fodder to glean that countries rarely are unified cultural and political entities. The recasting of Dante's biography and the blatant architectural forgery of his homestead are just a few examples that demonstrate the need for states to fashion a collective identity or shared understanding of the past, often at the expense of historical accuracy. Given their provincial histories, the Italian city-states are attractive urban areas to explore the various gestations of regional and national identity, but are by no means exclusive in the European arena. One thinks first and foremost of Andalusia (Spain) and the pre-modern convergence of Moorish and Christian identities in such places as Córdoba, Seville, and Granada. Northern Ireland's capital, Belfast, witnessed decades of ethno-nationalist conflicts that had profound impacts on civic architecture and, more recently, the city has seen increased enrollment numbers of U.S. exchange students. And Berlin – whose urban topography has been shaped by Prussian, German, Cold War, even E.U. politics – also offers an exciting theater for such a methodological approach.

GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

Is Nationalism Needed to Keep an Increasingly Diverse China United?

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China has one of the longest histories as a nation, traceable some 5,000 years into the past. The territory that has actually constituted 'China' has changed significantly over that long timescale. For example, we learn of a divided China during the period around 475 B.C. - the so-called 'Warring States' period - and discover that in 221 B.C., Emperor Qin was the first leader of the imperial dynasty that unified China from the capital (Xianyang) in modern day Xi'an, a gateway to the west of China and the start of the (much later) Silk Road (Dillon, 2010: 29). By way of comparison, we might reflect on the history of my home country, England: after the Romans had re-located their capital from Colchester to London (Londinium), in the fifth century the Anglo-Saxons initially made Winchester their capital. However, by the eleventh century, London had re-established itself - and has remained the capital ever since. It is a more straightforward picture in the USA, with the establishment in 1800 of Washington, D.C. as the capital (after brief periods when New York and then Philadelphia acted as the seat of government) , which has continued thereafter to be the political hub of the nation.

CAPA's focus on global cities (which are often capital cities) draws our attention to the ways in which the changing roles of major urban centers are important in understanding the specific national contexts of these program locations. For example, China is distinctive in possessing no less than eight cities that have been former national capitals - a reflection of the rise and fall of dynasties and new rulers operating from their own home base. The list comprises Anyang, Beijing, Chang'an (Xianyang/Xi'an), Hangzhou, Kaifeng, Luoyang, Nanjing and Zengzhou (Chun, 2011). In recent centuries, the story is one of struggle between Nanjing and Beijing. The Ming Dynasty moved its capital from Nanjing to Beijing in 1420 after the completion of the Imperial Palace under the Third Emperor; much later, Nanjing was briefly restored as capital in 1912 under the Nationalist Government, and again in 1928 (apart from a temporary relocation to Chongqing during the 1937 Japanese invasion) - until the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 brought Beijing back as the capital.

The author has lived for a significant number of years in both Nanjing and Beijing, and both certainly present different faces of China. Arguably, capital cities act as magnets for temporary international visitors – whether tourists or businesspeople – and constitute major hubs for international transportation. How many visitors have only seen England through London, China through Beijing, Argentina through Buenos Aires, France through Paris, Ireland through Dublin

and so on? Are the images so formed a true reflection of a nation? This is highly unlikely, especially in a country as large geographically and as diverse economically and culturally as today's China. Of course, in some countries, the economic/financial capital lies elsewhere, and that produces its own attractive forces – both New York and Shanghai are excellent examples. CAPA students on our Beijing-based semester programs benefit from co-curricular study trips to both the global city of Shanghai and to the emerging megacity of Tianjin, to reflect on and compare the different roles each plays in forming China's national identity, as well as their diverse characters and historical roots. Tianjin and Shanghai were both Treaty Ports during an era when the West was a territorial presence in China (Kissinger, 2012: 66-67) and students visit the former international concessions in both cities. Here, they note that whilst Shanghai has continued to attract many foreigners, in Tianjin they themselves are often the only ones to be seen during a day's walking around the main districts of the city. Thus, they observe a very different historical evolution and contemporary impression.

Modern China has faced many struggles over its constitution as a 'nation'. The proclamation of the Republic of China by the Nationalists in 1912 ended the Imperial Dynasties, but was also a prelude to a protracted period of internal strife, followed by Japanese invasion and finally a civil war - all of which served to undermine the internal integrity of China and its role in the world. In the 1930s, an expansionist Japan annexed Manchuria - even installing the former Chinese Emperor, Puyi, as its notional head - before commencing a full war of aggression against the Chinese people in 1937 (Cavendish, 2009: 59). A screening of Bernado Bertolucci's *The Last Emperor* helps to bring this era back to life for students, as does a field study at the Marco Polo Bridge, the scene of the incident which triggered the Sino-Japanese War (Mirksy, 2008: 322-323), commemorated by the nearby Museum on the War of Aggression Against the Chinese People. Despite the defeat of Japan in 1945, the planned return of seized territories to China was complicated by domestic warfare, which saw the Nationalists defeated by Mao's Communists and the foundation of the new People's Republic of China (PRC) on October 1, 1949. After the Nationalist retreat to Taiwan - and competing claims over the sovereignty of the disputed territory - the government of the Chinese Mainland (the PRC) found itself no longer the 'China' previously recognized by the United Nations (Kissinger, 2012: 151-158) - a situation that persisted until October 25, 1971.[8]

By 1951, the Chinese People's Liberation Army had completed an initial 'liberation' of Tibet (in the Chinese perspective, a return to its historic roots), followed by further activity leading by 1960 to the exile of the Dalai Lama to set up a 'government in exile' in India (Dillon, 2010: 311-313).

[8] On Oct. 25, 1971, the United Nations General Assembly voted to admit the People's Republic of China (mainland China) and to expel the Republic of China (Taiwan). The Communist PRC therefore assumed the Republic of China's place in the General Assembly, as well as its status as one of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council.

In 1997, Hong Kong was returned to China from its temporary rule by Britain, and in 1999 Macau returned from temporary rule by Portugal, both territories originally ceded through the European gunboat diplomacy of the nineteenth-century Opium Wars. Therefore the PRC has been impelled to impress upon the world an explicit 'one nation' concept: the 'One China Policy' which states that China includes Taiwan - which the PRC officially lists as a Province of China - and a reminder that the PRC also includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau, as well as very recent attention to the inclusion of a few disputed small islands off East China and in the South China Seas.

When, in 2013, Chinese 'netizens' (active participants in online communities) expressed their hopes for the 'Chinese Dream' (Speakman, 2013) as encouraged by President Xi, a popular desire on the web was for Taiwan to be reunited with the Motherland. CAPA students examine the writings of local Chinese students about their dreams and discuss with them how they reflect their views about patriotism and nationhood. These views certainly do not constitute an equal wish for all residents of Taiwan, or the persistence of a situation which involves the USA's periodic supplies of military equipment to Taiwan - something which the PRC has described as an outsider engaging in 'a quarrel between two brothers'. Chinese citizens also notice that, from time to time, foreign performers, given a stage in China, may feel the need to yell 'Free Tibet'. Such citizens might reasonably comment that they have not heard foreign performers in Britain yelling 'Free Cornwall'. Chinese authorities consider the Dalai Lama as a 'splittist' and object to his formal hosting by foreign governments as interference in the domestic affairs of China.

Despite having a huge population of over 1.3 billion, China has no wish to see its territory and its identity diminished by any separation of components. Beijing's motto is 'Patriotism, Innovation, Inclusiveness and Virtue' and the national government has a commitment to the fifty-five ethnic minorities in China alongside a Han majority of around 92% of the population (Fenby, 2009: 361-362). Yet these ethnic minorities typically live far from the megacities of China, have their own language or dialects, their own traditional cultures and concerns about how these can be preserved. A harmonious society is a continuing refrain from the Chinese leadership; the need for maintaining a clear national identity and the strengthening of national security are evidenced in various recent (2013) reform policies.

An important example of this dilemma is the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, which contains some 8 million Uyghurs, of quite different ethno-cultural background. This population is now mixed with Han Chinese, who increasingly have been encouraged to locate in this territory in China's far west, a policy driven in part by the national government's economic regeneration

policies for this low income region (Dillon, 2010: 378-382). Although termed autonomous, there is actually much intervention in the region by Beijing; it remains to be seen how much of a distinctive national identity can be maintained here as part of harmonious development, illustrated by recent terrorism and separatist violence (Xinhua, 2014).

In conclusion, it is clear that whilst the concept of the integrity of the Chinese 'nation' can be a rallying point in any international disputes (as witnessed for example in temporary boycotts of Japanese cars or French supermarkets in China) there is also an ongoing challenge to maintain the internal cohesion of this 'imagined community'.

Memory and Nationalism: Acting Irish

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How do you recreate cultural and national memory that has been denied and repressed? How does such repression become the basis for - and conduit of - nationalism? These are themes that are often central to education abroad classes, particularly in countries and locations that are post-conflict or postcolonial. A critical engagement with the role of memory in the construction of national identity also poses questions about the ways in which national memory is created collectively. For example, what are the stories and the elements of identity which are circulated and reinforced in order to promote heritage as a point of pride - and to support a nationalist agenda? These were the questions central to the Gaelic League, formed in Ireland in 1893. As a result of the harsh Penal Laws imposed by English rule in Ireland after 1695, famine, lack of education, and emigration had drastically eroded Irish language and culture. The ancient myths and warrior stories were being lost or relegated to oral tradition, and the realities of daily life post-famine were not conducive to cultural pride.

The project proposed in 'A Manifesto for Irish Literary Theatre' by Lady Augusta Gregory, William Butler Yeats, and Jonathan Millington Synge sought to address this loss of memory and Irish identity through the establishment of a national theater. The group initially established the Irish Literary Theatre in 1897, and later the Abbey Theatre *(Amharclann na Mainistreach)*, also known as the National Theatre of Ireland (*Amharclann Náisiúnta na hÉireann*) in Dublin in 1904. Their founding charter states:

> We propose to have performed in Dublin in the spring of every year certain Celtic and Irish plays, which whatever be their degree of excellence, will be written with a high ambition, and so to build up a Celtic and Irish school of dramatic literature. We hope to find in Ireland an uncorrupted and imaginative audience trained to listen by its passion for oratory, and believe that our desire to bring upon the stage the deeper thoughts and emotions of Ireland will ensure for us a tolerant welcome, and that freedom to experiment with is not found in the theatre of England, and through which no new movement in art or literature can succeed. We will show that Ireland is not the home of buffoonery and of easy sentiment, as it has been represented, but the home of an ancient idealism. We are confident of the support of all Irish people, who are weary of misrepresentation, in carrying out a work that is outside all the political questions that divide us (Gregory, 1972: 20)

Theater was agreed to be an especially useful tool for the project. Theater does not require literacy, which was a major challenge in engaging the Irish majority; theater is physical, providing an immediacy and a realism that lend themselves to emotion; theater also tends to be less censored than other art forms such as literature; and finally, elements of music and storytelling that are integral to Irish culture and heritage could be incorporated to great

effect. All three founders came from relatively privileged Anglo-Irish heritage, but had developed a passion for Irish culture and language through different means. Lady Gregory herself was raised on an estate in County Galway. She had a lonely childhood but credited a beloved Irish-speaking and storytelling nanny with fostering her interest in the history and legends of the local area. William Butler Yeats was the son of an artist but came from a relatively wealthy milling family. He was well-educated in England and Ireland, but spent his childhood summers exploring the coastal area around Sligo. Early on, he developed an interest in mysticism, the Occult, and Irish mythology. Jonathan Millington Synge grew up in Wicklow, but as a sickly child was forced to rely on stories for entertainment rather than direct, rigorous engagement with the landscape that he loved. He later spent extensive time in the Aran Islands, studying Irish language and observing what he characterized as the more 'pagan' or 'natural' elements of Irish culture.

It is often noted that there is a great irony in a culture so closely associated with Catholicism being 'saved' by Protestant Anglo-Irish. But without the socioeconomic privileges and power that the founders of the Abbey possessed, a project of such a nature might never have been conceived, or possible. It is also significant to note that all of the founding members of the group spent time abroad during their young adulthood; the Anglo-Irish struggled with Irish identity in a unique way. Despite their privilege and advantages in Irish society, they were not necessarily accepted as Irish, even after generations spent living in Ireland. In England they were not perceived as being British in the same way as Protestants or peers native to England. It is this dual identity that informed or fostered this group's obsession with the idea of promoting and creating a modern Irish culture – an identity in which they themselves could participate.

Although Yeats is best known for his poetry, he also wrote a series of plays produced by the Abbey from 1902 to 1939. The *Cuchulain* trilogy is noteworthy, as it is his most deliberate attempt simultaneously to preserve ancient mythology whilst generating modern theater. The three works, *On Baile's Strand, The Only Jealousy of Emer*, and *The Death of Cuchulain* all incorporate warriors and heroes from ancient Ireland but within a framework drawing upon elements from Greek drama and Shakespeare. Yeats sought to position Irish stories in a classical or epic tradition in order to suggest a parallel with their importance: the Greeks had Oedipus, but the Irish had Cuchulain. Theatergoers were entertained but also educated or reminded of a proud past filled with heroes, legends, and mythology.

Yeats also contributed to the nationalist agenda in more obvious ways. His most famous play, written with Lady Augusta Gregory, is *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*, which centers on the failed 1798 Rebellion. The play opens with the appearance by an old woman at the door of a family celebrating their son's wedding. The audience comes to recognize this figure as Cathleen

Ni Houlihan, a mythical symbol of anti-colonial rebellion and an emblem of Ireland, who requires the blood sacrifice of heroes to be rejuvenated and redeemed. Subsequent dialogue includes multiple thinly veiled references to the island including her 'four beautiful green fields' that have been taken from her, referring to the four ancient provinces of Ireland. The myth of Cathleen suggests that when Ireland is oppressed she appears as an old woman, but when young men take up the rebellion and nationalist causes she becomes young and beautiful. It is significant that Ireland was traditionally infantilized and gendered as female in the English cultural imagination. That Cathleen is female but also a symbol of national rebellion subverts and re-appropriates Ireland's construction as the passive female. Yeats and Gregory interpellate folklore and myths into the more modern context of the events of 1798. Thus, whilst they safely position the story in the past for the censors, nevertheless the call to follow Cathleen in her quest for emancipation is clear to the audience.

By contrast, Jonathan Millington Synge's plays represent a different strategy. Synge was fascinated by the life of the Irish in the West of Ireland and the Aran Islands. One of his primary goals was to portray the rural, 'islander' Irish culture in a dramatically new way. His plays incorporate elements of superstition, paganism, naturalism, and violence to a degree that famously incited theatergoers to riot at the opening of *The Playboy of the Western World*. Of course, there is great irony in violence erupting in protest against what was seen as an unfair portrayal of the Irish as being overly violent and coarse. But in less polarizing works such as *Riders to the Sea* and *The Shadow of the Glen*, Synge represented the harsh realities of rural Irish life and the fatalistic nature of Irish culture with pride - and a sense of the role of Western Ireland in the construction of this 'new' Irish culture.

Lady Gregory's dramatic style is consistent with the Realism movement that was developing simultaneously in European and American drama at that time. Her plays do not get the canonical recognition they deserve, perhaps because they tend towards the most blatant propaganda; but they were immensely popular and they portrayed regular Irish characters facing moral dilemmas which were related to the emerging nationalist movement. In her most famous work, *The Rising of the Moon*, a Catholic policemen meets and talks with a rebel for whom he has been instructed to search and help capture. The rebel reminds him of their common background and sings rebel songs from their shared youth; the policeman recognizes how easily their circumstances could be reversed and this realization leads to him finally allowing the rebel to go free. In a final call to action, Lady Gregory ends the play by having the policeman 'break the fourth wall' by directly asking the audience: 'am I as big of a fool as I think I am?' The positioning is clever: his declaration of acting the fool seems to reinforce his decision as bad judgment, but his decision is ultimately read as heroic and reflective of the many choices the common Irish citizen will make in order to make sacrifices for the cause of independence.

Documents and interviews confirm the impact of these plays on Dublin audiences. The role of the Abbey Theatre in contributing to the growing desire for independence and nationalist pride cannot really be overstated. Moreover, the role of the arts in simultaneously representing and creating what is now accepted as Irish culture is worthy of critical engagement. As the project of the creation of an Irish identity has evolved, it has appropriated other elements and mutated in various ways. For example, James Joyce wrote *Dubliners* in an attempt to portray Dublin daily life in all its socioeconomic diversity in a similar way that Dickens had done for London; O'Casey staged the Irish Civil War and the complexities of the post-independence Republic, but through a specific political lens. Samuel Beckett exposes memory as absurd and not trustworthy but ultimately inescapable. In recent times, Brendan Behan, McGuiness, Friel, McDonough, and Sebastian Barry have all continued to 'stage' Ireland, whilst popular manifestations of an imagined Irish culture - such as *Riverdance* - arguably abandon and ignore authenticity and instead present appealing cultural forms that sound and feel Irish but bear little resemblance to their artistic roots.

The case of Ireland shares similarities with other post conflict and postcolonial nations. The role of the arts in revolutions and nationalist projects from the Czech Velvet Revolution to post-Apartheid South Africa is significant, and offers students an opportunity to consider the role of cultural production in the creation of cultural identity. But this should not be with a simplistic nod and assumption that the role of arts, music, literature, and other artistic production is inherently *positive*. When learning about the Irish examples discussed here, students tend to admire and accept the role of these works in the creation of a modern 'Irish culture'. However, when asked to compare and contrast the significance of the Abbey with arguably similar projects of propagandization in Nazi Germany, or occupied states of the Soviet Union, they often do not want to see - or are uncomfortable with - the commonalities. Moreover, forced to consider the possibility that the representations of Ireland in music and dance that they have grown up believing to be 'authentic' are not, there is a sense of betrayal and resistance to accepting that reality as neither good nor bad.

Irish cultural nationalism provides a rich terrain to explore the idea that cultures imagined to be synonymous with the 'nation' are not fixed or immutable and that they are in fact characterized by complexity and constant dynamism: such cultures change, evolve, are challenged and are superseded. Moreover, the example reminds students that cultures are not synonymous with 'nations'; multiple cultures need to be unified in order to establish successful national identities. Arts and cultural production remain one of the most significant arenas for nations to develop a sense of pride, history, and heritage. Whilst the Irish example offers one of the more explicit case studies of the relationship amongst theater, arts, representation and nationalism, it also serves as an ideal foundation for students to consider notions of identity as a constructed concept.

The Idea of 'Nation': Propositions Concerning Argentina

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1. The Questions:

Is it important, is it possible, to teach the 'Idea of Nation' in the classroom?
Do all students bring the same background into the classroom?
Are we thinking of the same idea of country and national origins?

2. Argentine Origins:

a) Argentina, our country, is two hundred years old, and was originally occupied by the Spaniards - like many others in Latin America.

b) In 1810, after two failed attempts by the British army to settle here, a group of men, 'patriots', decided to declare independence from the King of Spain.

c) Not one, but several military and intellectual groups started discussing laws, struggled to gain more territorial ownership, reach more power, and impose their ideas on the others.

d) Forty years later a Constitution '*organización nacional*' was agreed.

e) By 1910 there was some kind of organization, based on institutions that represented a juridical idea of the nation.

3. Nation Building:

a) Argentina was a vast, thinly populated territory and immigration was in theory 'open to every man of good will.'

b) However, the men ruling Argentina in those times were Western-European oriented. Educated in British, French, and Spanish universities, they expected to receive immigrants who shared their backgrounds and assumptions, and which were like the people they had met at college. Instead, large numbers of families from Italy (recently unified), Poland, Germany, Central Europe, Russia, the Middle East and Spain arrived. They brought along their hunger (and anger) together with the expectation of a promised land in which they would work, live, and prosper.

c) They also brought their political ideas: anarchism, socialism, and nationalism, which was not to the liking of an Argentine government more oriented towards imperialism. Workers who joined unions were persecuted; there was a period of increasing social unrest ending in 1916 with the first democratically-elected president. Argentina was the primary grain and beef supplier during World War I; a short democratic spell followed.

4. Fragmentation and Conflict in the Twentieth Century

a) Argentina suffered seven *coups d'état* in the twentieth century, starting in 1930, during which civil rights were suspended, citizens detained and killed by military dictatorships. The Argentine currency (the peso) was devalued by up to ten zeros.

b) Love for the country and nation vanished along with the zeros. Persecution, killing and mass employee layoffs forced young and not so young Argentines to go into exile. Was that a 'nation'?

5. Rebuilding

a) Currently – and for the first time - we are enjoying thirty years of democratic governments, and there are one and a half generations of Argentine citizens who have never suffered the traumas described above.

b) We are in a period of nation-building such as that which occurred in the U.S. and Europe after World War II. Nation – State – Country - love of the Fatherland: a citizen of Argentina feels national pride, love of the country, and the need to participate in politics, to honor national symbols.

c) The younger generations engage in politics in order to participate in the creation and application of rules. They undertake research on poverty and inequality, and social injustice in order to discover underlying realities. They experience a strong desire for justice and truth.

6. Teaching Our History

a) Study abroad students, coming from long-standing democracies, may be surprised by Argentine citizens' attitudes concerning nation, national pride, and the celebration of patriotic dates. They may be surprised by the topics of conversation heard in Argentine homes on, for example, the economy - for many years we did not have one - on political parties, election day and citizen responsibility when choosing one candidate instead of another. Voting is a civil right but also a duty.

b) During the last dictatorship from 1976 to1983 some thirty thousand people were detained, tortured and eliminated in different ways, but many of those who gave the orders for such massacres are alive and free, benefiting from laws passed by democratic administrations immediately after 1984. In the last decade, laws in defense of human rights have opened a path for justice and truth.

c) 'The Idea of Nation' is a fundamental topic in the course we offer in English for international students. Some questions that we pose in this course include: was there a country we could call a 'nation' during the various dictatorships Argentina suffered? Do dictators who commit forms of genocide rule for the 'nation' or for their individual interests?

d) According to files recently unveiled by members of the Military Air Force, the clear intention of the dictatorship of 1976-1983 was to strip the country of its shared national assets (energy, communications, air and ground transport) in favor of foreign private corporations. Important Argentine company owners with assets in those industrial areas and those involved in the production of oil, wine, milk, beef, and grain were also captured, tortured and forced to sign documents 'selling' their properties to the military; some even died in aircraft 'accidents'.

7. Where Next?

a) Of course, no nation may exist outside the international community of nations. The rise of globalization represents a necessary if uneven path to success. However, the growing power of transnational corporations requires weak, feeble states in order to develop profitable business.

b) A counterbalance has appeared in the shape of regionalisms looking for recognition and identity. There has been a revival of dialects and ancient traditions, growing recognition of diverse ethnic groups, and strengthening ideology that nations should be regarded as groups of diverse people living together in the same territory, that they recognize as theirs, under a political and judicial organizational structure that prioritizes social and cultural traits.

c) We are in a process of building such a 'nation', on the ashes of thirty thousand '*desaparecidos*' (The Disappeared). Argentine art is exhibited in galleries or expressed on street walls; the music of tango has melded African and Cuban origins; the performing arts, dance and music are expressed in concert halls or in the streets; history and fiction by Argentine authors is to be found in bookshops and libraries: all this is 'nation'.

d) We are also 'South America', a number of countries with a common history and language: a diverse region sharing the scars left by dictatorships and colonialism. That history has taught the people greater understanding of one another, respect for diversity, a strong idea of the need for unity and the love of freedom and peace. We are a group of countries that enjoy democratic governments after long suffering, a group of countries in the process of building a nation. This is what we try to convey in our classroom for international students.

Learning to Love Nationalism, Or Why We May Never Be Global Citizens

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This essay defines nationalism and discusses its power in shaping modern world events. It then discusses the benefits of nationalism, including how it enriches the curriculum of international education. Because nationalism is such a powerful force, the essay concludes by arguing that educators would do well to focus less on global citizenship and more on helping students understand the globe through the context of their own national citizenship.

One of the recurring themes of international education is the idea that, by getting students abroad, we can infuse them with a greater sense of responsibility for the world and, in the process, we create 'global citizens'. While such a goal is no doubt admirable, what is so bad about just being citizens of a nation? After all, except in rare cases, global citizens will be national citizens first, and because nations can have such a strong pull on their members, the fact that people belong to nations is always going to complicate any effort to develop some form of global identity. Maybe the key to effective international education is to learn to love nationalism, and worry less about creating some sort of global citizen. In learning to love nationalism, it is firstly important to understand what is meant by a nation and nationalism, and then to understand the power of these ideas. Secondly, it is necessary to understand the benefits that nations bestow and why, as a consequence, we are unlikely to live in a world where nations cease to play an active role.

Words Have Meaning

What is a 'nation'? Since it is common to use 'nation' and 'country' as synonyms, it is easy to regard the term 'nation' as a reference to an actual geographical location. However, nations and the idea of nationalism are not necessarily tied to a geographical and political entity (when they are, one should more accurately use the term 'nation-state'). Rather, 'nation' implies an underlying affinity among people who share certain characteristics. The most important of these are a common language, a common culture, and a common historical identity.

A common language is perhaps the most obvious requirement for a nation. People within a national group need to be able to communicate ideas, transmit culture and create their history. However, a common language is not, on its own, enough to bind together people into a nation. After all, mid-western Americans speak a language intelligible by British, Australians and

Canadians, but we do not think of these Americans as British, Australian or Canadian. Moreover, an American from Alabama and an American from Boston could speak variations of English at least as dissimilar as American and British English, and yet the Alabamans and Bostonians are still both considered Americans. So while a common language is a necessary condition, it is not a sufficient one.

Nor is culture, by itself, sufficient to create a 'nation'. After all, in regard to language and culture, how different are some Americans and some Anglophone Canadians from one another? For sure, food and dress for example might be different in some ways, but the cultural and linguistic divergences between an Albertan and a Montanan are probably less significant in some ways than those between a Montanan and a New Yorker. And yet Albertans would mostly identify as Canadian, just as most Montanans would identify as Americans. The reason for this seeming paradox can be found in the third characteristic, a shared *historical* identity.

Many Americans are familiar with John Trumbull's iconic painting of 1786, *The Death of General Warren at the Battle of Bunker Hill.* I was introduced to this painting as young boy, and at that time my mother taught me that my team was the 'valiant Patriots', not the 'evil British'. Other boys' mothers and schools taught them the same thing, so that by the time I was at elementary school all my friends understood that as Americans we cheered against the Redcoats. The irony, though, is that many of my forebears – and, I suppose, those of my friends as well - came to America after the Revolutionary War, and many of these came from Britain. So, it is at least as likely that my friends and I are descended from those wearing red as from the Patriots who fought them. But, because we are Americans, we share an historical identity of the Revolutionary War as if we are all descended from Patriots, regardless of our true ancestry. I can only guess how Anglophone Canadians might view Trumbull's picture. I suppose that the painting would be unlikely to stir any particular national sentiments in their hearts and that Anglophone Canadians would be as (or more) likely to cheer for the Redcoats as for the Patriots. So while Americans and some Canadians may share language and a lot of culture, our historical identities are clearly not the same.

Once one combines a common language and culture with a common sense of history, one gets a potentially potent brew from which a nation can emerge. In some cases, these nations have been able to form countries (nation-states): the United States, Germany and Japan are all examples. In other cases, there are groups like the Kurds in Turkey, Iran and Iraq, who have a strong national identity but have no country themselves. And in still other cases, there are countries like the former Yugoslavia, which had no single national identity, but rather several national groups. Whether these nations have their own country, or are part of another country or countries, though, something unique happens when a group of people become a nation.

The 'Captain and Tennille' Corollary

In 1975, Captain and Tennille 'hit it big' with the Neil Sedaka and Howard Greenfield song 'Love Will Keep Us Together'. While the sentiment in the song may govern soft-rock romantic relationships, its corollary – 'The Nation Will Keep Us Together' - certainly has been an underlying force in modern world events. *Within* a nation there can be huge differences in attitude and politics: Americans can be pro-choice or pro-life, pro-gun or pro-gun control, and still consider themselves Americans. Likewise, people within nations can have different views on history and variations in customs or language (such as is the case with Canada). But for successful nations, there is enough common language, culture and historical identity that the things that unite the people are greater than those that divide them. And one cannot doubt the power that comes when a group of people share this national sentiment.

In the fall of 1988, I took a graduate course in modern diplomacy. During one class period, one of my classmates made the seemingly nonsensical argument that, 'someday East Germany and West Germany are going to reunite'. For a moment, the rest of the class sat in stunned silence, calculating how our PhDs would be devalued once our future employers learned that our program had admitted such a simpleton. We knew that East Germany had been ruled for over forty years by a tightly-controlled government which had created a new society and - we supposed - a new 'nation' with its own Communist culture and history. We knew that the East Germans were fundamentally different from the West Germans and because of this there were now two different German 'nations'. But of course, our dimwitted colleague had it right. In spite of the large differences between the East and West Germans, the national pull of a greater Germany was stronger than these differences.

Or consider the counter-example of Czechoslovakia. After World War One, the more industrialized Czech lands were lumped together with the more rural Slovakia to form the new country of Czechoslovakia. For seventy years, these regions existed as a single political unit, but never a single nation. Seventy years of Communism were not enough to forge a new cultural or historical identity amongst the Czechs and Slovaks, and once the Berlin Wall fell it took very little time before the 'Velvet Divorce' split the country into the Czech and Slovak Republics.

One could think of many more examples of the power of nationalism. In a 1995 referendum, Québec narrowly voted to remain a part of Canada. At the same time, Yugoslavia was splitting apart in a dissolution that was as acrimonious as can be imagined, and which ended in the creation of six new European countries, each dominated by its own 'nation' - nations which share many language and cultural elements, but different historical experiences. And it is not

difficult to envision several places where nationalism could still remake the world map. This year, Scotland votes on whether or not to leave the United Kingdom; the Kurds in Iraq, Iran, and Turkey still agitate for their own state; and who can say definitely that the two Koreas will not reunite at some future date? Moreover, there are national groups pushing for their own countries scattered across the Caucasus, Central Asia and Africa. The potential power of nationalism is persistently undisputed: it can unite, it can divide, and it can be used by skilled political leaders to reach their goals both good and bad.

The Good and the Bad (and the Often Ugly)

The last two centuries have given nationalism a bad name. Napoleon, Mussolini, and Hitler have all shown how clever political leaders can marshal the power of nationalism for unsavory ends. Each, in his own way strengthened nationalist sentiment and showed how nationalism can be used to overcome significant regional differences. They also showed how nationalism can be used to further political goals. And because some of their goals were so malevolent, it is easy to assume that nationalism, too, is malevolent at its roots. But nationalism is a neutral force, which can be used for good and for evil.

Consider the realm of sports. On paper, the Olympic Games are non-national. Chapter One, Article Six of the Olympic Charter states, 'the Olympic Games are competitions between athletes in individual or team events and not between countries' (International Olympic Committee, 2013: 21). Yet, can anyone really doubt that the modern Olympic movement has benefited handsomely from 'good old' nationalism? Countries around the world regularly marshal as much nationalistic fervor as they can to win the bid to host the Olympic Games, to stage the best Games possible, and to cheer on the athletes from their own country. The Games may indeed be competitions between athletes on the field, but without the nationalism underlying them, would many people pay attention? Without nationalism, how else does one explain the sudden interest, every four years, in sports such as swimming, rowing, and curling? Or explain the willingness of countries to invest in training the athletes in these sports? Or without nationalism, how would the Olympics be able to demand such high broadcasting fees?

Of course, sports are not the only human endeavor which benefits from nationalism. Nationalism is such a potent force that national leaders are foolish not to tap into it when they pursue their goals. John Kennedy tapped into nationalism when pushing for the space program and the Peace Corps; George W. Bush did it when he argued that as a great nation, America should devote the funds necessary to combat HIV/AIDS in Africa. And of course both used nationalism to marshal American power for war.

Because nationalism is so potent, national governments work hard to foster a common language, culture and view of history. They use public education, national monuments, cultural institutions, and outright propaganda in these efforts, and in so doing bank nationalistic zeal for future use. But in so doing, they also give a big boost to international educators.

Global Citizenship?

Like sporting events and politicians, international educators, too, have been beneficiaries of nationalism. This is somewhat ironic, given that international educators are often at the forefront of calls for the creation of a global citizenry. But without there being a wide variety of nations in competition with one another, it is difficult to make the argument that learning about the world is an important element of a well-rounded education. Moreover, because nations work hard to create and maintain national icons as they build their own national identities, national cultures become more accessible to students visiting these nations. Cultural heritage institutions like the British Museum, the Louvre and the Great Wall of China are all beneficiaries of nationalism.

Of course, as noted at the beginning of this essay, 'creating global citizens' is usually shorthand for infusing students with a sense of obligation for improving the world, and is not necessarily an effort to eradicate all nationalism. But as should be clear by now, global progress is going to have to rely heavily on national power, at least for the foreseeable future. Any other option, including relying on international organizations without the backing of some nation, is going to be an uphill task. How many people are willing to be taxed or to die for 'the world'? Yet people will pay taxes and will die for their nations, and will also get behind national endeavors to solve world problems. There is truly something to be said for sharing a common language, culture and historical identity.

Given this context, it is perhaps surprising that speaking of national devotion (i.e. patriotism) can seem passé to international educators. This view is understandable: rather than celebrating nations and nationalism, it is easy for international educators to see these as a hurdle in progress toward true international understanding. But given the appeal and power of nationalism, it is a force that will not soon leave the scene. Consequently, the Lincoln Commission's goal to 'create a more globally informed *American* citizenry [italics added]' seems about right to me (Commission, 2005). We are national citizens first, living in a global environment. Helping students learn about, and better understand, the world around them will hopefully teach them how to use more effectively their *national* sentiment for the *global good*.

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