

TOURING GLOBALIZATION'S COMMUNICATIVE EFFECT ON NATIONALISM:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE MEMORIALIZATION OF THE MADRID TRAIN
BOMBINGS

By

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For my mom, Mary Ann Fresco, with hope that more monuments are built to celebrate life rather than commemorate it. Thank you from the bottom of my heart for always being my biggest supporter.

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ABSTRACT

Memorials communicate nationalism everyday by embodying a society's collective memory of a historical event. Traditionally, memorials are thought to communicate a nation's past and convey a shared sense of national identity. This humanistic case study seeks to investigate and analyze if and how globalization impacts sentiments of nationalism at a tourist site. Specifically, the March 11, 2004 Madrid Memorial is examined for its context, design, and location/space. This paper derives from a multi-method data collection in which two formal and 25 informal interviews are conducted. Document analysis of a postcard, tourist maps, online wikis, and pamphlets are also examined. The results indicate that respondents felt global sentiments at the March 11 Memorial, more so than their national identity. Finally, the conscious identification with global ideals at this Memorial signifies that globalization is continuing to intensify and alter how individuals within a society remember and commemorate a tragic event.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

We are in the midst of a great transition from narrow nationalism to international partnership.¹

-Lyndon B. Johnson

People experience nationalism in many ways. Many forms of media represent, express, and perform nationalism in society.² Traditionally, scholars of nationalism have thought that media disseminate a collective sense of identity and culture.³ Communication transmitted from the media propagates practices (such as tourism), values, and rituals that contribute to nationalism. Memorials are significant sites that express and sustain national identity.⁴ While seemingly ubiquitous, nationalism in the 21st century is increasingly complicated by deep social, political, and economic tensions as a result of globalizing forces. These forces can alter the *meaning* of symbols of nationalism given their context. This paper explores how the symbolic and cultural resources of nationalism have been transformed by globalization, through a case study of the

¹ Royal Air Force Museum, "Biography of Lyndon Johnson"
<http://www.nationalcoldwarexhibition.org/explore/biography.cfm?name=Johnson,%20Lyndon> (accessed June 10, 2011).

² John Breuilly, "Introduction," in *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006); Silvio Waisbord, "Media and the Reinvention of the Nation," *The Sage Handbook of Media Studies* (2004): 376.

³ Waisbord: 376.

⁴ Matt K. Matsuda, "Idols of the Emperor," in *States of Memory: Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformation in National Retrospection*, ed. Jeffery K. Olick (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); Michael Pretes, "Tourism and Nationalism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 30, no. 1 (2003).

March 11, 2004, Madrid, Spain Memorial built in response to a series of terrorist bombings. This case study suggests that globalization challenges the meaning of nationalism as an imagined collective community because of the context, design, and location/space of the Memorial.

Many scholars believe that traditional nationalism is not an organic condition.⁵ Instead, nationalism is conceptualized as something continuously constructed and reconstructed through practices – particularly with the use of the communication of symbols, rituals, and practices/actions. Communication is therefore implicated as a vital component to the social construction of nationalism and globalization.⁶ By analyzing the various ways in which people communicate, James W. Carey identifies two “views of communication”- the transmission view and the ritual view, that reinforce how communication *practices* may be central to the way nationalism is “constructed.” He suggests that the transmission view of communication is not only the most common in culture but is also “the extension of messages across geography for the purpose of control”.⁷ The ritual view of communication, however, “is linked to terms such as ‘sharing’, ‘participation’”, and suggests, “‘commonness’, and ‘community’”.⁸ More explicitly, he identifies the ritual or “culturalist” view of communication to buttress “the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information but the

⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised and extended ed. (London: Verso, 1991); Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* 5 vols., vol. 5 (London Sage Publications 2005); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* second ed. (Ithaca: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2006); John A. Hall, "Nationalism: Classified and Explained " *Daedalus* 122, no. 3 (1993); Waisbord.

⁶ Terhi Rantanen, *The Media and Globalization* Kindle ed. (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2005), 63.

⁷ James W. Carey, *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (New York Routledge 2009), 15.

⁸ Ibid., 18.

representation of shared beliefs”.⁹ For a modern society to exist both forms of communication are at play.¹⁰ The ritual view of communication is of major importance to this case study. The ritual communication of nationalism at memorials fosters collective unity and identification among people through the common experience of participation. Likewise, memorials are thought to produce strong feelings of nationalism in the form of national pride or national remembrance of those lost as a result of national trauma.¹¹ However, how do such places represent a form of communicated nationalism, when they are transformed by the context of globalization?

This study explores how memorials, considered as a resource for nationalism, may represent something different, given the over-arching context of globalization. Concepts from scholarly treatments of globalization such as “deterritorialization” and “reterritorialization” raise the question of whether memorials work to construct the imagined community of nationalism, or, if they refer to other kinds of identification and shared meaning. In order to assess the cultural significance of memorials as sites that communicate nationalism in the context of globalization, this study builds upon the work of Human Geographer Michael Pretes’ study of tourist sites as a contemporary resource for nationalism.

Following Benedict Anderson’s writings on the resources of nationalism, Michael Pretes offers a framework to illustrate how *tourism* creates nationalism and vice versa. Pretes, in his article “Tourism and Nationalism”, writes about heritage sites as

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ G. Stuart Adam, "Forward," in *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (New York: Routledge 2009), xviii.

¹¹ Arthur G. Neal, *National Trauma and Collective Memory: Major Events in the American Century* (New York M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1998), 4.

representing a nation's past, which help to form a common identity.¹² He argues that sites of historical significance help to create a common identity or imagined community and are "agents for disseminating a sense of national identity."¹³ Pretes postulates that a *hegemonic* national discourse "may manifest itself in tourist sites, both public and private, encouraging tourists to embrace national goals."¹⁴ He draws upon Anderson's three key institutions to foster nationalist movements- censuses, maps, and museums, in order to make the case for tourism as a resource for nationalism.¹⁵ Pretes offers that museums provide a nation's history. Citing Timothy Lenoir and Cheryl Lynn Ross, Pretes writes, "tourism, in effect, makes a place into a museum (1996: 374)."¹⁶ Adapting Anderson's idea that archeological sites can create nationalism, Pretes likens archeological sites to tourist sites and argues that museums, archeological sites, and similar reconstructions "manifest the myth of the nation...with which they are closely connected (Anderson 1991: 178-185)."¹⁷ Pretes holds that archeological sites/tourist attractions such as monuments or memorials give each nation a deep history and connection to the land, thus performing the same function as museums.¹⁸

Pretes argues that tourists make pilgrimages to "archeological sites," a practice that reinforces the deep historical ties that sustain perceptions of nationalism and shared identification.¹⁹ He cites Mount Rushmore and other "attractions" throughout his work,

¹² Pretes: 125.

¹³ Ibid., 127.

¹⁴ Ibid., 126.

¹⁵ Ibid., 127.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

creating a precedent to consider memorials and monuments as tourist sites, which help to construct and sustain a shared sense of nationalism or cultural identity. Pretes' and Anderson's ideas form the basis of the study presented here and provide a set of assumptions to be questioned given the context of globalization. This may complicate the significance of space, images, and cultural symbols as resources for nationalism.

Definitions

For the purposes of the following discussion, monuments, memorials, tourists and visitors are defined for clarity. Monuments and memorials are different from one another.²⁰ James Young cites Arthur Danto who writes, ““We erect monuments so that we shall always remember and build memorials so that we shall never forget... Monuments commemorate the memorable and embody the myths of beginnings. Memorials ritualize remembrance and mark the reality of ends.””²¹ While monuments celebrate heroes and national triumphs, memorials are special because they are “extruded from life, a segregated enclave where we honor the dead.”²² Based on this definition, the remainder of this thesis will refer to the March 11 Memorial because it honors the victims of the most deadly terrorist attack in Europe to date.

The World Tourism Organization defines tourists as people who "travel to and stay in places outside their usual environment for more than 24 hours and not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise

²⁰ James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 2-3.

²¹ Ibid., 2.

²² Ibid.

of an activity remunerated from within the place visited."²³ People visiting “archeological” sites who are not staying outside of their “usual environment” are referred to as visitors.

Significance

Expounding upon Pretes’ and Anderson’s research, the notion that an “archeological site”/ “attraction”/ “tourist site” in which “a nation’s past can be uncovered, revived, and displayed” is further explored here in the context of a memorial designed to capture the local and national experience of an *international* crisis.²⁴ The Spanish Memorial described in this study is understood as both a testament to the experience of the Spanish victims as well as a way to make sense of Spanish involvement in the larger conflict with Islamic extremism. To test the hypothetical assertion that globalization can alter the traditional significance or process of nationalism at tourist sites, I analyze the *symbolism* and *meaning* of the March 11 Memorial. In order to understand the significance of this monument in a global context, I employ three primary tactics of inquiry. First, I describe the context, design, location/space of the Memorial and the event that it memorializes. Second, I conduct two formal interviews- one with the architect who constructed the Memorial in order to ascertain the symbolic and/or intended “message” of the Memorial and the other with the Communications Specialist for the March 11 Victims’ Association to gain insight of the victims’ reactions to the Memorial. I also interview tourists/visitors at the Memorial in order to reveal greater

²³ WTO Statistics and Market Research Department, *Collection of Tourism Expenditure Statistics* (Madrid: United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), 1995).

²⁴ Pretes: 140.

depth of knowledge about the experiences, thoughts, and well wishes expressed by all of those affected by the Madrid terrorist attacks. Finally, I conduct document analysis of a postcard, tourist maps, online wikis, and tourist pamphlets to further evaluate globalization's effect on nationalism as represented by the Memorial. Based on this analysis, I claim that some tourist sites, specifically the March 11 Memorial, can be sites that evoke a greater global or cosmopolitan sentiment rather than a national one. Based on the findings of my field research, I claim that tourist sites may not always follow Anderson's framework for the production of nationalism through tourism, and that the interpretation or consumption of memorials theorized as crucial sources of nationalism is likely impacted by factors introduced through globalization.

This case study evaluates the nexus between nationalism, how it is sustained, and globalization in a particular space. The case provides evidence of the complicated relationship between the symbols that sustain nationalism (how it is represented) and how globalization can intervene in this communicative process. Rather than focusing on global media and popular culture, this study focuses directly on a profound statement of national experience. This study identifies three gaps in the literature on nationalism and globalization. First, more consideration of globalization at the individual level of analysis is needed.²⁵ Second, academic literature lacks analysis of how nationalism is conveyed at a relatively new tourist site, which could shed insight on how such sites become culturally significant.²⁶ Third, nationalism literature insufficiently addresses the effect of globalization on nationalism that is extended to visitors at tourist sites- sites that are

²⁵ John Tomlinson, "Globalization and Cultural Analysis " in *Globalization Theory: Approaches and Controversies*, ed. David Held and Anthony McGrew, 164.

²⁶ Pretes: 140.

argued as increasingly relevant given the encroachment of other *globalizing* symbolic flows.²⁷ This study of the March 11 Memorial responds to all three separations in the literature.

This thesis is organized into several sections. First, I provide a review of nationalism, how it is sustained, and globalization/cosmopolitan literature and its connection to nationalism. Second, I explore the linkages between these sets of literature in a case study of the March 11 Memorial. In the third section, I provide a presentation of the Memorial for its context, design, and location/space. The Memorial is argued to be an example of how globalization alters the notion of nationalism. This relies upon cultural referents and practices. Subsequently, I propose that national tourist sites may not always evoke feelings of nationalism from the audience but instead may evoke sentiments of globalism or cosmopolitanism. Finally, following the analysis of the Memorial, the Implications section outlines the significance of this case study and its importance to nationalism and globalization literature at large.

²⁷ John Urry, "The Global Media and Cosmopolitanism," *Transnational America Conference, Bavarian Academic Academy* (2000): 3-7.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Understanding nationalism is fundamental to understanding its production and how it is affected by globalization. There are various theories of nationalism.²⁸ Scholars identify two major schools of thought.²⁹ Generally perceived as static, organic nationalism is the first school of thought.³⁰ The second is socially constructed nationalism, characterized as dynamic and ever changing. Socially constructed nationalism is the theory of nationalism most relevant to this case study.

According to the “constructed” nationalism perspective, nationalism sustains itself in several ways. It is maintained through memorialization, time, and places and/or cultural practices. Scholars who study socially constructed nationalism hold that the intrinsic use of media (modes of disseminating cultural identity) performs or reinforces nationalism on a daily basis.³¹ Also important to this case study is the current literature on globalization and cosmopolitanism. Globalization and nationalism scholars agree that globalization must explain the persistence of nationalism.³² The following literature

²⁸ Hall; Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, *Becoming National: A Reader* (New York Oxford University Press, Inc., 1996).

²⁹ Hall; Suny.

³⁰ Anthony D. Smith, "The Origins of Nations " in *Becoming National*, ed. Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny(Oxford: Oxford University Press 1989).

³¹ Anderson; Waisbord: 378.

³² Waisbord: 384-388.

review details connections between nationalism, memorialization, time, places, spaces, and/or cultural practices, and ultimately globalization and cosmopolitanism. My research findings at the March 11 Memorial, a recently constructed “site in which the nation’s past is uncovered, restored, and displayed” are used in an effort to address these gaps through a demonstrative case.³³

Nationalism: The Umbrella Definition

Over the latter half of the 20th century, there has been a substantial increase in literature pertaining to the definition and study of nationalism. G. Stuart Adam attributes nationalism as deeply affecting contemporary thinking about culture.³⁴ While there may be many definitions and/or types of nationalism, one of the most basic definitions, which encompass the umbrella of nationalism studies, is proposed by John A. Hall. He writes, nationalism is the “belief in the primacy of a particular nation, real or constructed; the logic of this position tends to move nationalism from cultural to political forms and to entail popular mobilization.”³⁵ Under this definition, seminal scholars agree that there is a major divide in defining nationalism.

Scholars argue that nationalism is “real” or originates organically and is considered traditional.³⁶ Others believe that nationalism is socially constructed and branded “modern”.³⁷ Political, voluntarist, and ideological nationalism are forms of

³³ Pretes: 140.

³⁴ Adam, viii.

³⁵ Hall: 2.

³⁶ Ibid., 3.

³⁷ Ibid; Suny.

modern nationalism.³⁸ However, for the purposes of this paper, these forms are placed in the broader classification of socially constructed nationalism. These forms of nationalism are contrasted in order to illustrate that nationalism is produced throughout society as part of people's identity through various media and communication, which includes places such as memorials.

“Real” or Organic Nationalism

“Real” or organic nationalism fundamentally rests upon “the inherited, historicist character of national identity”.³⁹ Primordialists, or organic nationalists, argue that nationalism is an endowed “feeling of kinship, of extended family, that distinguishes national from every other kind of group sentiment”.⁴⁰ This archaic form of nationalism historically is associated with an intellectual and political reaction against the French Revolution.⁴¹ It marks a deep divide between German (Eastern or organic national thought) and Western political thought.⁴²

Smith, an influential organic nationalism scholar, defines a nation as “a named community of history and culture, possessing a unified territory, economy, mass education system and common legal rights.”⁴³ Smith conceptualizes nationalism as a presumed logical progression from the nation.⁴⁴ He argues that nationalism is “an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining the autonomy, unity, and identity of

³⁸ Suny, 4.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Smith, 107.

⁴¹ Suny, 4.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Smith, 108.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

an existing or potential, ‘nation’”.⁴⁵ Furthermore, he continues,

The individual has no meaning apart from the community of birth. Individuality is predicted by the group...It [A nation] has a life history, it is self-generating, self-sufficient, a seamless mythic entity, ascertainable through objective characteristics- of history, religion, language, and customs. Nations are “natural” wholes, they constitute sole historical realities. Therefore the individual is primarily distinguishable in terms of nationality and only secondarily by social and personal traits.⁴⁶

Smith considers nationalism to be inherently engrained in people upon birth.

Primordialists, like Smith, argue that the emblematic notions of nationalism- whether histories, customs, icons, or ideologies- need to be constantly reinforced with the nation of people who constitute those notions as part of their national identity.⁴⁷ Otherwise, they lose legitimacy and popularity. At the same time, however, many other scholars do not agree that nationalism is natural.

Socially Constructed Nationalism

John A. Hall frames nationalism literature by identifying its three great ages, one of which is the expansion of the international order as the result of decolonization (and later industrialization).⁴⁸ He recognizes that there have always been distinctive cultures, and particular upper classes have had some sense of shared ethnic solidarity.⁴⁹ But, he writes, “the power of the nationalist idea- that people should share a culture and be ruled only by someone co-cultural with themselves- seems historically novel.”⁵⁰ As effective

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Suny, 5.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Hall: 2.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 3.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

mass communication and transportation institutions were created, nationalism began to rise in societies.⁵¹ Today, many scholars refer to this type of nationalism as *modern*.

Many scholars cite the nation's and nationalism's birth in the continent of Europe at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁵² Most notably, Ernest Gellner discerns socially constructed nationalism as modern with his logic and context of industry. Silvio Waisbord observes that Gellner identifies nations and nationalism as a part of "the great transformation" that Western societies experienced in the transition from agrarian societies to industrial capitalism.⁵³ Gellner argues that as industrial societies grew, they came to "depend upon a common culture and language, and certainly upon sharing an extended cultural code".⁵⁴ Moreover, he offers that nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness but that 'it invents nations where they do not exist'.⁵⁵

Eley and Suny interpret Gellner's work as evidence that he rejected nationalism as organic. They argue that he "pointed out that for much of history tribes, villages, city-states, feudal settlements, dynastic empires, or the 'loose moral communities of a shared religion' were far more pervasive political units than nation-states".⁵⁶ During industrialization, the world was constantly changing due to rampant political and

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); *ibid*; Hall: 3; Smith; Suny.

⁵³ Waisbord: 376.

⁵⁴ Hall: 4.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Suny, 6.

socioeconomic revolutions, but the one constant that maintained order amidst the chaos was culture.⁵⁷ It is the locus of identity creation and unity among similar people.

Eley and Suny, influenced by Gellner's work, develop the principal components to the modern day notion of nationalism further. They write,

In modern societies, the necessity of complex communications elevated the importance of 'culture,' the manner in which people communicated in the broadest sense. Culture replaced structure in modern societies, and identities derived more from culture than one's place in a given, relatively fixed structure. Citizenship, that is 'moral membership of a modern community,' required literacy, which had to be produced by a nation-size education system in a chosen language. Nationalism, thus, was a sociological necessity in modern society, which created bounded language communities capable of sustaining an educational system.⁵⁸

Gellner credits an elaborate state system for spreading culture and citizenship because nations were able to "incorporate people into a new socioeconomic order characterized by markets, incipient industrialization, division of labor, and social mobility".⁵⁹

Traditional face-to-face communication was not enough for people over vast geographic distances to feel connected by the same social thread of identity. With the fruits of industrialization, nation-building institutions (for example, print media) were used to reach a vast population to foster feelings of common belonging.⁶⁰

For Gellner and Pretes, nation-building institutions range from the mass media to state sponsored institutions (such as schools, military service, national holidays, etc.), to private and civic associations.⁶¹ While all different, each institution disseminates a set of shared practices, values, and rituals uniting citizens of a nation. At the turn of the 20th

⁵⁷ Waisbord: 376.

⁵⁸ Suny, 6.

⁵⁹ Waisbord: 377.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Pretes: 128; Waisbord: 378.

century, the rise in consumer societies had huge implications for nationalism.⁶² With technological progress came inventions of the radio and film. Literacy, therefore, was no longer a requirement to become a citizen or member of a nation.⁶³ More importantly, “sounds and images could convey representations of nationhood”.⁶⁴

Differing from Gellner, Benedict Anderson focuses on the nation building properties of the media to form “imagined” nations. He similarly holds that a nation is “a community socially constructed, which is to say imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that group”.⁶⁵ Similar to Gellner, Anderson rejects primordial notions of organic nationalism. Yet, Anderson does not readily attribute national consciousness to stages of socioeconomic processes/development.⁶⁶

Anderson argues that print technologies were pivotal in the formation of nations, specifically citing the formation of the postcolonial nations in Latin America in the 1820s.⁶⁷ While some scholars (e.g. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger) propose that with social institutions such as official holidays and rituals, the media would serve the interests of the upper echelons of society.⁶⁸ However, Anderson does not question the institutions themselves but concerns himself more in how media, specifically print media, communicates nationalist values, rituals, and acts that create common awareness and meaning among readers.⁶⁹ Print media, for Anderson, acts as a “meeting place for

⁶² Waisbord: 377.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Anderson, 224.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Waisbord: 378.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

articulating national views and synchronizing time and space”.⁷⁰ Moreover, print media is only one example of media that could inspire nationalism to change over time.

Michael Billig presents the notion that the media fuel what he terms ‘banal nationalism’. Claiming to stretch the definition of nationalism, Billig writes,

The term banal nationalism is introduced to cover the ideological habits, which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced. It is argued that these habits are not removed from everyday life, as some observers have supposed. Daily, the nation is indicated, or ‘flagged’, in the lives of citizenry. Nationalism, far from being an intermittent mood in an established nation, is the endemic condition.⁷¹

Billig suggests that nationalism is a constructed reality based on everyday reminders of nationalism, such as a flag. Echoing Billig and pushing banal nationalism one step further, Waisbord maintains that the power of the media lies in cultivating national feelings of cohesion on an everyday basis.⁷² The media frame the context of everyday discourse and interaction. Influenced by Anderson’s work, Waisbord indicates that the media affect banal nationalism in three ways. The media make national cultures routinely available, offer opportunities for collective experiences, and institutionalize national cultures.⁷³ Billig reveals,

It [an ideological consciousness of nationhood] is not the common sense of a particular nation, but this common sense is international, to be found across the globe in the nations of the so-called world order. At regular but intermittent intervals, the crisis occurs and the moral aura of nationalism is invoked: heads will be nodded, flags waved, and tanks will roll.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Ibid., 378.

⁷¹ Billig, 6.

⁷² Waisbord: 386.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Billig, 4.

These “intermittent intervals” in which crises occur truly evoke and illustrate strong nationalist feelings. According to Giddens, this display of nationalism is particularly evident when the banal routine of everyday life is broken.⁷⁵ In other words, when faced with calamity, nationalism becomes heightened and revitalized.⁷⁶

Sustaining Nationalism

Scholars agree that socially constructed nationalism creates shared identity among participants. Nevertheless, how is nationalism sustained? How is nationalism kept alive in the minds of citizens? Socially constructed nationalism is fundamentally dependent upon and perpetuated by communication. It is reliant upon both the use of language and the ritual view of communication of symbols, images, and the underlying rhetoric present in daily life.⁷⁷ Therefore, acts of nationalism communicate shared cultural values. As acknowledged by the aforementioned scholars, the way in which nationalism is communicated across vast space is through many sources. Media does not always lend itself to solely ‘television, radio, the press, and the Internet, collectively,’ but can mean much more. For instance, media can include “schools, textbooks, public statements, monuments, festivals, and official documents”.⁷⁸ Media can be defined as a means by which something is communicated or expressed (such as a memorial in the following case study).⁷⁹ Waisbord expresses,

Media languages remain one of the central elements that continue to articulate and

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Michael Billig, "Banal Nationalism," in *Nations and Nationalism: A Reader* ed. Phillip Spencer and Howard Wollman (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 191.

⁷⁷ Ibid; Jon E. Fox and Cynthia Miller-Idriss, "Everyday Nationhood," *Ethnicities* 8, no. 4 (2008).

⁷⁸ Pretes: 128.

⁷⁹ Waisbord: 386.

reinforce a sense of cultural membership... The media also reinforce national belonging by constantly making reference to places, symbols, and memories that anchor national cultures and identities. In devoting attention to historical events, selecting news frames, or producing content to represent national sentiments, the media shape the cultural repertoire used to define nationhood.⁸⁰

Given Waisbord's assertion, media facilitates nationalism through dissemination of information about memorialization (the act of collectively remembering common experiences from the past), carving out time to practice and celebrate/commemorate nationalism through tradition, and acknowledging places, spaces, and acts that ritually evoke nationalist feelings.⁸¹ Waisbord cautions that while the media cannot create a cultural identity out of nowhere, it can have "a great capacity to offer representations and interpretations of the nation on a daily basis".⁸²

Memorialization

Nationalism is spread through cultural and collective memory of the past. Memory is the foundation from which culture thrives.⁸³ Being cognizant of the past makes it possible to negotiate the occurrences in the past, present, and future. People cannot separate the present from their past because the present distorts recollections of the past and the past can influence the present experience.⁸⁴ Billig acknowledges the push and pull between remembering and forgetting, and writes,

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Eviatar Zerubavel, "Calendars and History: A Comparative Study in the Social Organization of National Memory" in *States of Memory: Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformations in National Retrospection* ed. Jeffery K. Olick (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 321-330.

⁸² Waisbord: 386.

⁸³ Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, "Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24, no. (1998).

⁸⁴ Ibid; Zerubavel; Tong Zhang and Barry Schwartz, "Confucius and the Cultural Revolution: A Study in Collective Memory," in *States of Memory: Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformations in National Retrospection* ed. Jeffery K. Olick (Durham Duke University Press, 2003).

Every nation must have its own history, its own collective memory. This remembering is simultaneously a collective forgetting. The nation, which celebrates its antiquity, forgets its historical recency. Moreover, nations forget the violence which brought them into existence, for as Renan pointed out, national unity is always affected by means of brutality.⁸⁵

Therefore, the extent to which memory builds a common heritage is greatly dependent upon the context of tensions between tradition, a more primordial concept of society, and modernity, a more fluid concept of society.⁸⁶

Collective memory elicits the conglomeration of similar individual memories generally possessed throughout one's culture.⁸⁷ Collective memory is inevitably selective because not all memories can be remembered.⁸⁸ As a result, the creation of collective memory is usually "marked" by public controversy about an event that holds great cultural meaning.⁸⁹ Once a society has been exposed to a certain event, the memory of the event is either remembered collectively or the memory of the event recedes from the collective memory.⁹⁰

Tong Zhang and Barry Schwartz, authors of "Confucius and the Cultural Revolution: A Study in Collective Memory", propose two models that frame understandings of collective memory. In the first model they articulate, "Memory is context-dependent and changes as it is invoked across generations."⁹¹ In their second model, they propose, "every society, even the most fragmented, requires a sense of

⁸⁵ Billig, "Banal Nationalism," 185.

⁸⁶ Simonetta Falasca Zamponi, "Of Storytellers and Master Narratives: Modernity, Memory, and History of Fascist Italy," in *States of Memory: Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformation in National Retrospection*, ed. Jeffery K. Olick (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

⁸⁷ Paul Connorton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Inc., 1989), 16.

⁸⁸ Matsuda, 72-100; Zamponi, 44; Zerubavel, 315.

⁸⁹ Olick and Robbins; Zerubavel, 315-316.

⁹⁰ Zamponi.

⁹¹ Zhang and Schwartz, 101-102.

sameness and continuity of what came before.”⁹² They highlight the struggle between the central themes of collective memory going unchanged and the smaller changes that occur as memory is passed down to newer generations. The authors refer to Sociologist Emile Durkheim who believed that society is always changing yet, that there is a collective consciousness that endures unchanged across generations. Comparably, Zhang and Schwartz, concerned about construction and critical inheritance, articulate,

Each generation passes on to the next an image of him that differs from the image it inherited. The new image includes new evaluations of the different parts of Confucius’s life and doctrine and changing levels of prestige but its content remains stable.⁹³

Durkheim and Zhang and Schwartz’s understanding of memory as relevant to society acknowledges that collective representations change as they are passed to newer generations. At the same time, collective memory content maintains its general integrity with selective appreciation.⁹⁴ This means that while societies continuously build upon collective memories, there are certain aspects of our collective past that stand out while others are generally forgotten.⁹⁵

Time to Remember

Media, in its many forms, facilitates the process of remembering nationalism by publicizing the existence of traditional celebrations or commemorations in the form of holidays. Celebrated collective memories allow time and space to reflect on the past,

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid., 120.

⁹⁴ Zerubavel, 315.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

engage memory in the present, and mold it into the future for generations to come.⁹⁶ This provides societies with an imagined community, a sense of stability, belonging, and order to feel connected to a nation of people far greater than one individual's experience. For example, Eviatar Zerubavel finds that the calendar is a social artifact in which "conventional master narratives [are] constructed by mnemonic communities from their history" through the indoctrination of national holidays.⁹⁷ In other words, holidays or anniversaries provide societies time to collectively feel connected to their nationalist identity. He argues that commemorative rituals indicate that collective memories exist and reflect that commemorative events have a bipolar pattern in which events happened in either the distant past or the recent memory.⁹⁸ Holidays or marked historical events, in essence, give societies a temporal landmark annually to celebrate or commemorate certain national events that greatly attribute to cultural identity or nationalism.⁹⁹

Places, Spaces, and Practices for Remembering

Media, considered broadly as places, spaces, and practices, have the ability to impart nationalist meaning everyday through the architects' intention and the interpretation of people consuming them.¹⁰⁰ Monuments and memorials provide a physical space in which societies can respond to an event being commemorated.¹⁰¹ Some monuments and memorials aim to educate their audience with a shared experience while

⁹⁶ Zamponi; Zerubavel.

⁹⁷ Zerubavel, 317.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 321.

¹⁰⁰ Billig, *Banal Nationalism* 6; Fox and Miller-Idriss: 552.

¹⁰¹ Young, 3.

others are built to confront the guilt associated with the event being commemorated.

James E. Young writes about monuments and memorials erected after the Holocaust in Germany. Monuments and memorials, he states, “do not have much value but are sites in which national soul and memory are constructed and reconstructed by those viewing them”.¹⁰² It is after their creation that monuments and memorials perform many functions for society.¹⁰³ These functions are only useful to society if people tour these physical landmarks of remembrance. The practice or act of touring, therefore, becomes critical to the process and reconstruction of nationalism.

Matt K. Matsuda offers an example of how cultural memory, or the negation of a cultural memory, can be embodied in material form within objects such as the Vendome Column, a French national monument. Casimer Perier, whom Matsuda quotes, concludes, “Monuments are like history: they are inviolable like it; they must conserve all the nation’s memories, and not fall to the blows of time.”¹⁰⁴ In the late 1800s, a new ruling government called the Commune destroyed the Vendome Column.¹⁰⁵ Later, the column was reconstructed to represent symbols of the struggles of a nation and its imperial power. Matsuda explains, “[t]he Column defined the moral space of a new history [after the Column was reconstructed] that lay at the base of ethical rule: the resurgent, recaptured justice of ‘the people’. That space was also geographic, the mapping of an entirely new political order of Europe.”¹⁰⁶ The new Vendome Column, therefore, reflected a new national memory. This demonstrates that spaces such as monuments and

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Matsuda, 89.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 93.

memorials can have new meanings ascribed to them.

There is considerable debate about the extent to which monuments and memorials shape memory.¹⁰⁷ Some argue that by having a monument or memorial, the memory-work or the act of remembering is done for the viewer and disseminates the illusion of memory.¹⁰⁸ Others contend that monuments force the viewer to remember.¹⁰⁹ Ultimately, once created, monuments and memorials stand as markers in a landscape that provide the literal and metaphorical space for recollection.¹¹⁰ Young recognizes the artist's influence in how an event is remembered through the public art of the monument or memorial. He also acknowledges how the artist addresses the public discourse and memory in time and space from the artist's perspective. Jeffery K. Olick compounds the idea of recalling events through material structures when he writes, "new images of the past allow new power positions."¹¹¹ It is evident that over time, as the memory process marries new notions of the past with older ones, certain power structures or leaders emerge through the creation process.¹¹² This process endows memory with a political purpose in the present.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ *ibid*; Olick and Robbins; Barry Schwartz, "The Social Context of Commemoration: A Study in Collective Memory," *Social Forces* 61, no. 2 (1982); Young.

¹⁰⁸ Paloma Aguilar, "Institutional Legacies and Collective Memories: The Case of the Spanish Transition to Democracy," in *States of Memory: Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformations in National Retrospection* ed. Jeffrey K. Olick (Durham Duke University Press 2003); Matsuda; Young, 6.

¹⁰⁹ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* ed. Lewis A. Coser, trans., Lewis A. Coser, The Heritage of Sociology (Chicago University of Chicago Press 1992); Young, 6.

¹¹⁰ Young.

¹¹¹ Jeffery K. Olick, "What Does It Mean to Normalize the Past? Official Memory in German Politics since 1989," in *States of Memory: Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformations in National Retrospection*, ed. Jeffrey K. Olick (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

¹¹² *Ibid*.

¹¹³ *Ibid*.

Anthropologist Michael Rowlands writes that war memorials are powerful symbols of nationalism “through the material embodiment of ritualized killing and the redemption of those who survived.”¹¹⁴ He maintains, “Remembering the dead by inscribing their names on a monument [or memorial] that should never die requires that its form should be timeless; that it should resonate identity with a remote past, escaping the conflicts of the present.”¹¹⁵ Rowlands illustrates a strong link between cultural memory and an organic form of nationalism, which takes its physical form in a monument or memorial. This portrays evidence that monuments and memorials serve society in creating order from the chaos of national trauma.¹¹⁶ Monuments and memorials provide a space where the process of memory and nationalism can become fluid and allow people to reflect upon difficult memories.

Similar to Rowlands, Michael Pretes investigates heritage or tourist sites as a way in which people form and maintain their national identity. His research focuses on three American national tourist sites- Mount Rushmore National Memorial, Wall Drug Store, and Rapid City Dinosaur Park.¹¹⁷ Pretes holds that there must be national institutions such as heritage sites to disseminate a common identity.¹¹⁸

Drawing from Anderson, he argues that censuses, maps, and museums act as media for communicating a sense of national identity. These tourist sites can then be

¹¹⁴ Michael Rowlands, "The Role of Memory in the Transmission of Culture," *World Archaeology* 25, no. 2 (1993): 145.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Pretes.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 125.

construed as archeological sites that ascribe history and meaning to a place. Anderson suggests that archeological practice undergoes four steps: “1) The writing of reports; 2) The production of illustrated books; 3) Logoization or the display of the archeological image of postcards, postage stamps, and so forth; and, 4) The market or the use of the image as a marketing device”.¹¹⁹ Pretes, arguing that tourism is the fifth step, subsequently discusses that through tourism “a unified national identity can be created in a diverse country because diversity itself becomes an aspect of national identity (1997:126–130).”¹²⁰ He elaborates,

The sharing of a common spectacle helps transcend sub-national difference. In the United States, cultural production—in such forms as celebrations, monuments, and sights—is essential in creating a national identity because the country had no real nationalist political movements, unlike places such as Finland or Greece, or in the post-colonial world.¹²¹

Monuments and memorials, as Pretes indicates, are depicted on “currency, postage stamps, and other official products, as well as in commercial advertising, entertainment, and the media, and represent something shared by all citizens, helping to popularize a hegemonic nationalist message of inclusion”.¹²² While there might be many messages about a particular tourist site, the most important message to the visitors and tourists is the one sent by the creators of the site being visited.¹²³ Whether sites are public monuments, memorials, and buildings, or private businesses or parks, each place contours an ‘imagined community’ for visitors.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 127.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 128.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid., 127.

¹²³ Ibid., 139.

¹²⁴ Fox and Miller-Idriss: 552-553; Pretes: 139.

Nationalism is also consumed (meaning that there is a mediating step between representing and cultivating nationalism) is through the practices, rituals, and acts.¹²⁵ Specifically, the practice or act of *tourism* is of particular importance to this case study. The extent to which nationalism is produced at tourist sites helps to answer the extent to which globalization modifies nationalist feelings. At the World Conference on Tourism, held in Manila in 1980, the importance of tourism and its widespread effects were recognized in the Manila Declaration of World Tourism. The declaration states, “Tourism is considered an essential activity to the life of nations because of its direct effects on the social, cultural, educational, and economic sectors of national societies and on their international relations.”¹²⁶ The act of touring monuments and memorials allows domestic visitors to reconnect with their national identity by linking them to their nation’s common celebrated or commemorated experience. Monuments and memorials are open to the public (domestic and foreign) regardless of political, cultural, economic values, ethnicity, or race. As a result, tourism at monuments supports the conceptualization of the nexus between collective memory and nationalism embodied in a particular space. This is particularly true of monuments and memorials in urban settings.

The concept of *urban tourism* further develops how tourism contributes to the process of memorialization because urban centers contain the majority of a nation’s population and memorials. Within the European Commission’s report entitled, “Towards Quality Tourism: Integrated Quality Management (IQM) of Urban Tourist Destinations”, urban tourism is “a set of tourist resources or activities located in towns and cities and

¹²⁵ Fox and Miller-Idriss: 553.

¹²⁶ Department, 1.

offered to visitors from elsewhere".¹²⁷ Economists Irene Daskalopoulou and Anastasia Petrou, however, develop the term further by contending that urban tourism is "complex, difficult to define and depends on a number of factors such as size of the town, its history and heritage, its morphology and its environment, its location and its image."¹²⁸

Highlighting the linkages internationally between cities, Arie Shachar defines urban tourism as "a major component in the process of globalization of the economic bases of the emerging and fast crystallizing world cities".¹²⁹ Urban tourism is often used as a development strategy for economic growth. Duncan Tyler and Yvonne Guerrier state, "the study of urban tourism is inevitably the study of change: change in the economic base of cities, change in the use of urban spaces, and change in the cultural life of residents".¹³⁰ Arie Shachar and Christopher Law similarly agree that urban tourism depicts the shifting dominance, over time, between industries as a result of globalization buttressing a reorientation of economic markets.

Furthermore, Tyler and Guerrier credit other reasons for urban tourism development to include the reaffirmation of local and national prestige. He asserts that the common belief from the top echelons of society is that tourism benefits the lives of the resident population.¹³¹ Local prestige grows out of what many scholars refer to as

¹²⁷ European Commission, *Towards Quality Tourism: Integrated Quality Management of Urban Tourist Destinations* 2000. 20.

¹²⁸ Irene Daskalopoulou and Anastasia Petrou, "Urban Tourism Competitiveness: Networks and the Regional Asset Base," *Urban Studies* 46, no. 4 (2009): 779-780.

¹²⁹ Arie Shachar, "Metropolitan Areas: Economic Globalization and Urban Tourism," in *European Tourism: Regions, Spaces, and Restructuring* ed. Armando Montanari and Allan M. Williams (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons 1995), 151.

¹³⁰ Tyler Duncan and Yvonne Guerrier, "Conclusion: Urban Tourism- the Politics and Processes of Change" in *Managing Tourism in Cities: Policy Processes and Practice*, ed. T. Duncan, Y. Guerrier, and M. Roberston (London: John Wiley & Sons 1998), 230.

¹³¹ Ibid.

smaller industrial districts in cities where industrialization was once prevalent.¹³²

Scholars, Timothy J. Dallen and Stephen W. Boyd, insist that heritage tourism commonly builds patriotism at the domestic level and spreads propaganda to international visitors.¹³³

Urry, too, emphasizes the importance of local reflexivity, by spreading culture and hope for a better future as a motivation for the expansion of tourism. As a city is “reviving” and “restoring”, it is restaging, reinventing, and remaking culture.¹³⁴ This heightened interest in cultural tourism is also coupled with improvements in socialized education for all in Europe. Shachar notes that the more educated a person becomes, the more likely he or she will have a heightened “cultural curiosity” and eagerness to participate in numerous cultural activities.¹³⁵ These cultural activities include participating in the experience of remembering through monuments and memorials.

Globalization

*Change occurs when deeply felt private experiences are given public legitimacy.*¹³⁶

- Mahatma Gandhi

This section of the literature review contains definitions of globalization and characteristics of globalization including deterritorialization and reterritorialization. Following globalization, cosmopolitanism is briefly defined and reviewed. These terms are fundamental to comprehending how global or cosmopolitan forces can impede

¹³² Christopher Law, "Introduction " in *Tourism in Major Cities*, ed. Christopher Law(London: International Thomson Publishing, Inc., 1996), 10.

¹³³ Timothy Dallen and Stephan Boyd, "Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century: Valued Traditions and New Perspectives," *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 1, no. 1 (2006): 3.

¹³⁴ Konstantinos Drakos and Ali M. Kutan, "Regional Effects of Terrorism on Tourism in Three Mediterranean Countries," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47, no. 5 (2003); John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, vol. 2nd edition (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2002), 9.

¹³⁵ Shachar, 136.

¹³⁶ Mary Pipher, *Writing to Change the World* (New York: The Berkley Publishing Group, 2006), 205.

nationalism at tourist sites because they explain how the meaning of a space becomes theoretically transformed.

Over the course of the 20th century, political, economic, and social exchanges intensified. Similar to nationalism, globalization theorists debate the definition of globalization. Below, there are five definitions that show the progression of scholarly thought on globalization. Anthony Giddens generically defines globalization as “the intensification of world-wide social relations, which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa (1990: 64).”¹³⁷ Giddens describes more intense social interactions as a result of globalization. His definition proposes that local life changes because of something that happened elsewhere in the world. Similarly, Grahame Thompson holds, “Globalization refers to the growing interconnectedness of different parts of the world, a process which gives rise to complex forms of interaction and interdependency (1995:149).”¹³⁸ The distinction between Giddens’ and Thompson’s definition is that Thompson identifies the consequences of globalization to be complex forms of interaction. Terhi Rantanen interprets this to imply that there is a greater focus on the media, communication, and culture without directly acknowledging them.¹³⁹

Sociologist Roland Robertson asserts, “globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a

¹³⁷ Rantanen, *Kindle Locations* 124.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

whole (1992:8).”¹⁴⁰ Of the aforementioned definitions, Robertson best acknowledges the public awareness of the globalizing forces that connect them. Rantanen notes,

Robertson takes a step further by referring to consciousness instead of social relations. Consciousness is already a more intensified experience of globalization. The same view is shared by Waters, for whom Globalization is a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding (1995: 3).¹⁴¹

These theorists characterize globalization by altering the “texture of lived experience both in mobility and in dwelling.”¹⁴² Thompson elaborates that globalization specifically modifies forms of social interaction. He discerns three types of interaction; “(1) face-to-face interaction; (2) mediated interaction; and (3) mediated quasi-interaction”.¹⁴³ He explains that globalization creates new mass-mediated experiences that are “not as good” as interactive experiences that are not mediated.¹⁴⁴

Globalization theorist Arjun Appadurai defines globalization in terms of several flows- flows of people (ethnoscapes), media (mediascapes), technology (technoscapes), capital (finanscapes), and ideas (ideoscapes).¹⁴⁵ Globalization’s complex flows alter the culture of a nation’s space to promote physical mobility and distancing in a local environment.¹⁴⁶ Silvio Waisbord details, “The privatization and liberalization of the media, coupled with the spread of information technologies, have weakened political and

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., Kindle Locations 122-146.

¹⁴² Ibid., Kindle Locations 188-189; Tomlinson, 152.

¹⁴³ Rantanen, Kindle Location 162.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., Kindle Locations 194-195.

¹⁴⁵ John Sinclair, "Globalization, Supranational Institutions, and Media," *The Sage Handbook of Media Studies* (2004): 64.

¹⁴⁶ Rantanen, Kindle Location 178.

cultural borders [among nation-states]”.¹⁴⁷ The weakened cultural borders between the nation and the globe leave scholars such as Appadurai, Waisbord, Urry, and Tomlinson concerned with cultural heterogenization and its implications.¹⁴⁸ John Sinclair argues, “The proliferation of cultural fusion or ‘hybridity’, which occurs as global influences become absorbed and adapted in a host of local settings.”¹⁴⁹ Therefore, global cultural convergence challenges the nation, nationalism, and national media by complicating them with conscious social interactions that occur across nations and distances.

Scholars writing about globalization suggest a push and pull effect between nationalism and globalization. As global flows intensify, the nation and nationalism are thought by some to be on the decline.¹⁵⁰ Others believe that nationalism exists to create a unique cultural identity in the context of increasing globalization.¹⁵¹ Waisbord and Hall propose that the amalgamation of the cultural flows has not detracted from nationalism but rather added another layer of identity beyond the individual and social ones.¹⁵² The idea is that with modernity and its respective industrialization, individuals have multiple identities.¹⁵³ Nationalist feelings connect individuals to their national imagined communities. However, local and supranational entities simultaneously evoke feelings that tie people to imagined local and global identities.¹⁵⁴ Waisbord argues, “globalization

¹⁴⁷ Waisbord: 379.

¹⁴⁸ Anderson; Tomlinson; Urry, "The Global Media and Cosmopolitanism."; Waisbord.

¹⁴⁹ Sinclair: 66.

¹⁵⁰ Waisbord: 384.

¹⁵¹ John Tomlinson, "Globalization and Cultural Identity," in *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate*, ed. David Held and Anthony G. McGrew (Malden Blackwell Publishing, Inc., 2003); Waisbord.

¹⁵² Hall; Waisbord.

¹⁵³ Waisbord.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

has not offered group identities that supersede national identities.”¹⁵⁵ He explains by stating that globalized identities “neither articulate political demands nor expect exclusive loyalty from their members”.¹⁵⁶ Until there is an alternative to nationalism, it will persist. The question then becomes, to what extent will nationalism endure?

To begin to answer that question, it is imperative to recognize that similar to nationalism, the media fuels globalization. However, unlike nationalism, mediated-globalization is characterized by its confrontation with the culture of the nation across space and time.¹⁵⁷ Rantanen cites Zerubavel, arguing that national communication networks explain the need to synchronize different communities and countries with one another.¹⁵⁸

At the global level, for instance, international media and communication networks are used to synchronize the world by providing news at all times of the day. Zerubavel, however, acknowledges that there is a difference between local and global time even with vast communication networks.¹⁵⁹ Sinclair also identifies the control of space and time as the defining abstract principles behind globalization. He writes, “The media are central to this control, not only for their technological transcendence for space and time as such but also for the interconnectedness inherent in communications, especially in their capacity to

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Sinclair: 67.

¹⁵⁸ Rantanen, Kindle Location 663.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., Kindle Locations 663-664; Waisbord: 378.

give individuals access to global networks”.¹⁶⁰ The media links people to a global context, regardless of physical constraints.¹⁶¹

Access to the media 24/7 anywhere in the world creates cultural complexity. It is this complexity and cognizance of space that have some scholars, such as Mike Feathersone, arguing that globalization permeates the lives of people so much that it is consciously and unconsciously reorienting them in the space in which they live.¹⁶²

John Tomlinson cautions that culture is “not only ‘a context in which [events] may be meaningfully interpreted’ (Geertz, 1973, p.14), it is the context in which agency arises and takes place. Cultural signification and interpretation constantly orients people, individually and collectively, towards particular actions.”¹⁶³ Furthermore, flows of globalization suggest that culture is not as strongly tied to or dependent upon places as much as scholars previously thought.¹⁶⁴ Tomlinson offers “the key to globalization’s cultural dimension is not primarily grasped in the trope of travel, but in the transformation of localities themselves”.¹⁶⁵ Globalization, for Tomlinson, is defined in terms of distancing or the “intersection of presence and absence, the interlacing of social relations ‘at distance’ with local contextualities”.¹⁶⁶ In other words, the inherent nature of globalization connects people across space as much as it separates people through mediated experiences.

¹⁶⁰ Sinclair: 67.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Tomlinson, "Globalization and Cultural Analysis ", 151.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 164.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Rantanen, *Kindle Locations* 178.

The process of what Appadurai terms ‘deterritorialization’ and ‘reterritorialization’ characterizes globalization. Tomlinson defines deterritorialization as meaning that “the significance of the geographical location of a culture – not only the physical, environmental and climatic location, but all the self-definitions, ethnic boundaries and delimiting practices that have accrued around this – is eroding”.¹⁶⁷ Tomlinson also describes cultural ‘reterritorialization’ as “the claiming and reclaiming of localities – which don’t inevitably involve claims to state power”.¹⁶⁸ Drawing from Anderson’s “imagined communities”, Appadurai expands the notion into “imagined worlds” to “describe both the global scale and symbolic invention of the forces which now shape the construction of places”.¹⁶⁹ In a sense, Appadurai’s imagined worlds are dependent upon the disregard for state boundaries due to global technological and financial flows.¹⁷⁰ This disregard for boundaries creates a space where nationalism is diminished and globalism is established through the process of reterritorialization.¹⁷¹ Linking globalization, tourism, and the media, George Hughes offers,

It is the global media that has the most significance for this discussion on ideology and tourism. Because of the symbolic form in which its transmissions takes place, it would be expected that the media should have some ideological purchase and this is indeed one of Appadurai’s inferences. Media generated images are inflected by the character of the medium, the audience targeted, and the substance of the transmission but also by the interests of those who control the process. Because of the extended audiences which it is now possible to reach with films, satellite transmission, video, and print, the scope for ideological influence has been considerably expanded.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ John Tomlinson, "Cultural Globalization " in *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization* ed. George Ritzer(Malden Blackwell Publishing, Inc., 2007), 360.

¹⁶⁸ Tomlinson, "Globalization and Cultural Identity," 275.

¹⁶⁹ George Hughes, "Authenticity in Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 22, no. 4 (1995): 790.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid; Tomlinson, "Globalization and Cultural Identity," 275.

¹⁷² Hughes: 791.

In other words, increased global cultural flows perpetuated by media affect both the cultural and geographical construction of places.¹⁷³ Appadurai himself writes that deterritorialization generates various forms of reterritorialization, which creates various sorts of local, regional, and global domino relations.¹⁷⁴ He explains, “Not all reterritorialization is counternationalist or nativist”.¹⁷⁵ Appadurai elaborates that reterritorialization can involve the effort to create new localized communities that no longer depend solely on the national imagery.¹⁷⁶

Urry considers the ‘global other’ and ponders how globalization has changed the world and the extent to which society values the ‘other’.¹⁷⁷ Concerned with cultural conditions for a post-national citizenship, Urry opines, “People can develop forms of quasi-interaction through the media, a kind of ‘enforced proximity’”.¹⁷⁸ Stretching Billig’s notion of banal nationalism, Urry questions the extent to which the media develops ‘banal globalism’ as a result of visual and narrative “‘staging’” of the public sphere, as it is portrayed on television and/or the Internet. He argues that the globe has become “a symbol of authority, organisation, and coverage of global information, particularly in news programmes.”¹⁷⁹ Citing the graphic news globe, Urry proposes there are many examples of ‘flagging the global’ such as,

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Arjun Appadurai, "Sovereignty without Territoriality: Notes for a Postnational Geography," 345; Hughes: 790.

¹⁷⁵ Appadurai, 345.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Urry, "The Global Media and Cosmopolitanism," 3.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 5.

the arcs of airlines traced across the map of the globe; the trademarks of global brands; the footprints of satellite broadcasts; ads for global products such as Benetton or Coca-Cola; “flags” of international organisations and events such as the Olympics or the EU, and so on (Toogood and Myers 1999).¹⁸⁰

These representations of global images, Urry argues, broadcasted through daily global broadcasts and advertisements are “transforming conceptions of time, space, and community”.¹⁸¹ The impact of small global representations makes icons, images, and representations of globalism ubiquitous.

Cosmopolitanism

Similar to globalization, Urry, and Rantanen write that cosmopolitanism also alters the texture of people’s daily lives. They argue that in addition to interactions at the global level, cosmopolitan interactions are now defined as going beyond the local.¹⁸²

Tomlinson elaborates that cosmopolitanism can be conceptualized in “relation to the local, for him it is 'to be able to live in both the global and the local at the same time' (1999: 167)”.¹⁸³ Due to the “openness” of people, places, and experiences found in cities, he argues that cosmopolitanism is not simply produced through communication but that it entails predispositions and practices, which include:

- extensive *mobility* in which people have the right to ‘travel’ corporeally, imaginatively and virtually and for significant numbers they also have the means to so travel
- the capacity to *consume* many places and environments en route
- a *curiosity* about many places, peoples and cultures and at least a rudimentary ability to locate such places and cultures historically, geographically and anthropologically
- a willingness to take *risks* by virtue of encountering the ‘other’

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 6.

¹⁸² Rantanen, *Kindle Locations 1539-1540*; Urry, "The Global Media and Cosmopolitanism," 7.

¹⁸³ Rantanen, *Kindle Locations 1542-1543*.

- an ability to '*map*' one's own society and its culture in terms of a historical and geographical knowledge, to have some ability to reflect upon and judge aesthetically between different natures, places and societies
- *semiotic* skill to be able to interpret images of various others, to see what they are meant to represent, and to know when they are ironic
- an *openness* to other peoples and cultures and a willingness/ability to appreciate some elements of the language/culture of the 'other'¹⁸⁴

These characteristics suggest that cosmopolitan civil society may be emerging since there is evidence of these characteristics being widespread in cities around the world.¹⁸⁵ After conducting a survey and several research focus groups, Urry voices several concerns with labeling cosmopolitans differently from locals, tourists, migrants, etc.¹⁸⁶ He suggests that: cosmopolitanism refers to masculinist opportunities; rich travelers of the global north mainly bring about the "openness"; cosmopolitans who seek to evade national and local entities; and, finally the local people who can have insular or narrow patterns of mobility that often facilitate the construction of cosmopolitanism.¹⁸⁷

Urry conducts focus groups and surveys on globalism and cosmopolitanism. Most participants identify less with being a "citizen of the world" than with their existing nationality.¹⁸⁸ Those same participants mostly demonstrated "a mundane cosmopolitanism within their daily lives".¹⁸⁹ This shows how blurred the boundaries are between these distinctions. Yet, Urry postulates that global vernacular will be "increasingly folded into an wide array of other practices - such as advertising, sport, education, arts, travel and so on - that are saturated with media images and information,

¹⁸⁴ Urry, "The Global Media and Cosmopolitanism," 7-8.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 12.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 7.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 9.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

with a banal globalism that is both outside and within each of us”.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, he concludes that cosmopolitanism will continue to “stage contemporary life” in the public sphere. He writes,

Television and travel, the mobile and the modem, seem to be producing a global village, blurring what is private and what is public, what is front-stage and what is back-stage, what is near and what is far (Meyrowitz 1985). Especially, they blur what is co-present and what is mediated, what is local and what is global, what is embodied and what is distant (see Harvey 2000: 85-6, on reconciling material embodiment and universal rights).¹⁹¹

With time, it is expected that globalism and cosmopolitanism will continue to integrate into everyday life.

Connections/Overlaps and Gaps in the Literature

This literature review demonstrates overlaps and gaps between nationalism, how it is sustained, globalization, and cosmopolitanism. Nationalism is dependent upon memorialization/collective memory, time to reflect (such as holidays or anniversaries of events), and places and/or acts (such as urban tourism) to construct and reconstruct identity. These ways of sustaining nationalism rely on the media to communicate (through Carey’s ritual view of communication) shared experiences, traditions, values, and practices. Following Gellner’s definition and origination theories of nationalism, industrialization flourished as social conceptions of nationalism became more prevalent in society.

The onset of vast technological advancements created the process of deindustrialization, which spurred the creation of urban tourism. Urban tourism links

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 11-12.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 12.

tourists and visitors to historical sites in cities. These sites communicate symbols of common identity, beliefs, and values. With the onset of deindustrialization, globalization began to rise. These complex, conscious social interactions infiltrate the lives of global citizens and alter national identities.

There are three identifiable gaps in the literature. First, with the recognition of multiple identities, Tomlinson calls greater attention to globalization at the individual level so that it can be seen as part of everyday lived experience.¹⁹² Comparably, Urry argues that at the present the empirical analysis of the “global” as “culture” remains at the institutional/organizational/structural levels.¹⁹³ This case study, through one-on-one interviews with tourists/visitors at the March 11 Memorial, evaluates the effect of globalization on Spanish nationals. Second, Pretes proposes that future research should focus on a recently constructed place of remembrance or tourist attraction that would act as an “archeological” site where a nation’s past is displayed.¹⁹⁴ The third identifiable gap is that Pretes and Anderson fail to account for globalization as having an effect on how nationalism is communicated through memorials. The following case study demonstrates the extent to which globalization and/or cosmopolitanism affect the cultural identity of individuals at a newly constructed memorial site.

¹⁹² Tomlinson, "Globalization and Cultural Analysis ", 164.

¹⁹³ Urry, "The Global Media and Cosmopolitanism," 3.

¹⁹⁴ Pretes: 140.

CHAPTER 3

TOURING THE MEMORIAL: A CASE STUDY

Introduction

The morning of Thursday, March 11, 2004, began as any other in Madrid, Spain. People from all backgrounds and origins prepared themselves for a new day. As the largest and oldest train station in Spain, the Atocha Train Station is a locus for domestic and foreign travelers who seek intercity, regional, and international transportation. Not long after 7:30 am, the regular hustle and bustle of the morning came to chaotic halt.¹⁹⁵ Suddenly and without warning, Madrid changed. Within a series of moments, bombs exploded in several locations simultaneously.¹⁹⁶ One bomb exploded at 7:37 am, followed by two bombs within four seconds of each other beginning at 7:38 am.¹⁹⁷ Not far away, two other bombs exploded within two separate carriages as people departed from El Pozo del Tío Raimundo Station.¹⁹⁸ At the Santa Eugenia Station, one bomb exploded at precisely the same time.¹⁹⁹ One minute later, at 7:39 am, four bombs

¹⁹⁵ Sonia Aparicio, "11-M Masacre En Madrid: El Mayor Atentado De La Historia De España", Mundinteractivos, S.A. <http://www.elmundo.es/documentos/2004/03/espana/atentados11m/hechos.html>; Lawrence Wright, "The Terror Web: Were the Madrid Bombings Part of a New, Far-Reaching Jihad Being Plotted on the Internet?," *The New Yorker*, August 2, 2004.

¹⁹⁶ Aparicio; Wright.

¹⁹⁷ Aparicio; Wright.

¹⁹⁸ Aparicio; *ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*; Wright.

exploded in different carriages at the Calle Tellez Station only 800 meters (or approximately a half mile) from the Atocha Train Station.²⁰⁰ These ten explosions affected the Cercanías commuter train line, which moves in the same direction between Alcalá de Henares and the Atocha stations.²⁰¹

Within a matter of minutes, relief workers flurried to the scene.²⁰² Sounds of screams and sirens filled the air.²⁰³ In total, 191 people from all over the world were killed and another 1,800 were wounded.²⁰⁴ The relief effort that followed encompassed the support of residents and citizens living in Madrid. Unequipped to handle this traumatic event, Spanish authorities freely accepted the help of ordinary citizens. Passing buses in the area were transformed into ambulances for those most severely wounded.²⁰⁵ Blood donor trucks were set up in Madrid's main square, Puerta del Sol, where thousands of people donated blood.²⁰⁶ Soon after, as a way to pay homage, people created makeshift shrines to the victims consisting of cards, candles, and flowers and placed them in front of the municipal building in the main square and at the Train Station itself.²⁰⁷ News of the

²⁰⁰ Aparicio; Wright.

²⁰¹ Aparicio; Wright.

²⁰² Aparicio; Sonia Aparicio, "11-M Masacre En Madrid: Las Víctimas", Mundinteractivos, S.A. <http://www.elmundo.es/documentos/2004/03/espana/atentados11m/victimas.html>.

²⁰³ Aparicio, "11- M Masacre En Madrid: El Mayor Atentado De La Historia De España"; Aparicio, "11-M Masacre En Madrid: Las Víctimas".

²⁰⁴ Aparicio, "11-M Masacre En Madrid: Las Víctimas".

²⁰⁵ Aparicio, "11- M Masacre En Madrid: El Mayor Atentado De La Historia De España"; Aparicio, "11-M Masacre En Madrid: Las Víctimas".

²⁰⁶ Aparicio, "11-M Masacre En Madrid: Las Víctimas".

²⁰⁷ Lisa Abend and Geoff Pingree, "Spain's Path to 3/11 Memorial: How Should Madrid Honor 190 Killed in Train Bombings?," *The Christian Science Monitor*, July 14, 2004; Aparicio, "11- M Masacre En Madrid: El Mayor Atentado De La Historia De España"; Cristina Sánchez-Carretero, "Trains of Workers, Trains of Death: Some Reflections after the March 11 Attacks in Madrid," in *Spontaneous Shrines and the Public Memorialization of Death*, ed. Jack Santino (New York Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

terrorist attacks spread quickly particularly with cellular SMS text messaging and through reports on television and various mass media outlets.²⁰⁸

How societies cope with tragedy can be an opportunity for a common shared experience. Within less than one week after the terrorist attacks, the Spanish government issued an international competition of ideas to create a space of remembering at the Atocha Train Station for the victims of the train bombings, the victims' loved ones, the Spanish public (as a whole), and the larger international community.²⁰⁹ The Spanish Ministry of Public Works and the local government of Madrid reviewed over 300 applications from various artists, architects, and sculptors. Estudio FAM- Architecture and Urbanism, a young architectural group from Madrid formed in 2002, was selected to build their concept for reflection.²¹⁰

Today, the March 11 Memorial stands outside the Atocha Train Station. The 36-foot glass cylinder was completed in 2007 for the third commemoration of the attacks. This Memorial consists of an internal and external structure. The glass cylinder "rises above a dark underground visitor chamber with blue walls, and the floor, is designed to hold up to 200 people to engage in reflection and contemplation".²¹¹ The reaction to the Memorial from the perspective of the architect group, the March 11 Victims'

²⁰⁸ Aparicio, "11- M Masacre En Madrid: El Mayor Atentado De La Historia De España"; Manuel Castells and others, "The Mobile Civil Society," in *Mobile Communication and Society: A Global Perspective* (Boston: The MIT Press, 2007), 198-202.

²⁰⁹ Abend and Pingree.

²¹⁰ Ibid; Hattie Hartman, "Madrid Memorial " *The Architects Journal* 227, no. 1 (2008): 40.

²¹¹ Helen Elias, "Printed Foil Scrims Create a Fitting Memorial: Memorial for the Victims of the Bombings in Madrid Uses Printed Etfе Scrims.," *Fabric Architecture*, no. March (2008).
http://fabricarchitecturemag.com/articles/0308_de1_memorial.html.

Association, and the viewing Spanish public shed light on how nationalism and globalization challenge each other.

Methodology

In an effort to answer the extent to which globalization alters nationalism, I conducted a qualitative multi-method study. My data collection strategy combined field observations in the form of structured and unstructured interviews with an interpretative analysis of responses. These pertained to how the interviewees felt about their cultural identity after looking at the Memorial. The interpretive method employed in this study mainly draws upon similar methods employed by Michael Pretes and by extension, Benedict Anderson. Anderson argues that maps, the logoization of archeological images on postcards, and the use of an image as a marketing device are used to communicate deep history and identification with the land.²¹²

Following Pretes' methods to demonstrate the symbolic significance of nationalist resources, multiple data sources were assessed as evidence to support my hypothesis: monuments and memorials represent a form of communicated nationalism and their significance can be transformed by the context of globalization. A combination of textual and interview analysis was conducted in order to substantiate the larger claims of the present study.²¹³ This method builds on Pretes' study that combines interpretative and

²¹² Pretes: 127.

²¹³ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* 2nd ed., Applied Social Research Method Series vol. 5 (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc., 1994), 91-92.

contextual analysis of several tourist sites in America to argue that nationalism is produced through tourism.²¹⁴

Similar to Pretes' method, Urry combines textual analysis with focus groups in his article on global media and cosmopolitanism research in order to argue that there are symbolic resources of globalization in media and in mediated communication.²¹⁵ His use of textual analysis and interviews through focus groups informed the design of this study.

For this study, I interviewed Esaú Acosta Pérez, an architect from the Estudio FAM group who co-designed the vision for the Memorial. I also met with Iñigo Molera Magalana, Communications Specialist for the March 11 Victims' Association. Using the snowball sampling method, I conducted 25 interviews with the anonymous public who viewed, reflected, and remembered at the Memorial site.²¹⁶ I digitally recorded all of the interviews in Spanish with the consent of the respondents and used ExpressScribe software to transcribe the interviews. Then, I translated responses into English. Finally, I evaluated documents pertaining to the Memorial such as the Memorial's pamphlet, city maps, tourism brochures, online wikis, and a postcard in order to draw some conclusions about the significance of the symbols used in the Memorial and their implications for nationalism, tourism, and globalization literature.

In order to identify "deterritorialized and reterritorialized" spaces, I questioned the interviewees to gain insight about their interpretation of the space based on the design of the Memorial. I conducted an interpretative textual analysis of the "floating" messages as

²¹⁴ Pretes: 129-139.

²¹⁵ Urry, "The Global Media and Cosmopolitanism," 6-12.

²¹⁶ Earl Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research* 12th ed. (Belmont Wadsworth, Cengage Learning 2010), 193-194; John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* 3rd ed. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc., 2009), 173- 202.

part of the Memorial. Together, I was able to identify deterritorialized spaces to demonstrate how “national spaces” are refracted by the context of global communication flows. This research shows that memorials do not signify national identity alone, but can serve as global cultural referents as well.

Context

The following three sub-sections present the context, design, and location/space of the March 11 Memorial. The circumstances surrounding the Memorial highlight how globalization may impede the cultivation of nationalist sentiments at a memorial site. Within this section, I provide a brief history of *Euskadi ta Askatasuna* (ETA), the terrorist attack, and the aftermath of the attack, including the political controversy and construction of the March 11 Memorial.

Spain has a long history of terrorism.²¹⁷ It is the home of the ETA terrorist group, also known as “Basque Fatherland and Liberty”.²¹⁸ It is one of Europe’s longest thriving terrorist organizations. The politically tense history of ETA to the present day sets the stage for the events of March 11, 2004.²¹⁹ ETA’s history portrays Spanish nationalism as controversial and sets the foundation of the Spanish political atmosphere and confusion at

²¹⁷ Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, "Background Information on Foreign Terrorist Organizations", United States of America <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/rpt/fto/2801.htm>.

²¹⁸ Nawal Al-Sibaa, "Eta Terrorism: Problem of a State and Dilemma of a Nation", Islamonline.net http://www.islamonline.net/servlet/Satellite?c=Article_C&cid=1156077730787&pagename=Zone-English-Muslim_Affairs%2FMAELayout.

²¹⁹ Giles Tremlett, "Eta or Al-Qaida? 192 Killed and 1,400 Injured in Train Bombings", The Guardian <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2004/mar/12/spain.gilestremlett2>.

the time of the terrorist attack.²²⁰ Historically, this feeling of separatism was ETA's catalyst to polarize from the Spanish government.²²¹

Since ETA's establishment, the organization has acted against the Spanish Government by triggering bombs and assassinating Spanish Government officials, especially security and military forces, politicians, and judicial figures.²²² ETA is not a discriminating terrorist organization. It is also known for its attacks against the French.²²³ According to the United States Department of State Counterterrorism Office, ETA has killed more than 800 people since it began lethal attacks in the early 1960s.²²⁴

Given Spain's long and tumultuous history, when the March 11 attacks occurred, intelligence officers from the political party in power, Partido Popular (PP), immediately suggested that the perpetrators of the attack were ETA.²²⁵ All across Spain, hospitals rapidly reached capacity and long lines formed outside blood donation centers at city centers.²²⁶ In Madrid, a vast impromptu morgue was set up in a convention hall and busloads of relatives identified remains.²²⁷ Amidst all of the havoc, ETA was a prime suspect of the attacks given the group's record. Authorities found Titadine, an explosive material used by the organization in the past and in earlier train bombing attempts.²²⁸ No one group immediately took blame for the attacks. Authorities noted that indiscriminate

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Naval Post Graduate School, "Basque Fatherland and Liberty (Eta)", Country Reports on Terrorism 2007 and United States Department of State 2008; Tremieth; "Who Are Eta?", BBC News <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3500728.stm> (accessed July 15, 2010); *ibid.*

²²² Counterterrorism.

²²³ Tremieth.

²²⁴ Counterterrorism.

²²⁵ Tremieth.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid.

attacks were a radical change of tactics for ETA, which is why terrorist experts warned that the Islamic terrorist group Al- Qaeda could not be eliminated.²²⁹ However, on March 12, there was already mass confusion over responsibility for the disaster. An Arabic tape with Quranic quotes was found in a suspect van near Madrid. At least one group claimed Al-Qaeda was to blame. On the evening of March 11, Al- Qaeda took responsibility for the bombings that were detonated using remote control activated cell phones.²³⁰ Ultimately, authorities found a prepaid cell phone card in an unexploded bag that led to an arrest of the three perpetrators.²³¹ Even ETA's founder, Julen de Madariaga, acknowledged that it would be unlike the group to attack busy, working-class areas.²³² He proclaimed, "It is not ETA's method of working," he told French television station LCI from the Basque city of San Sebastian.²³³ As time passed after the attacks, there was mounting evidence that Al-Qaeda was responsible for the horrific acts of violence against the Spaniards.

General political elections were scheduled four days after the attacks which continued to complicate the state of domestic affairs in Spain.²³⁴ Despite the existing evidence of the tape, the Minister of Interior and a government spokesman resolutely insisted on ETA's culpability until the evening of March 13.²³⁵ Manuel Castells et. al note, "making the Basque terrorists responsible would favor the PP in the elections, while acknowledging the action to be that of Islamic terrorists would indicate to Spaniards the

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Castells and others, 198; Tremienn.

²³¹ Castells and others, 198.

²³² Tremienn.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Castells and others, 198.

²³⁵ Sánchez-Carretero; Tremienn.

high price they were paying for their government's policy in Iraq, thus politically inciting them to vote against the government".²³⁶ The prime minister, Jose Maria Aznar, whose political party was favored to win the election, called for nationwide protests against terrorism that were expected to fill the streets of most Spanish cities. Addressing the nation, the Prime Minister, announced,

There are no negotiations possible or desirable with these assassins that have so often sown death through all of Spain. We will defeat them. We will succeed in finishing off the terrorist band, with the strength of the rule of law and with the unity of all Spaniards.²³⁷

The prime minister exuded strong messages of Spanish national unity and connectedness through his use of "We". However, with looming signs of political manipulation of the facts, these words of unification backfired. On March 13, the eve of the political election, the government was forced "to confirm what had already been stated in international and nongovernmental [arenas] by controlled media- the attack was perpetrated by Islamic terrorists".²³⁸ Hundreds of Spaniards protested, accusing the government of manipulation, and distrust.²³⁹ As a result, the people demanded transparency. The next day, Spain voted in Socialist Prime Minister José Luis Rodriguez Zapatero.²⁴⁰ Within five weeks of his inauguration, he ordered the withdrawal of 1,300 Spanish troops from Iraq.²⁴¹ Ultimately, however, the political turmoil in the days after March 11 created a national distrust of Spanish mass media outlets due to the actions of the government in power. While the

²³⁶ Castells and others, 198-199.

²³⁷ Tremienn.

²³⁸ Sánchez-Carretero, 333.

²³⁹ Ibid; Tremienn.

²⁴⁰ Sánchez-Carretero, 334; "Spain's Election- Back for More, the Socialist Party Wins Another Term", The Economist <http://www.economist.com/node/10833787>.

²⁴¹ "Spain Prime Minister Orders Iraq Troops Home", BBC News <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/3637523.stm>.

distrust permeated Spanish society, the United Nations Security Council issued a unanimous resolution condemning the Madrid terrorist bombings.²⁴² The resolution urged all states to join in the search for the perpetrators.²⁴³

The aftermath of the attack incited use of media to communicate a united Spanish nationalism against terrorism and the Iraq War.²⁴⁴ Media defined here is more than television, radio, the press, and the Internet. Media can be defined as a means by which something is communicated or expressed. Castells et. al. writes about another form of media- cellular text messaging (SMS) used to communicate distrust in the PP government among social circles. This informal and alternative communication media proved to rally angry protestors on March 12 and 13. On March 12, Spaniards filled the city center streets and “cried together [remembering and reflecting] after the attacks in the train stations of Atocha, El Pozo, and Santa Eugenia (Madrid)”.²⁴⁵ Along with the use of the Internet for international news networks, Spaniards used “alternative communication channels which led to mobilizations against the PP on Saturday [March] 13, “a day of reflection”, when, according to the Spanish law, political demonstrations and public statements are forbidden”.²⁴⁶ Spaniards were not complacent. They “used public spaces to express nation-wide solidarity with the victims” across the country and the world.²⁴⁷

Occupying public space to mourn was not the only way people demonstrated their solidarity with the victims. Giddens argues that in times of crisis, nationalism becomes

²⁴² United Nations Security Council, "Security Council Condemns Madrid Terrorist Bombings, Urges All States to Join Search for Perpetrators," ed. United Nations (New York 2004).

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Castells and others, 199-203.

²⁴⁵ Sánchez-Carretero, 334.

²⁴⁶ Castells and others, 199.

²⁴⁷ Sánchez-Carretero, 334.

blatant, stronger, and heightened.²⁴⁸ The Madrid attacks exemplify this assertion. Cristina Sánchez-Carretero writes about the spontaneous shrines created in the train stations and other emblematic sites of atrocity in Madrid (such as Atocha, El Pozo, Santa Eugenia, and Alcalá).²⁴⁹ She describes the public displays of sorrow at the Atocha Train Station,

Atocha is one of the main train stations in Madrid and it had more and longer-standing shrines. Atocha is in fact a cosmopolitan train station. While Atocha's shrines can be considered ecumenical representations of a combination of tourists and daily commuters, the shrines in El Pozo, Santa Eugenia, and other train stations of the line, such as Alcalá, showed more personal links to the victims.²⁵⁰

The shrines performed acts of nationalism. The letters, candles, toys, drawings, banners of remembrance, banners against terrorism, photographs, poems, flowers, white palms (representing peace in the fight against terrorism), black ribbons (representing Spain's fight against terrorism), and other displays epitomized the outpouring of responses.²⁵¹

The public demonstrated a collective Spanish experience of those lost. Sánchez-Carretero describes,

The walls of the train station were used to voice ideas or reject those expressed by others. The capacity to invite participation and interpretation is due to the polysemy inherent in those assemblages (Santino 1986) and the multivocality over time, because the postings are responded to, adding- in a dialogic way- new meanings. Interestingly, the shrines, the demonstrations, and the writings all were part of a popular response to the bombings. They registered sympathy and identification with the victims; outrage at the perpetrators and outrage, also, at the Government, which had attempted to deceive the people.²⁵²

²⁴⁸ John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Continuum, 1991), 85.

²⁴⁹ Sánchez-Carretero, 333-344.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 336.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 341.

²⁵² Ibid., 338.

Journalists for *The Christian Science Monitor* also highlighted the existence of two "video walls" installed at Madrid's Atocha Train Station.²⁵³ Many people paid respects to the victims of the March 11 terrorist attacks by leaving or sending messages (including electronic messages) days after the attacks instead of notes and bouquets.²⁵⁴ The various displays of solidarity reached far beyond the level of the nation-state. People from all over the world offered letters in various languages and displays of cohesion indicating that the world shared in the Spanish experience of devastation, pain, the fight for peace, and remembrance.²⁵⁵

Yet, Spaniards and the world participated in memorialization immediately after the attacks in other ways. Television stations replaced their logos with the Spanish flag and overlaid with a black ribbon and the government broadcasted news nonstop.²⁵⁶ More unique ways of performing acts of cultural memory include the production of music. For example, Juanes' song entitled, "*La Oreja de Van Gogh*" (Van Gogh's Ear), documents a love story between two people who are separated (in this case by death) as a result of the March 11, 2004, terrorist bombings. Finally, as part of the mourning process, people enacted pilgrimages to the different locations of the bombings.²⁵⁷ Sánchez-Carretero observes,

In the first weeks, visitors to the shrines went from one train station to another, producing a certain kind of pilgrimage. At the same time, there was an

²⁵³ Abend and Pingree.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Hartman: 42; Esaú Acosta Pérez, "Interview with Esaú Acosta Pérez," (Madrid: Estadio FAM, 2011); Sánchez-Carretero, 341.

²⁵⁶ Adrienne Mong, "Spaniards Embrace Black Ribbon to Show Grief: Symbol, in Different Colors, Popular across the Globe", MSNBC.com http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/4541346/ns/world_news/t/spaniards-embrace-black-ribbon-show-grief/#.TIWQbL-tP90.

²⁵⁷ Sánchez-Carretero, 336.

institutional pilgrimage by political representatives, religious figures, and other famous people, such as soccer teams... In addition to the spontaneous shrines, various institutionalized memorials are being constructed ("El bosque de los ausentes" in Atocha, a plaque in Sol dedicated to the public services that helped during those days, and a sculpture commissioned in memory of Antonio Lopez to be placed in Atocha.²⁵⁸

The architect of this state and locally sponsored memorial utilized the messages left behind at the "spontaneous shrines".²⁵⁹

Publicly remembering and honoring victims of a terrorist attack of this magnitude was not a simple task. This was true given the number of victims who needed to be identified and the political controversy surrounding the perpetrators of the attack. The loss of civilian life, the global fight against Al Qaeda-linked terrorism and the status of the Iraq War marked a universal collective memory felt particularly more profound to the local Madridian community and Spain. Commemorating the victims of terrorist attacks was an endeavor fraught with political controversy. In total, 191 victims were killed from around the world- Spain (142), Romania (16), Ecuador (6), Poland (4), Bulgaria (4), Peru (3), Dominican Republic (2), Columbia (2), Morocco (2), Ukraine (2), Honduras (2), Senegal (1), Cuba (1), Chile (1), Brazil (1), France (1), and the Philippines (1).²⁶⁰ On March 16, 2004, within days of Spain's and Europe's most horrendous terrorist attack to date, the Mayor of Madrid announced a decree ordering convocation of an international competition of ideas for the construction of a memorial.²⁶¹ He writes, "In this decree, there was an objective of building a memorial to keep the memory of the victims alive in

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Hartman: 42.

²⁶⁰ Aparicio, "11-M Masacre En Madrid: Las Víctimas".

²⁶¹ Government of Madrid, "Otras Actuaciones. 4 Monumento 11-M. Atocha," in *Área de Gobierno de Urbanismo y Vivienda Memoria de Gestión 2007* (2007), 289.

the collective memory.”²⁶² Most importantly, the Government wanted to give people a place “to reflect, among other things, the feeling of pain and great solidarity shown by all citizens”.²⁶³

Plans for the Memorial, however, did not begin smoothly. The national and city governments began planning two separate memorials.²⁶⁴ The local government had developed certain criteria about the location and vision of the Memorial. The Government chose the Memorial’s location according to both a local government report and Esaú Acosta Pérez, architect of Estudio FAM.²⁶⁵ The selected site was already an existing traffic island in front of the Atocha Train Station at the intersection of Paseo de la Infanta Isabel, Avenida de la Ciudad de Barcelona and Calle Alfonso XII. The plans to beautify the traffic circle also coincided with the Recoletos-Prado Special Plan, a plan adopted by the Government Commission of the City of Madrid on May 9, 2003.²⁶⁶ As a result, in June of 2004, the two distinct plans- one for the memorial of the victims of March 11 and the other Recoletos-Prado Special Plan were unified by the Spanish Ministry of Public Works. They in turn partnered with the City Government of Madrid and RENFE (Spain’s train company) to commence the design and construction of a memorial.²⁶⁷ By the beginning of July 2004, they announced a single competition for the Memorial’s design.²⁶⁸ The Minister of Development, Magdalena Alvarez stated, “Initially we thought that we [the Ministry] would put our monument inside the station, and the

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Abend and Pingree.

²⁶⁵ Pérez.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Abend and Pingree.

city government would erect theirs outside. But we realized that it did not make sense, since our goals were the same, and the message was the same."²⁶⁹ Ultimately, senior political officials at the local and state level agreed to cooperatively construct a memorial to remember.

Beyond deciding the number of memorials constructed, there were significant public discussions pertaining to the most vital question of all- who should the monument commemorate?²⁷⁰ Since the March 11 bombings were not Spain's first experience with terrorism, there was a public outcry suggesting that the new memorial should commemorate the lives of more than 850 Spaniards who have been lost due to terrorism over the past 30 years.²⁷¹ *The Christian Science Monitor* reports,

It is an absence that José Alcaráz, president of Madrid's Association for the Victims of Terrorism (AVT), hopes to address. 'There are more than 460 families in Madrid alone who have been affected' by ETA's terrorism, he explains, 'and we believe that [the planned memorial] should include them as well.'²⁷²

However, many Spaniards disagreed. They argued, "It is a mistake to commemorate both groups of victims in a single monument" because this particular attack was more devastating than ever before. Madrid's mayor at the time, Alberto Ruiz- Gallardón, concurred. At a press conference in July 2004, he emphasized that the "only qualification for the monument is that it pay homage to the victims of March 11."²⁷³ It was the designer's responsibility to ensure successful messaging to the public.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Ibid.

The official slogan for the international competition was "Light Dedicates a Minute of the Day for Each Missing Person".²⁷⁴ Of the submitted proposals, people of various nationalities and backgrounds including Europeans, Americans, Asians, etc. applied for consideration.²⁷⁵ The final decision to announce the award in November 2004 was made by a panel of more than 30 members. They included prominent representatives of professional associations, artists, scholars, museums, representatives of the City of Madrid, RENFE, the Ministry of Public Works, and the Victims' Association of Terrorism, etc. This body of people unanimously selected the innovative Spanish architectural group named Estudio Formidable Aroma a Manzana (FAM), also known as Estudio SIC.²⁷⁶ The group is composed of architects: Esaú Acosta Pérez, Mauro Gil-Fournier Esquerra, Miguel Jaenicke Fontao, Pedro Colón de Carvajal and Rachel Salis Buj García.²⁷⁷ Estudio FAM committed to undertake all studies and projects to design a monument that successfully commemorated the lives lost in the March 11, 2004, Madrid train bombings.

The Government did not fully anticipate that the length of construction would last two years from when it began in 2005. As a result, the City Government of Madrid established two other formal commemorative memorials for the attack while awaiting the completion of the Atocha Memorial. Ultimately, people needed an immediate space and location to remember, reflect, and pay homage to the lives lost from Spain and around the

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Madrid.

²⁷⁶ Abend and Pingree; Roberto Bécares, "Los Secretos Del Monumento Del 11-M", *Elmundo.es* <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2007/03/09/madrid/1173445663.html>.

²⁷⁷ Estudio SIC, "Office", Estudio SIC <http://www.estudiosic.es/index.php?/estudio/estudio/> (2010 and 2011).

world. The first commemorating memorial was placed in La Puerta del Sol at the end of March 2004. It is an engraved marble plaque that reads, “Thank you, Madrid. To all who knew their duty in the rescue of victims of the attacks of March 11, 2004 and to all the anonymous citizens who helped. May the memory of the victims and the exemplary behavior of the people of Madrid remain always. -March 2004.”²⁷⁸ Still, without a monument at the Atocha Train Station in 2005 for the first annual commemoration, the City government of Madrid created a space for remembering loved ones in Madrid’s Retiro Park. The government named the space “*El Bosque del Recuerdo*”, otherwise known in English as “The Forest of Remembrance”. The forest contains 191 olive trees, one for every person who died, planted in a spiral figure around a small hill. A plaque near the trees reads, “In honor and gratitude to all victims of terrorism whose memory remains alive in our coexistence and constantly enriches us. -The citizens of Madrid, March 11, 2005.”²⁷⁹ Previously named as *El Bosque de los Ausentes* (The Forest of the Departed), the Forest was re-named as the *El Bosque del Recuerdo* in 2006 at the request of the victims.²⁸⁰

Three years after the terrorist attacks, the Spanish Ministry of Public Works, the City Government of Madrid, and RENFE made public comments educating the Spanish public and the world about the significance of the Memorial as a result of the public’s initial confusion.²⁸¹ Using *El Mundo*, a Spanish national newspaper, the Government

²⁷⁸ I took a picture of this memorial and translated its message.

²⁷⁹ I took a picture of this memorial and translated its message.

²⁸⁰ Typically Spanish, "Madrid Train Bombs Memorials"

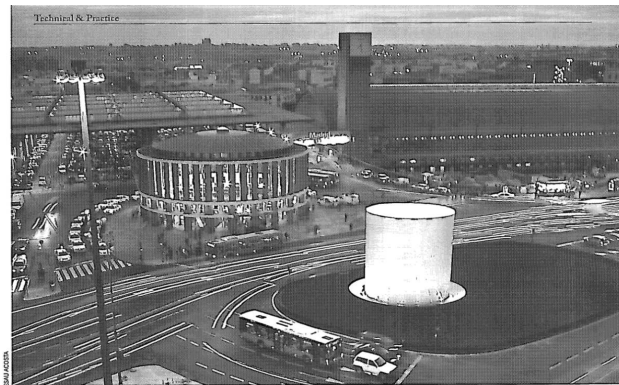
http://www.typicallyspanish.com/news/publish/article_13347.shtml (accessed June 21).

²⁸¹ Bécares.

clarified that the Memorial is located below ground, rather than above ground.²⁸² A Spanish wiki made especially for architects (Wiki Arquitectura: Edificios y Casas del Mundo) states, "Beyond the intimate relationship with the place, the air inside the Memorial is the space of representation that illuminates the victims daily with the rise and fall of the sun."²⁸³ Acosta Pérez cautioned, "A memorial of this kind takes time to build."²⁸⁴ Implying the group's innovative use of materials, Acosta Pérez insinuated that this Memorial required substantially more time to construct than originally anticipated.

Design

An enormous, glass cylinder-like structure, built to the left of the train station can be seen from all directions. Traffic zooms around the Memorial, which sits in the center of a traffic circle that is not accessible by foot. Close to the Memorial's exterior shell, visitors can see the intricately laid glass blocks creating the structure.



*Figure 1. The March 11 Memorial and the Atocha Train Station.*²⁸⁵

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ "Monument 11-M", WikiArquitectura: Buildings of the World

http://en.wikiarquitectura.com/index.php/Monument_11-M (2010- 2011). Translated by Laura Ann Fresco

²⁸⁴ Pérez.

²⁸⁵ Hartman: 40.



*Figure 2. The March 11 Memorial, outside of the Atocha Train Station.*²⁸⁶

There are two major components to the physical structure of the Memorial that contain messages- the outer monolithic glass structure and the transparent inner membrane. Estudio FAM's design for this memorial is unique. The architects chose to use innovative materials to best create a place to remember. They describe the Memorial in English on their website (notably, there are some grammatical English errors):

The memorial is material and its construction, in order to enclosure the void. The structure of the Monument for the victims of the terror attacks in Madrid is a

²⁸⁶ Laura Ann Fresco, "Photo of the March 11 Memorial from Outside " (Madrid: American University, 2011).

worldwide novelty. For the first time massive glass blocks are connected to form a structure using a transparent adhesive and no additional mechanical elements. The outer layer of the 11-meter tall monument consists out of approximate 15,000 massive glass blocks, that are glued using just a transparent adhesive. The internal layer is made out of a over pressure stabilized ETFE foil. The interior void is the remembrance atmosphere space.²⁸⁷

The durable glass blocks referenced here are made of borosilicate transparent glass.²⁸⁸

Thousands of small curved glass pieces are glued to each other using an acrylic adhesive that requires UV light to glue the blocks together.²⁸⁹ Hattie Hartman cites Pedro Colón as having said, “We wanted to use an eternal material.”²⁹⁰ For the second layer, the architects chose to use “elit- tetrafluoretileno” foil also known as ETFE foil.²⁹¹ This foil allows light to shine through as well as to allow the opaque printed words on it to stand out from its colorless background. The ETFE foil, weighing approximately fifty pounds, is what conveys meaning to its onlookers.²⁹² The pressurized air system perfectly calibrates inside the Memorial as the pressurized air buttresses the foil to tighten, lift, and stabilize into the outer transparent glass cylinder and in the air.²⁹³ Finally, the architects worked with engineers to customize the curved, shiny glass windows separating the blue base of the Memorial from the train station.²⁹⁴ It is the first time that this type of glass has ever been used in the world.²⁹⁵

²⁸⁷ Estudio SIC, “11 March Memorial. 1º Price”, Estudio SIC

<http://www.estudiosic.es/index.php?/proyectos/monumento-a-las-victimas-del-11m/> (2010- 2011).

²⁸⁸ Estudio FAM, *Monumento En Recuerdo De Las Víctimas Del 11-M*, Architecture, 2007, Government of Spain: Ministry of Public Works, Government of Madrid, and Estudio FAM, Madrid; Hartman: 41.

²⁸⁹ FAM; Hartman: 41.

²⁹⁰ Hartman: 40.

²⁹¹ FAM.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ *ibid*; Hartman.

²⁹⁴ FAM.

²⁹⁵ Hartman: 42.

Esaú Acosta Perez, Estudio FAM architect, described the Memorial stating, “People think that the Memorial is above ground but what they do not know is that the real Memorial is below ground [inside the train station].” The entrance to the “real” Memorial is located on the upper floor inside the train station. People swiftly walk past the all-glass entrance, which shows off the Memorial’s blue interior. Some stop and go inside; some visit the Memorial with purpose; and, others meander out of curiosity.

Juxtaposed to the cacophony of the hustle and bustle of busy Madridian life is the solace of a space parsed to reflect and remember the tragedy that occurred on March 11. At the entrance of the Memorial, there is a small all-glass passageway with two heavy doors on each side. As the first door closes, noise from the train station completely dissipates. Inside the passageway, visitors are instructed to take a moment to look at the 191 names engraved on the glass of the people who perished. Properly illuminated, the names can be read clearly. According to Hattie Hartman, the victims’ families did not feel comfortable printing the names on the interior of the Memorial. For that reason, the names are located on the glass at the Memorial’s entrance.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁶ Ibid.



*Figure 3: The names of the 191 people who perished are etched into the glass.*²⁹⁷

Visitors step into a brilliant blue space, encapsulated with contorted glass windows that are along the perimeter of the space and face out into the train station. There is a sizable oculus opening in the ceiling. Sunlight draws the visitors' attention to the light. As the visitors peer up, they witness an enormous plastic membrane suspended in the air with messages. The messages express various condolences and emotions. The quiet, blue empty space allows the Memorial to become the visitor's focal point. The presentation of the Memorial infers a relationship between nationalism, tourism, and globalization. The messages help to create a Spanish national and local tragedy into a global one by transforming the space of the Memorial with the use of messages in various languages.

²⁹⁷ Laura Ann Fresco, "Photo of the Names of the 191 People Who Died as a Result of the March 11 Terrorist Attack," (Madrid: American University, 2011).



Figure 4. Tourists/visitors reading the messages of the March 11 Memorial.²⁹⁸

The Messages

Inside the Memorial, posted on the 33 panels of ETFE foil, are thousands of messages written in Spanish (or some dialect of it), English, Arabic, German, Italian, French, Polish, Romanian, and Greek. It is difficult to distinguish where some messages begin and others end, particularly if two Spanish messages or phrases are side by side. Drawn to the light from the transparent structure, visitors read any one of the 20,000 passionate messages.²⁹⁹ The circular manner in which the messages are posted provides the visitor with an opportunity to read the messages of condolences indicative of a stream of consciousness.

²⁹⁸ Laura Ann Fresco, "Photo of Tourists and Visitors Looking at the March 11 Memorial," (Madrid: American University, 2011).

²⁹⁹ Hartman: 42.

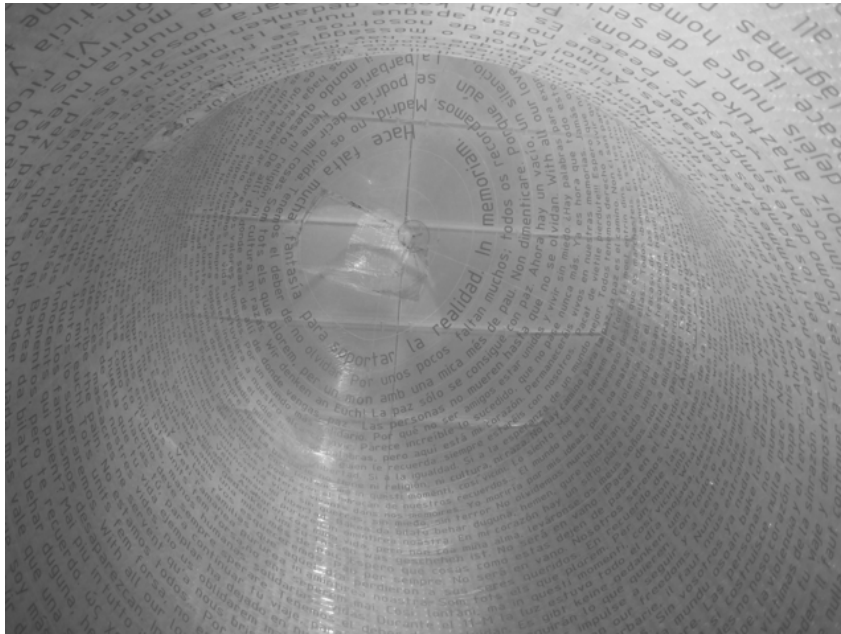


Figure 5. Inside the Memorial; Looking up at the “floating” messages.³⁰⁰

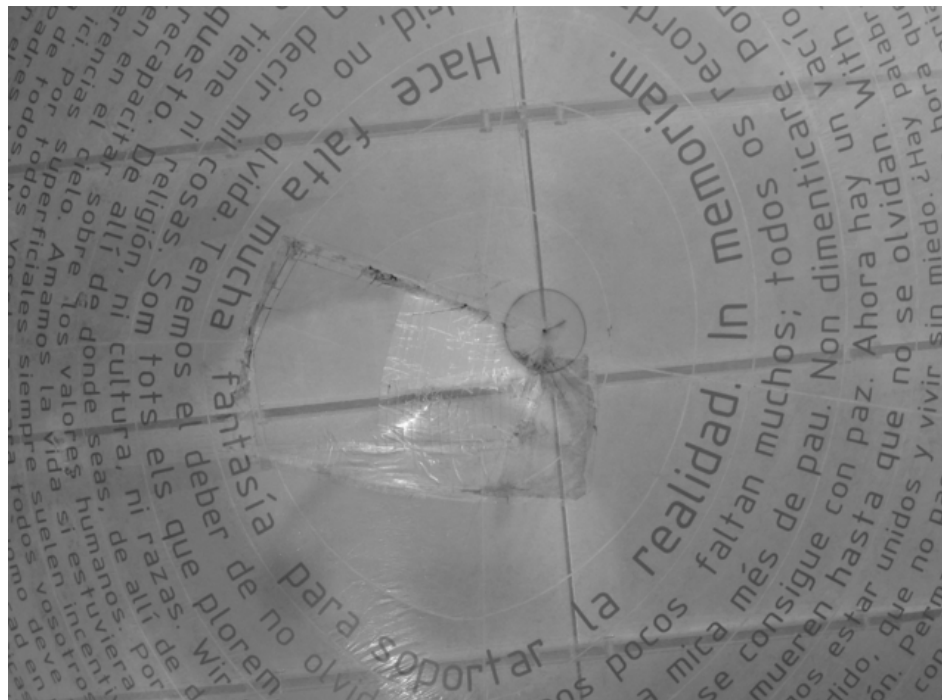


Figure 6. The messages at the top of the Memorial.³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ Laura Ann Fresco, "Photo of the Messages inside the Memorial " (Madrid: American University, 2011).

Looking up, the first message circling the foil dome states, “Hace falta mucha fantasía para soportar la realidad. In memoriam.” Translated into English the message reads, “Much fantasy is needed to cope with reality. In memoriam.” Themes from the messages appear and reappear. Common words include, but are not limited to: love, peace, fear, soul, silence, space, to fight, freedom, will not forget, and united. Some messages are pleas for peace; others are messages of sorrow; while yet, others are messages of complete disbelief and anger. For example, one message reads “Fathers, Mothers! Educate peace...”³⁰² Architect Acosta Pérez emphasized that while there was rampant political controversy at the time, the Memorial was designed to be devoid of political affiliation.³⁰³ He also articulated that the message and design that Estudio FAM attempted to communicate to its observers was a simple one- to reflect.³⁰⁴ The messages are posted in no particular order. Many messages, side by side, are found in Spanish. However, messages in languages other than English and Spanish are intermittently placed throughout the plastic foil. The following messages appear in the Memorial in Spanish and are translated here into English.

“Yo moriría por mis ideas pero no mataría por ellas...” I would die for my ideas but not kill for them...;

“La barbarie no tiene ni religión, ni cultura, ni razón. “Barbarism has no religion, no culture, no reason.;

“No será en vano. Nosotros son nuestra voz. Animo!” It will not be in vain. We are our voice. Courage!;

³⁰¹ Laura Ann Fresco, “Photo of the Messages at the Top of the Memorial,” (Madrid: American University 2011).

³⁰² FAM. Original quote: “Padres, Madres!! Educad en la paz...” Translated by Laura Ann Fresco.

³⁰³ Pérez.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

“Tenemos el deber de no olvidarlo.” We have the task of not forgetting.;

“Por unos pocos faltan muchos; todos os recordamos. Madrid no os olvida.”
Because of a few, many die; We remember everyone. Madrid won't forget.;

“Nosotros seremos nuestra voz.” We will be our own voice.;

“Como es posible? No al terrorismo.” How is it possible? No to terrorism.;

“Lo siento.” I'm sorry.;

“Ahora hay un vacío.” Now there is an emptiness.;

“Por qué no ser amigos, estar unidos y vivir sin miedo.” Why not be friends, be united, and live without fear.;

“El mundo tiene que cambiar...” The world has to change...;

“La paz solo consigue...” Only peace achieves...;

“Abrazar y decirles que no están solos.” Hug and tell them they are not alone.;

“Siempre en la memoria.” Always in memory.;

“Seguimos aquí, no olvidamos.” Follow us here, we will not forget.;

“Nos han unido. Amor.” They have united us. Love.;

“Mis lágrimas no se ven porque mi corazón llora.” My tears are not seen because my heart cries.;

“No hay un camino para la paz, la paz es el camino.” There is no path to peace, the peace is the path.;

“Para ser libre...” To be free...;

“Paz, por favor.” Peace, please.;

“No perder las esperanzas.” Do not lose hope.;

“Para ser libre hay que luchar” To be free you have to fight;

“Stop au massacre des innocents.” Stop the massacre of innocent people.;

“Os quiero.” I love all of you.;

“Por un mundo solidario.” For a unified world.;

“Mañana saldré de casa como lo hacías tu, para continuar tu viaje.” Tomorrow I will leave the house as you used to in order to continue your journey.;

“Pierdo algo.” I am losing something.;

“Durante el 11-M la luz estuvo todo el día mojada desde que os fuiste no ha parado de llorar.” During the 11th of March the light was wet all day. Since you left, it hasn't stopped weeping.;

“Juntos por la paz.” Together for peace.

Some messages written in English include:

“Words aren’t enough to describe the pain.”;

“With all of our love.”;

“No fear, no revenge, just peace.”;

“Such a shame!”;

“What has the world come to?”;

and, “Please let us alone and let the happiness come to our hearts again.”

Mirroring the architects’ idea, each message, written here, is separated by its own set of quotations to distinguish it from the previous message. These messages communicate beyond local and national sentiment. They communicate a sense of global unity for peace and a strong position against terrorism.

Interviews

The interviews represent how this Memorial communicates a global sense of belonging to its visitors. I conducted interviews in order to gain unique context and insight into the minds of the pivotal actors to this case study. The formal, scheduled, and

opened ended interviews I conducted included: meeting with the architectural group Estudio FAM and the March 11 Victims' Association. First, I interviewed one of the architects who designed the Memorial in order to ascertain the symbolic and/or intended "message" of the Memorial. Since architects frame the way in which people reflect and remember the past, the responses from this particular interview assisted in determining the extent to which Spanish nationalism was considered during the design process. Second, I interviewed the Communication Specialist from the March 11 Victims' Association to understand the response from the victims' and their families' viewpoint to the March 11 Memorial. Finally, I interviewed tourists/visitors in order to reveal greater depth of knowledge about the experiences, thoughts, and well wishes expressed by those affected by the Madrid terrorist attacks.

The Architect Group, Estudio FAM: Their Perspective³⁰⁵

Insight into the perspective of the selected architectural group was invaluable to this case study. It provided insider knowledge into the intent of the communicated messages of the Memorial. I conducted an hour-long personal interview with Estudio FAM architect Esaú Acosta Pérez. The intent of this interview was to explore the context, design, and location/space of the Memorial from the perspective of the group. Acosta Pérez acknowledged that his firm responded to the international competition of design ideas at the joint request of the Government of Spain (through the Ministry of Public Works) and the City Government of Madrid. Hundreds of applications were reviewed for architectural design, technical ability, and cost effectiveness. Anyone could apply.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

Applications were not required to be submitted by painters, sculptors, or architects.

Acosta Pérez explains,

At first, generally when you present for a competition like this one, you are given a concept from which to work. Competitions provide a very short amount of time, and force the artists to be 100% sure of the development of their idea. Trying to stay within the concepts given, it was really important for us to offer a space for people to reflect but because of where the Government wanted to build it (in the middle of a roundabout without access to it by foot from any side), we wanted people to see the memorial from afar. We also wanted to defend the thought that a memorial in the 21st century should not be a sculpture, but something a bit more advanced.

Estudio FAM's vision to commemorate the event did not represent a traditional Spanish memorial. Typical in the Spanish culture, traditional memorials utilize horses and Don Quixotes. He noted that the public was confused about the actual Memorial. People were concerned about its location and the additional time it would take to construct. He said, "If you have an idea in Spain, it should have been done yesterday. Look at Ground Zero, for example, the memorializing done there took a lot of time and there was a lot of controversy. When we were selected, the judges tried everything in their power to have the memorial built within a year knowing, however, that it would take years to complete." Acosta Pérez's response indicated that the process of memorialization requires time before and after a memorial's physical construction.

I questioned how Estudio FAM framed the message of the Memorial and how they determined what message or messages they wanted to communicate to the world. He sketched the Memorial's concept and idea on paper. He observed, "A million cars pass through the roundabout, so we said [as a group] let's create a concept in which the memorial could be seen from outside". Furthermore, Acosta Pérez noted that it was important for them to be able to include the messages obtained from the Ministry of

Public Works that were written five to six days after the attacks. He elaborated, “Our idea was that from the outside it would appear as if the messages were floating in the air while inside or underneath the cylinder people could enter and read the messages.” Acosta Pérez directly referenced the space of the Memorial as a unique one. The metaphorical mobility of the various intended “floating” messages symbolically transforms the space into a deterritorialized space and ascribes new significance and meaning to it.

Estudio FAM used three criteria for the selection of “floating” messages within the Memorial. The architects reviewed hundreds of messages “that were left at the train station and later collected by the Spanish Ministry of Public Works.” Acosta Pérez stated,

The first criterion used is that the messages had to be written within five to six days of the attacks. The second criterion is that the messages had to have been hand written. Lastly, the third criterion, which is of double importance, is a statistical matter. We wanted to have a percentage of the messages in Castellano [Castellán Spanish] and have them be equal to an equal percentage of German [for example] or other languages in which messages were written. That is to say, if someone left out something, we left it out. We did not make any corrections. If you go to the Memorial and you speak German, there may be messages in German that are poorly written. If a mistake was made, we wanted to respect the writer and the message.

Although the group had access to thousands of messages, they intentionally selected messages written a few days after the attacks to “fully capture the rage, confusion, pain, and hope people felt as a result of the attacks”. These messages helped to paint the picture highlighting the emotion of what happened at the Atocha Train Station and portray the messages in people had left in letters days after attack. Acosta Pérez remarked,

There are messages in Arabic, Chinese, and Japanese. It is not like we chose the languages; it was what people wrote. If there are no messages in Russian, it is

because no one wrote a message in Russian. You can imagine that messages written a month after the attacks would be significantly more politicized by national discussion about who was culpable of such horrendous acts.

Acosta Pérez's response indicated that the group felt that this tragedy has no national boundaries- it affected the world.

The events of March 11, 2004, left a resounding mark in collective memory of the Spaniards and the world. Since this Memorial was intended to help the public remember the past, I asked Acosta Pérez, "How did all of you decide to express grief the way in which you did?" He replied by saying he did not have an answer for me but then said,

We chose to work with concepts that everyone from civilization could understand. Someone from American culture might not see the Memorial the same way as someone from Arabic culture, etc. and what we tried to do was work with global thoughts. Empty space and the color blue is something everyone understands. At best, a person of Arabic decent might understand the Memorial for its reflection, a Catholic person might understand it for its grief, and someone else might understand it from another point of view.

Overtime, countless people will visit memorials such as this one. For that reason, I inquired how the architects intended to appeal to such a large audience. He answered, "We did not think about the audience during competition. We had an optimistic mindset while working." He clarified that if the architects held a negative opinion about the space or the project because of the political controversy and the images of the aftermath, it would have affected the result. Concerned with keeping the meaning of the messages pristine from the influence of the Spanish Government and the controversy after the attacks, Acosta Pérez openly admitted that Estudio FAM wanted "to work faster to get it done as quickly as possible" in order to avoid possible external influence that might detract from the meaning of the Memorial.

Acosta Pérez described that his architectural group tried to work with the concept outlined by the Spanish Government as part of the competition and not alter the perspective for the people. He expounded, “There are places you go, whether you are conscious of it or not, that are set up to convince you to act in a certain way. It is like if you go into El Corte Inglés [an enormous Spanish department store], you automatically get lost trying to find your way out and in the process you get so intrigued with your surroundings that you end up purchasing something without ever having intended to purchase anything.” In other words, memorials become the space in which visitors get lost and depending upon the message of the memorial, may walk away having reflected more profoundly and differently than expected. In this sense, the message the architects wanted to communicate is “one of reflection- open reflection”. Ultimately, memorials are spaces that have the ability to influence remembering. He elaborated that the light from the transparent foil, which pours down to the blue floor, is inevitably an underlying message of optimism. He claimed, in essence, from darkness comes light.

Acosta Pérez was unaware of scheduled commemorative events at the Memorial on the anniversary of the attacks in 2011. Once completed, Estudio FAM architects divorced themselves from their work. He says, “We did not get invited to the commemoration, and we did not go to it. The Memorial is now part of public life. Above all, the Government does not maintain it well and it is a shame.” As much as Acosta Pérez wanted to separate himself from the meaning and significance of the Memorial, he disclosed that spaces are never devoid of affecting how people conceptualize the past. He inferred that the Estudio FAM architects framed how people should remember.

March 11 Victims' Association: Commemorating Those Lost and Celebrating Those Who Survived³⁰⁶

The March 11 Victims' Association was created October 26, 2004, in response to the needs of the victims and their families. Communications Specialist, Iñigo Molera Magalana explained that the Victims' Association serves four major objectives for terrorist victims. He said, "We assist with psychological services for victims of terrorism; we assist victims with social tools to help themselves; we act as a legal representatives for the victims by advocating on their behalf; and, we raise social awareness against terrorism." Molera Magalana explained that while the March 11 Memorial is a curious one, the victims do not really like it because it seems cold to them even though it is aesthetically beautiful from the inside. Most people from Madrid do not go to visit the Memorial because they think it does not express any of their feelings, emotions, or sentiments or they pass by it and decide to view it without planning the visit. He elaborated that his organization continues searching to find the actual terrorists who caused the attacks even though the Spanish Supreme Court ruled that three people (one Spanish man, and two Moroccan men) associated with Al Qaeda were accused of the crimes.

Based upon his daily experience with the victims, he said that the people most appreciate the Forest of Remembrance. To them, the trees represent a living symbol of the lives of their lost loved ones. When I inquired about the Association's position considering the selection of Estudio FAM as the architectural group for the March 11

³⁰⁶ Iñigo Molera Magalana, "Interview with the Communications Specialist from the March 11 Victims' Association " (Madrid: March 11 Victims' Association 2011).

Memorial, Molera Magalana had none. He was not aware of the details of the selection process or whether there was any kind of outcry from the victims against the design/construction. The selection process and design/construction is important to this study because it frames how March 11 is remembered and memorialized collectively. He was, however, exceptionally well informed about commemorating events in the past and those scheduled for March 11, 2011.

Visitor/Tourist One-on-One Interviews

At the Memorial itself, I conducted 25 one-on-one interviews with the public visiting the site. People came from all over the world. Some traveled short distances, while others undertook long journeys. I focused my efforts on talking with Spanish nationals who were touring the Memorial. These informal interviews were not intended to be a representative sample of Spaniards for three practical reasons. First, I chose a convenience sampling method (the snowball method) to coincide with the timing of the commemoration of the attacks and the third annual commemoration of the anniversary with the Memorial. Second, I interviewed Spaniards who were visiting the Memorial. Third, not all respondents were willing to participate in an interview because of personal reasons. For those willing to be interviewed, I posed the following four questions:

1. Is this Memorial an important destination for Spanish tourists? Why or why not?
2. What do you think this Memorial says about being Spanish?
3. What kind of memories does this Memorial evoke for you?
4. Why did you decide to tour this Memorial? Alternatively, why should people tour this Memorial?

There was a significant amount of variation in the responses to my questions. While everyone had an individual opinion of the Memorial, I hoped to identify whether the visitor felt an evoked sense of Spanish nationalism from viewing the Memorial.

A group of Madrid University students, majoring in Communications, was visiting the Memorial for an assignment. They said, “The Memorial is not as well known as one would expect. There are a lot of people from Madrid who have never been here.” A female student mentioned that it was her first time seeing the Memorial, while two others said they had only been there one other time during the three years of its existence. When asked what they thought the Memorial meant about being Spanish, they responded by saying,

Nothing. This is not a typical Spanish memorial. There is not a Spanish sentiment here. There is an international sentiment here- a sentiment of union. Not just people from Madrid perished at this location but rather people from all over the world. It is possible that there is a European feeling here but certainly not just Spanish.

Similarly, another person answered, “Yes, it is an important destination because the Memorial helps us to remember what happened and it is important not to forget.” Yet another person responded, “It is an important destination because it reminds us of what happened to all of us, not just the Government, but everyone.” Similarly, another person said, “Visiting the Memorial is a worthwhile trip while in Madrid because it is an icon against violent events and it is part of current Madrid 2011.” This response implies the existence of cosmopolitanism more than globalization by commenting on the uniqueness of this Memorial to the city of Madrid.

However, one observer answered the same question with a negative response articulating, “This Memorial is not an important destination for Spanish tourists because

it is not very attractive and the significance and knowledge of the attacks are not clear, but mostly because it is not attractive. [In my opinion] It does not commemorate anything positive other than an act as a way not to forget.” Paralleling this response, another young male respondent said, “The Memorial is really new and is not really pretty or important. People see it because it is in a place where people pass by [in the train station].” Another respondent offered, “The Memorial reminds us [Spaniards] to remember what happened on that day.” Another person adds, “It is important to keep the memory of the massacre alive.” The same observer uniquely added, “Here in Spain, we are accustomed to terrorism. We have never had an attack like this one. ETA generally targets political representatives and innocent people, but never to this degree.” Even accustomed to terrorism, this attack caught Spain and the world (to some extent) off guard.

When asked the kind of memories this Memorial evokes, the group of students answered, “They made the Memorial late. It should have been built in the same year the attacks happened, not three years later. To us, it does not come across as anything special but had it been built earlier, it might have embodied more meaning.” Another person said, “The Memorial makes me think sad thoughts of those who have died.” Yet another person noted, “There is an international feeling of pain here. This pain does not have a color or a flag.” One young woman responded, “In my high school, there was a professor who was seriously wounded as a result of the attacks and remains unable to work.” When I asked why she came to visit the Memorial she said, “Curiosity. It has been seven years and I have never seen the Memorial.” Someone else replied, “It makes me think of how empty that day was and of all the victims that were lost. It also reminds me of when

they were constructing it. There was a large hole in the ground.” Furthermore, one respondent said, “More than being Spanish, the Memorial shows what it means to be human. When you look at it, you do not see Spanish, or Madrid, you are reminded of people who want peace and union in the entire world.” Again, this reiterates a global, unified feeling.

According to nine respondents, the Memorial emits a coldness or indifference. Respondents expressed that the Memorial was constructed too long after the attacks making it less meaningful than it could have been. Respondents agree, however, that the Memorial has a necessary and positive intent to remember the people who perished. If it were not for this Memorial, the events and tragedy of March 11, 2004, may not have been remembered as strongly as a part of Spanish, European, and world’s collective memory. Another respondent answered, “It [the Memorial] is part of the history of Madrid and Spain and that is why people should come to see it.” Other respondents indicated that they visited the memorial purely out of curiosity.

Location and Space

Location and space, as discussed in the literature review, are vitally important to the nexus between nationalism (and how it is sustained) and globalization and cosmopolitan studies. Spaces and places can be invested with the meaning that sustains nationalism, yet increasingly shaped by global flows. The March 11 Memorial is located in the midst of a traffic island directly next to the historical Atocha Train Station in Madrid. The cylinder structure is visible from a distance and is located near the city’s center, *La Plaza de Sol*. The location and space of this Memorial, in particular, is

significant for three reasons: 1) the Memorial is located in a cosmopolitan city; 2) it is space that has been deterritorialized and reterritorialized; and, 3) it is located close to other March 11 memorials.

First, Madrid is a cosmopolitan nucleus. It is the capital and largest city in Spain. Its urban agglomeration has the third largest Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the European Union (EU) and its influences in politics, education, entertainment, environment, media, fashion, science, and the arts all contribute to its status as major a global city.³⁰⁷ Due to its economic output, high standard of living, and market size, Madrid is considered the major financial hub for Southern Europe and hosts the headquarters for the vast majority of major Spanish companies.³⁰⁸ Furthermore, Madrid's tourism industry is booming. It is the most visited city in Spain and the fourth-most visited city in the continent.³⁰⁹ Additionally, Madrid has 39 sister city agreements linking it with cities around the world to promote cultural and commercial ties.³¹⁰ As a result, Madrid lends itself to being subjected to, what Appadurai refers to as: the flows of globalization, deterritorialization, and reterritorialization.

Global flows have greatly affected Madrid's culture, making it a locus for all things international and/or cosmopolitan. Lending from Urry's characteristics of cosmopolitanism, the people of Madrid exude an *openness* and *curiosity* of other people

³⁰⁷ Pricewaterhouse Coopers, *Global City Gross Domestic Product Rankings 2008-2025* (Pricewaterhouse Coopers, 2008); Madridiario.es, "Madrid Es La Cuarta Ciudad Europea Más Visitada " *Madridiario.es*, January 30 2007.

³⁰⁸ Coopers; Madridiario.es.

³⁰⁹ Madridiario.es.

³¹⁰ Madrid Government, "Madrid's International Relations: Sister Cities " <http://www.madrid.es/portales/munimadrid/es/Inicio/Ayuntamiento/Madrid-Global/Ciudades-Hermanadas/Mapa-Mundi-de-las-ciudades-hermanadas?vgnextfmt=especial1&vgnextoid=4e84399a03003110VgnVCM2000000c205a0aRCRD&vgnnextchannel=4e98823d3a37a010VgnVCM100000d90ca8c0RCRD> (accessed July 30, 2011).

and cultures. Madrid's extensive sister city agreements alone prove that it has "a willingness/ability to appreciate some elements of the language/culture of the 'other'".³¹¹ Madrid's access to global networks has permeated the city to the extent that globalism and cosmopolitanism have become embedded in its culture. Madrid, arguably, experiences Urry's notion of "banal globalism".³¹² The March 11 Memorial is an example of banal globalism.

Uniquely located, the March 11 Memorial is within Madrid's Atocha Train Station. It is an epicenter for local, regional, and international travel and a location in which business people, locals, tourists, students, and train station employees frequent. Diverse people from all over the world pass through the Atocha Train Station while touring Madrid. Tourists stop to experience the Memorial and that which it communicates. While the Spanish Ministry of Industry, Tourism, and Commerce maintains records of tourism statistics for each region of Spain, no specific data has been collected to date on the number of tourists or visitors to the Memorial.³¹³

The March 11 attacks afforded the city and state governments the option to construct a public display of reflection and remembrance. While supported by the Government, the Memorial created by Estudio FAM transformed a Spanish space into a deterritorialized space and ultimately into a reterritorialized space. By designing the Memorial using messages of condolence in various languages, the space of the Memorial no longer communicated Spanish nationalism. Instead, disregarding state boundaries, the

³¹¹ Urry, "The Global Media and Cosmopolitanism," 7-8.

³¹² Ibid., 5.

³¹³ Turismo "Ministerio de Industria, y Comercio", *Informe Anual 2008- Movimientos Turísticos De Los Españoles: Comunidad De Madrid* 2008.

architects valorized the world through messages of global unity that no longer depended upon national unity.

The public response to the terrorist attacks fostered a sense of global unification through the process of memorialization. Sánchez-Carretero observes,

Solidarity was constructed supporting Madrid and Spain. At the city level, it is possible to say, and imagine, “We are all Madrid” or “We were all in those trains.” ...The “We all were in those trains”—yelled at the demonstrations and repeated at the shrines—is also represented by the various nationalities that express their grieving in the shrines: for example, *Brazil es Madrileño* (Brazil is Madridian). While the nation states and different regions in Spain appear identified with Madrid, interestingly enough I couldn’t find equivalent notes referring to Spain such as “we are all Spanish” but rather, “We are WITH Spain.” “We love Spain,” or “We cry FOR Spain”.³¹⁴

Coinciding with this notion of solidarity within Spain, out of the 25 tourists/visitors that I interviewed at the Memorial, three people, or 12%, said that they felt the Memorial was Madridian or cosmopolitan; four people, or 16%, identified the space of the Memorial as being Spanish (unified against terrorism); 17 people, or 68%, thought that the Memorial communicated an international/universal sentiment; and, one person, or 0.04%, responded that he thought the Memorial does not communicate Spanish nationalism. These responses indicate that more people felt a sense of identification with globalism than with Spanish nationalism or Madrid cosmopolitanism. Furthermore, these interviews suggest that the space within which the Memorial is located is truly reterritorialized into a space with greater global meaning where Spanish nationalism is muted.

The location of the Memorial also portrays how urban tourism affects nationalism and globalization. Considering that the Memorial is only four years old, and construction

³¹⁴ Sánchez-Carretero, 339.

was completed three years after the attacks, the “*Monumento Víctimas 11-M*” (March 11 Victims’ Memorial), as it is called in Spanish, is becoming a more popular tourist destination for Spanish tourists (coming from other cities) and foreign tourists. The Madrid Tourist Board’s monthly magazine, which publishes happenings in the city and suggests experiences for tourists, changed its city map from one that did not acknowledge the Memorial in July/August 2008 to one that labels the Memorial in its September 2008 issue.³¹⁵ Several city maps published by the Madrid Tourism Board label the Memorial. They include but not limited to the following: “Starting Point Atocha: Route 1: Art and Shopping Barrio de Salamanca”, “Map of Madrid”, and the “Madrid for You: Monuments” pamphlet.³¹⁶

Participating in urban tourism, the Tourism Board’s “Madrid for You: Monuments” pamphlet acknowledges the city’s architecture as it states,

Madrid has a rich cultural heritage and over the years its history has left an indelible mark on the Madrid skyline with numerous renowned buildings. It is well worth learning about the city’s architectural and artistic heritage in order to have a better understanding. And it is impossible to visit all these incredible buildings at once so we have put together a selection of what we consider to be the most outstanding ones.³¹⁷

In addition to producing special pamphlets pertaining specifically to “must-see” monuments and memorials, the Madrid Tourist Board also organizes a “Discover

³¹⁵ Madrid Tourism Board, “Esmadrid Magazine July/ August 2008,” in *Summer in Town: Olympic Games*, ed. E. M. Promoción Madrid S.A. (Madrid Tourism Board, 2008).

<http://www.esmadrid.com/en/portal.do?TR=A&IDR=1&identificador=310>; Madrid Tourism Board, “Esmadrid Magazine September 2008,” in *Gran Vía: The White Night* ed. E. M. Promoción Madrid S.A. (Madrid Tourist Board, 2008). <http://www.esmadrid.com/en/portal.do?TR=A&IDR=1&identificador=325>.

³¹⁶ City Government of Madrid, “Mapa De Madrid,” (Madrid: Madrid Tourism Board 2008); “Madrid for You: “Monuments”,” ed. Madrid Tourist Board and Madrid Tourism Center (Madrid: Madrid Tourist Board 2011); “Starting Point Atocha: Route 1: Art and Shopping Barrio De Salamanca,” ed. The City Government of Madrid (Madrid: Madrid Tourist Board, 2011).

³¹⁷ “Madrid for You: “Monuments”.”

Madrid" program of guided tours which runs 365 days a year and offers over 40 guided visits a week. Tailored for Madrid's most common visitors, these guides come in seven different languages: Spanish, English, French, Italian, German, Portuguese and Japanese.³¹⁸ However, both the "Madrid for You: Monuments" pamphlet and the "Discover Madrid" program itinerary do not include any information about the March 11 Memorial or *El Bosque del Recuerdo* (The Forest of Remembrance).³¹⁹

In addition to city maps, six years after the attacks, and three years after the inauguration of the March 11 Memorial, a company named "Ediciones A.M." published a postcard in their new 2010 line displaying with four small pictures of tourist sites located throughout Madrid. One of the sites pictured is the March 11 Memorial.³²⁰ While not officially supported by the City Government of Madrid, this postcard solidifies the sluggish attempt to institutionalize this Memorial as a cultural attraction and demonstrates tourism shifts in the economic market to affect overall cultural change. While the Memorial is not consistently found in online forums as a "must-see" attraction, the Forest of Remembrance or the Memorial to March 11 victims is briefly identified as an important cultural city site.³²¹

³¹⁸ Madrid Tourism Board, "Descubre Madrid", Madrid Tourism Board <http://www.esmadrid.com/descubremadrid/portal.do;jsessionid=D3685EAB134B39BC33AF31CB9D448761.APP2> (accessed March 2, 2011).

³¹⁹ Spanish.

³²⁰ Jose Barea and Iñaki Zurutuza, "New Collection 2010", Ediciones A.M. <http://www.edicionesam.com/postales-tur%C3%ADsticas-de-esp%C3%A1a/postales-de-madrid/nueva-colecci%C3%B3n-2010/>.

³²¹ Infoidiomas.com, "Madrid: Useful Information " <http://www.infoidiomas.com/en/travel-guides/spain/madrid/> (accessed January 17, 2011); Zamponi.

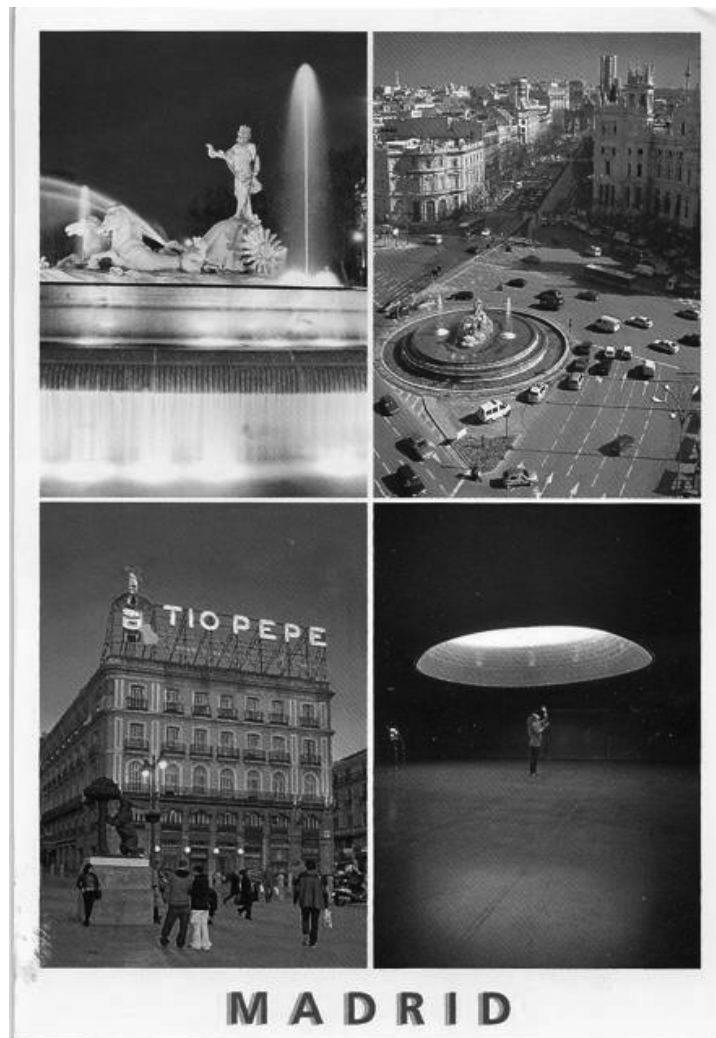


Figure 7. A Madrid postcard: the March 11 Memorial is pictured in the lower right corner.³²²

³²² Zurutuza.

CHAPTER 4

IMPLICATIONS

The results of this case study indicate that memorials are not only considered a resource for nationalism, but also a resource for *global* forms of identification. Globalization, facilitated by conscious, complex social interaction, challenges the existence and vitality of national identities by altering national time and space through media. Where Anderson argues the existence of ‘imagined communities’, Appadurai offers that ‘imagined worlds’ exist. This case study addresses the tensions between nationalism, how it is sustained, and globalization/cosmopolitanism. It is a preliminary work in response to the greater attention of globalization at the individual level needed in the literature.³²³ Completed in 2007, the significance of the March 11 Memorial addresses the gap in the literature to which recently constructed sites is evaluated for their contribution to the production of nationalism.³²⁴ One-on-one interviews with the tourists/visitors to the March 11 Memorial indicate that globalization may alter how the Spanish perceive their nation and sentiment of nationalism when touring/visiting a memorial. My interpretative analysis of the symbolic design of the Memorial shows that tourists’/visitors’ responses refer to the space of the Memorial as a deterritorialized space. To substantiate the claim that globalization alters nationalism, I note how the symbolic

³²³ Tomlinson, "Globalization and Cultural Analysis ", 164.

³²⁴ Pretes: 140.

strategies of traditionally “national” memorials contribute to the ways in which audiences interpret these places in ways that are increasingly “global.” Just as memorials may have once predominately contributed to nationalism – they may also cultivate a kind of globalism or even, cosmopolitanism. Finally, I conclude this section with a critique of how nationalism persists in spite of globalization.

There are two major reasons that globalization alters Spanish nationalism at the Memorial. One reason is that the design of the Memorial contributes to the creation of a *global time and space*. Second, through interpretative analysis, the interviewees express that the space of the Memorial is not inherently Spanish, but rather global space. While the March 11 terrorist attacks occurred geographically in Spain, their repercussions were felt around the world. Brigitte Nacos supports this assertion by stating, “Whether Hamas strikes in Israel, ETA in Spain, or the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, most acts of terrorism are not simply reported domestically but in most cases in the foreign media as well.”³²⁵ Immediately after the attacks, the various makeshift shrines and displays left at the train station reached far beyond the nation-state level. The political controversy that existed in Spain at the time was entirely nationalist in nature. Spaniards protested in the streets against the acts of the Government. At the same time, the United Nations Security Council also responded with a resolution unanimously passed by all nation-states to condemn the attacks and cooperatively urged that states search for the culprits. This collaborate global effort contributed to the context and design of the Memorial.

³²⁵ Brigitte L. Nacos, *Mass Mediated Terrorism: The Central Role of the Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, 2nd ed. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 17.

Traditionally, nationalism scholars identified monuments and memorials as generally serving the role of sustaining nationalism through representational choices that cultivate shared identity and memory. However, the March 11 Memorial is different. The fact that a Spanish architectural group intentionally created a memorial arguably more global than Spanish indicates that the social consciousness of global forces is continuing to intensify.

Globalization Challenges Nationalism

The terrorist attacks of March 11, 2004 in Madrid marked Europe's most brutal terrorist attack to date. While many Spaniards died, people from all over the world also perished as a result of the four train bombings.³²⁶ The bombings created chaos and mass confusion among an already politically charged population. Spaniards, in a time of crisis, immediately united for a common purpose- to help those affected by the terrorist attacks.³²⁷ They established makeshift blood banks in cities across Spain, converted local buses into makeshift hospitals, and transformed a convention center into a morgue for families to identify bodies.³²⁸ This shared experience evoked solidarity among Spaniards, which was tested when the conservative ruling government delayed announcing that the culprit of the attacks was Al-Qaeda, not ETA.³²⁹ The calculated delay, it was thought, would help the conservative party to be elected into office for another term. However, Spaniards, incredibly unhappy with their shared experience of political manipulation after a terrible tragedy, rallied and protested against the government the night before the

³²⁶ Aparicio, "11-M Masacre En Madrid: Las Víctimas".

³²⁷ Tremiott.

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Castells and others, 198.

election. Collectively, on March 14, 2004, the Spaniards voted in a socialist government. Spanish national controversy concerning the responsibility for the attacks and their unintentional global impact creates an opportunity for reframing the crisis as a global one and potentially weakens nationalism.³³⁰

As Billig and Giddens hold, in times of crisis, nationalism is arguably more pronounced when compared to the nationalism exuded in everyday life.³³¹ Regardless of whether or not nationalism was strengthened as a result of the terrorist attacks, there is one finding that is evident. The terrorist attacks demonstrated the existence and significance of modern nationalism in Spain. Modern nationalism, which is produced and reproduced through social constructions such as, shared cultural traditions, values, and rituals through a common experience are sustained through communication. This communication, across time and space, connects all Spaniards and requires media to disseminate information about memorialization (to collectively remember the past), time, and places or spaces and practices.

At the same time, other processes exist outside of the nationalism including globalization and cosmopolitanism. Globalization is a socially constructed process that is brought about by the exchange of what Appadurai calls, “global flows”.³³² These flows of people (ethnoscapes), media (mediascapes), technology (technoscapes), capital (finanscapes), and ideas (ideoscapes) attempt to transcend national practices.³³³ The exchange of these flows culturally transforms the “texture of daily lives” by creating

³³⁰ Waisbord: 379.

³³¹ Billig, "Banal Nationalism," 191; Billig, *Banal Nationalism* 6.

³³² Sinclair: 64.

³³³ Ibid.

global unity among universal ideals.³³⁴ Terrorism is an increasingly global phenomenon. It serves to symbolically establish global linkages and shared identities. As a result, terrorism is a global concern and is a global cultural referent as well. These common global issues affect cultures around the world. Connecting diverse cultures, based on the shared human experience, creates a common culture in the process. As a result, nationalism's resources- memorialization, time, and places/spaces and practices- can also be resources needed to create and maintain the process of globalization. Therefore, globalization challenges nationalism. In the following subsections, I specifically review how globalization challenges resources of nationalism.

Memorialization and Design

The literature review portrays that nationalism exists and persists because of its reliance on experiences and cultural collective memory.³³⁵ The fact that the Spanish Government immediately established a competition to design a memorial exemplifies the need for the nation to constantly reestablish and reproduce nationalism with a common heritage and a past. Memorials shape shared past experiences or collective memories of a nation.³³⁶ However, an overwhelming majority, 17 out of 25 interviewed respondents, believed the Memorial communicates more global memory in honor of those killed as the result of global terror.

³³⁴ Rantanen, *Kindle Locations* 188-189; Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction* 85.

³³⁵ Zerubavel, 316-318.

³³⁶ Young, 2-3.

Memorials cannot have their meaning created in a vacuum nor be devoid of any perspective or context.³³⁷ The design and visual rhetoric of the March 11 Memorial frames the memory of the terrorist attacks. While the architects are Spanish, the design of the Memorial is emblematic of globalism. The cylinder structure was intentionally created to house the messages from condolence letters left days after the attacks. The Memorial invites people to remember (through collective memory) an event that is both Spanish and supra-national. The messages are meant to “float” and spiral down the cylinder. This creates an ambiance of being inside the globe. Architect Acosta Pérez reaffirmed this claim in our interview when he discusses how places frame experience, which contributes to the audience’s collective memory.

The messages, commencing in Spanish, are written in a number of languages with “various motives”.³³⁸ While they should help build cultural memory as a result of a Spanish tragedy, the messages, regardless of their language, transmit universal emotions of sadness, fear, confusion, peace, and unity against terrorism. The use of many language facilitates the transformation of a once Spanish national space into a global space, which has been redefined through deterritorialization and reterritorialization. Respondents expressed a lack of connectivity to Spanish nationalism as a whole. They articulated a sentiment of global unity.

³³⁷ Ibid., 2.

³³⁸ Bécares. Original sentence: Desde allí abajo, a dos metros de la estructura, se podrán leer mirando hacia arriba los mensajes que se escribieron en varias lenguas, con varios motivos. Translated by Laura Ann Fresco.

Time

Institutionalizing time to remember common experiences, values, traditions, rituals, and practices is vital to maintain nationalism and globalization. As a result of the March 11 attacks, every year on the anniversary of the event, there are official ceremonies and events to remember those lost. Cultural memory scholars Connorton and Zerubavel maintain that the existence of social memory can be witnessed in commemorative ceremonies and commemorative days on the calendar to evoke collective feelings, respectively.³³⁹ The EU declared March 11, 2004, as a dedicated “Memorial Day to the victims of terrorist attacks, expressing solidarity and highlighting that the battle against terrorism requires the mobilization of all citizens to guarantee freedom and security for all.”³⁴⁰ In addition to the EU’s action plan to fight terrorism, the European Commission committed to financing projects to sustain the fight against terrorism beginning in 2004.³⁴¹ By officially acknowledging March 11 as a day to remember and by holding commemorative events, people are provided with time to associate cultural histories and values to that of the event being commemorated.³⁴² During that time, they can choose to remember and reflect upon globalism. The mere fact that the European Union is actively seeking to create projects to fight against global terrorism that are performed on or around March 11 every year further provides people the opportunity to connect to a global identity, or at least a regional one, rather than their national one.

³³⁹ Connorton, 44; Zerubavel, 316-318.

³⁴⁰ European Union, "European Union Calendar: European Day for Victims of Terrorism " <http://europa.eu/eucalendar/event/id/678/mode/standalone> (accessed March 2 2011).

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Zerubavel, 317-318.

Another agent for remembering nationalism and/or globalism is the March 11 Victims' Association, was created as a result of the attacks. My interview with the Communication Specialist from the Association shows how civil society groups were created for remembering those who died through commemorative traditions on March 11 held throughout the city. The Association also acts as advocates for the victims of the March 11 attacks.

As more time passes, those affected by the Madrid attacks are better able to cope with their loss. In other words, Madrid's society becomes psychologically and temporally distant from the terrorist attacks.³⁴³ This allows people to envision and re-envision the Memorial from a fresh perspective. Similarly, while the messages inside the Memorial stay the same, their cultural meaning constantly changes based on the context of the present.³⁴⁴ This was substantiated by my one-on-one interviews with tourists/visitors by their explanations of what the Memorial communicates to them. This makes it easier to think of the Memorial not only as a place where remembrance occurs, but also a place where other cultural practices or acts such as urban tourism can occur. As Rantanen and Tomlinson acknowledge, globalization occurs when mediated experiences connect people across space and time together as it also pushes people apart through distancing.³⁴⁵ Without this supranational communication, foreigners would not have been compelled to write letters containing messages in other languages from other places to express their condolence. Taking the notion one step further that foreigners were compelled to write letters and tour the Memorial since its construction (without the

³⁴³ Young, 2.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Rantanen, Kindle Location 178.

practice of memorialization and urban tourism), there would not be a debate about the existence of Spanish or global identities present at the Memorial. This urban space is marketed as a place to visit where remembrance occurs. Therefore, urban tourism provides the stage for globalization and nationalism to be performed.

Places, Space, and Practices

The Spanish Government selected the public space that would be used to memorialize (reflect and remember) the attacks. They chose the location to build the Memorial in a cosmopolitan area outside of Madrid's Atocha Train Station in which the bombs were targeted. Seen outside of and within the Train Station, the Memorial is visible and set in a location that is accessible to business people, locals, tourists, students, and train station employees. The sheer volume of people, nationals and foreigners alike, who pass through the train station, create an openness to others and global flows of people and ideas. In addition, the constant global flows of people and ideas in the space of the March 11 Memorial redefine the once national space into global space through the processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. Anthropologist Edward T. Hall writes that man obtains his identity from the total communication framework, which includes words.³⁴⁶ Respondents discussed that the Memorial represents peace and the fight against terrorism through the unifying words in the messages. They elaborated that the messages in various languages show a world united. These feelings of globalism alter the national terrain by diminishing its relevance to tourists/visitors.

³⁴⁶ Edward T. Hall, *Beyond Culture* (New York Random House, Inc., 1989), 42.

Globalism vs. Cosmopolitanism

There are deeply intertwined and interconnected global flows that affect daily life, including the messages communicated at a memorial. Messages of global unity in the March 11 Memorial include, but are limited to: “The world has to change...; They have united us. Love.; For a unified world.; and, Together for peace.” Therefore, globalization and/or cosmopolitanism, as portrayed by this case study, can disrupt Pretes’ and Anderson’s traditional archeological practice trajectory. The Spanish Government and newspapers have written about it in reports and articles, a postcard with a picture of the Memorial has been printed, a picture of the Memorial can be found on a couple online travel wikis and a blog entry written to allure travelers/visitors, and finally, people tour/visit the Memorial.³⁴⁷ Marketing the memorial as a cultural attraction on and offline continues to cultivate a global identity.

Cosmopolitanism embodies a likeness to globalization.³⁴⁸ Urry cites Irene Costera Meijer as discussing how branded products and advertising can be “resources for people to conceive themselves as culturally global, as involving curious combinations of the cosmopolitan and citizenship”.³⁴⁹ Urry further elaborates that understanding one’s local context, the connection between that context and other cosmopolitanisms and exuding an openness to the globalizing world constructs cosmopolitanism.³⁵⁰ Urry argues that there are several characteristics that make cities more cosmopolitan. He holds that

³⁴⁷ Aparicio, "11- M Masacre En Madrid: El Mayor Atentado De La Historia De España"; Aparicio, "11-M Masacre En Madrid: Las Víctimas"; Hartman, "Madrid ", Wikitravel <http://wikitravel.org/en/Madrid> (2011); Madrid, "Otras Actuaciones. 4 Monumento 11-M. Atocha."; TravBuddy, "Museums in Madrid, Reina Sofia, Prado and Atocha Metro Station" <http://www.travbuddy.com/travel-blogs/63470/Museums-Madrid-Reina-Sofia-Prado-39> (accessed January 12 2011); Zurutuza.

³⁴⁸ Urry, "The Global Media and Cosmopolitanism," 6-8.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 6.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 8.

cosmopolitans exude an "openness" and a curiosity to other peoples unlike oneself, to places, and to experiences predominantly found in cities where global flows of people, ideas, media, and finance are most concentrated.³⁵¹ Essentially, he maintains that cosmopolitans have an ability to identify 'the other' by being able "to 'map' one's own society and culture".³⁵² Cosmopolitan cities arguably have greater capacity to consume many places than that of globalism.³⁵³ Cosmopolitanism is found in more confined areas and does not have the breath of globalization. The characteristics for cosmopolitanism suggest that cosmopolitan civil society may be emerging since there is evidence of these characteristics being widespread in cities around the world.³⁵⁴ Furthermore, Urry contends that cosmopolitans seek to evade national and local entities.³⁵⁵

Therefore, cosmopolitanism is similarly dependent on the resources of nationalism and globalization. Cosmopolitanism applies to this study is because of the multiple identities that exist in certain spaces, as referenced in the literature review. In other words, respondents could have argued that the Memorial communicates a sense of Madridian identity. However, only three respondents felt a connection to Madrid. Cosmopolitanism signifies a sense of identification above the nation-state.³⁵⁶ The symbols and response to this kind of memorial evoke an increasingly cosmopolitan identity through the way the event was memorialized as a global, rather than a national,

³⁵¹ Ibid., 7-8.

³⁵² Ibid., 8.

³⁵³ Ibid., 7-8; *ibid.*

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 12.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 7.

event to be remembered. These kinds of communicating practices reinforce the existence of cosmopolitan or global identities.

Nationalism Revisited

While the March 11 memorial depicts the relationship between the rise in globalism and the decline in nationalism, some scholars argue that the nation and nationalism are strengthened with the existence of globalism.³⁵⁷ Despite Tomlinson's argument that globalization creates nationalism, the intentionally *global* Memorial reframes this event as a global event, and does not readily evoke nationalist sentiments among tourists/visitors given the limited scope of the tourist/visitor interviews. In fact, while the 17 of 25 respondents claimed that globalism is communicated at the Memorial, the second highest higher number of respondents (4) indicated that the Memorial expressed Spanish nationalism.

Crisitina Sánchez-Carretero writes about the persistence of Spanish nationalism in the days after the March 11 attacks to discuss the representation of various nationalities present in the spontaneous shrines that immediately resulted from the terrorist attack.³⁵⁸ When the people established makeshift and spontaneous shrines at the Atocha Train Station. She writes,

In some of these notes, the nation is personified and the writers assumes the role of representing the nation state of origin: "Spain, Columbia cries with you", "Spain, Morocco is with your suffering, we're all victims of terrorism", "Chile is with you," "Spain, Ecuador cries with you," Venezuela accompanies you in your crying," "Venezuela is with Spain, Peace in the World." Once again, the nation-to-nation relationship allows for a solidarity that, at the same time, acknowledges the difference. The construction of smaller-scale relationships (Madrid or the train

³⁵⁷ Tomlinson, "Globalization and Cultural Analysis ", 162; Waisbord.

³⁵⁸ Sánchez-Carretero, 334.

itself) permits a *communitas*- relationship, a sense of feeling together because “we ARE you.” However, the level of the nation state is different and the solidarity with “Spain” is expressed in terms of nation-to-nation. “Chile and Spain united for ever” says one of the drawings, which includes a Chilean flag that melts into the Spanish flag. “United forever” expresses the solidarity of Chileans and at the same time marks the difference in terms of equality: we are united as far as we continue being different entities.³⁵⁹

The messages evaluated in her study are taken from makeshift shrines after the terrorist attack. The voices they embody are considerably more nationalist in tone than those used in the March 11 Memorial. Yet, the messages she cites illuminate the idea that the nation will *not* dissipate until there is an equally strong entity or alternative for cultural identity. Sánchez-Carrertero indirectly argues that Spanish nationalism is communicated in the context of other nations. Following Sánchez-Carrertero’s argument, socially constructed nationalism requires other nations or global referents to be significant. This refers back to Tomlinson’s point about how globalization spurs nationalism. Furthermore, the March 11 attacks and Memorial gave rise to many Spanish civil society groups that are concerned with framing the attacks and Memorial in terms of the Spanish experience, not a global one.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 340.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

*It is people who are the objects of globalization and at the same time its subjects. What also follows logically from this is that globalization is not a law of nature, but rather a process set in train by people.*³⁶⁰

- Tarja Halonen

In this thesis, I seek to uncover whether places that represent a form of communicated nationalism are transformed by the context of globalization. Building from the work of Michael Pretes and Benedict Anderson, I conducted a case study to investigate Spanish nationalism at the March 11 Memorial in Madrid, Spain, which was built to commemorate an *international* crisis. Through an interpretative analysis of the context, design, and location/space of the Memorial, interviews, and document analysis, I demonstrate how aspects of globalization have transformed the symbolic and cultural resources of nationalism and that globalization challenges the meaning of nationalism as an “imagined community”.³⁶¹

The Memorial’s context, design, and location/space indicate that messages communicated through the memorial demonstrate a national space and time deterritorialized and reterritorialized into a global space with global meaning. The events from March 11, 2004, were traumatic for people from Madrid, Spain, Europe, and the

³⁶⁰ Tarja Hanlonen, Gledhill Enterprises <http://www.1-famous-quotes.com/quote/140482> (accessed July 12, 2011).

³⁶¹ Anderson, 6.

rest of the world. Al-Qaeda, a globally linked terrorist organization, caused the death of 191 people and injured many more from around the world. In an effort to keep the memory of the victims alive, the Madrid City Government, the Spanish Government, and RENFE held a *global* competition of ideas for ways in which people could remember those lost. As a result, the Spanish architectural group, Estudio FAM, produced a unique memorial.

Visual rhetoric embodied in a place or space can be exceptionally powerful.³⁶² This Memorial, containing messages of condolence from people around the world in a myriad of languages, mediates a sentiment of global unity and global identity. The Memorial's architect designed the Memorial to appeal to the world in accordance with his contract. The messages, meant to "float" amid air in a circular fashion, communicate a sense of mobility and attribute to the creation of a deterritorialized space. The Memorial provides a space in which people question and remember the past to reconnect with their cultural identity. Located in the cosmopolitan hub of Madrid, the memorial lends itself to intense global and local flows.

One-on-one interviews were conducted to gain insight into the construction, design, and reaction to the Memorial. The Communication Specialist at the March 11 Victims' Association expressed that the Memorial contained messages in various languages conveying a cold and impersonal message. The messages indicate globalization's consequence of distancing.³⁶³ The majority of the 25 Spaniards

³⁶² Urry, "The Global Media and Cosmopolitanism," 6.

³⁶³ Rantanen, Kindle Location 178.

verbalized that the Memorial communicated more messages of a global identity than a national one.

Further supporting that globalization alters the texture of nationalism at tourist sites, document analysis shows that the March 11 Memorial is gradually becoming an tourism icon for Madrid. Drawing the attention of both Spanish and foreign nationals, city maps, tourist pamphlets, online wikis, and postcards are more commonly including the image of the Memorial. Pretes and Anderson suggest that this should cultivate and sustain Spanish nationalism. Conversely, however, the image of the Memorial communicates a global or cosmopolitan environment.

The present study offers evidence for how globalization can intervene in the way that memorials work as resources to sustain nationalism. Yet, the study is admittedly limited in scope. There are four clear limitations derived from the data collection methods. First, in conducting an interpretative analysis of the Memorial, the sample size of tourists/visitors interviewed (25 people) was relatively small. Second, time was a limitation for two reasons. Time is required to memorialize and reflect the ways in which we construct and perform acts of cultural identity and it distorts the interpretation of a collective memory.³⁶⁴ Put simply, it is difficult to gauge how the Memorial will serve as a resource for nationalism in the future. Third, Spain's conception of a unified Spanish nationalism is skewed because it has 17 autonomous regions and two autonomous cities, each ascribing to their own nationalism supported by the region. The ambiguity surrounding the definition of Spanish nationalism could have created confusion among

³⁶⁴ Zerubavel, 321.

respondents. Finally, since I conducted an interpretative analysis, my own bias is a limitation. Given the nature of my research question, however, an interpretative analysis was necessary. I could have only considered participant data collection, but instead aimed to capture more ways in which nationalism was both designed and “consumed” by tourists/visitors with my analysis.

Further understanding of how representational practices engender nationalism and global identity formations is necessary. I offer two recommendations. Future research could evaluate how globalization affects nationalism over time at the March 11 Memorial by analyzing the responses of more tourists/visitors to the Memorial at specific time intervals. Research on globalization’s affect over time is important at the Memorial because time is required to memorialize the past in the present. Further research could also compare other Spanish monuments and/or memorials or other international monuments and/or memorials to examine how widespread and extensive globalization affects nationalism at national tourist sites.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR ESTUDIO FAM

ARCHITECT ESAÚ ACOSTA PÉREZ

This interview was a formal, structured interview, which I conducted on March 9, 2011 in Spanish, which I subsequently translated into English for purpose of this study.

Probing Questions:

The following semi-structured questions were asked (in no particular order). Questions are written in English and Spanish.

1. How were you selected to build this Memorial?

¿Cómo fue seleccionado para construir este monumento?

2. What were your criteria for constructing this Memorial?

¿Cuáles fueron sus criterios para la construcción de este monumento?

3. How did you craft your message/design?

¿Cómo ha creado su mensaje o diseño? ¿Cuál es el mensaje que querían comunicar?

4. It is my understanding that messages left at the makeshift memorials were incorporated into the Memorial. How did you decide on which voices from the public to include in the Memorial?

Se entiende que los paisanos han dejado mensajes que fueron incorporados en el monumento. ¿Cómo han decidido las voces del público que querían ustedes incluir en el monumento?

5. Who is your target audience? How do you appeal to such a large audience?

¿Quién es el público objetivo? ¿Cómo se apela a una audiencia tan grande?

6. How did you decide to express grief the way you did?

¿Cómo se decidieron a expresar el dolor de los atentados?

7. What kind of emotions were you looking to evoke from the public?

¿Qué tipo de emociones buscaban a evocar del público?

8. Did you consider that this memorial could affect Spanish and foreign nationals, alike?

¿Tenían en cuenta que este monumento podría afectar a los ciudadanos españoles y extranjeros, igualmente?

9. Comments engraved in the glass are written in many languages, what was the intent of using messages in other languages? Were you attempting to communicate a message to the rest of the world through the Memorial?

Hay comentarios grabados en el vidrio escrito en varios idiomas, ¿cuál fue la intención de utilizar los mensajes en otros idiomas? ¿Estaba usted tratando de comunicar un mensaje al resto del mundo a través del monumento?

Additional questions:

1. How did you prioritize the messages to incorporate in the Memorial?

¿Como escogieron los mensajes que han colocado en el monumento?

2. In your opinion, is the Memorial traditionally Spanish?

¿En su opinión, es el monumento tradicionalmente español?

3. It is close to March 11, will there be an commemorating event at the Memorial?

¿Estamos cerca de 11 de Marzo, habrá un evento para conmemorar las víctimas?

4. The Forest of Remembrance and the plaque in la Puerta del Sol existed before the Memorial. Explain the importance of the monument. What does this memorial express that the others do not?

El Bosque del Recuerdo y el plaque en la Puerta del Sol existían antes del monumento en Atocha. Explicame la importancia de tener este monumento. ¿Qué explica éste que los otros no pueden explicar?

5. What is the connection between Estudio FAM and Estudio SIC?

¿Cuál es la conexión entre estudio FAM y estudio SIC? Creo yo que haya una colaboración entre dos estudios, ¿Es correcto?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR THE MARCH 11 VICTIMS' ASSOCIATION

COMMUNICATION SPECIALIST, IÑIGO MOLERO MAGALANO

This interview was a formal structured interview, which I conducted on March 2, 2011 in Spanish, which I subsequently translated into English for purpose of this study.

Probing Questions:

1. What was the role of the Association in the days after the attacks?

¿Cuál fue el papel de la Asociación en la conmemoración del día después los atentados?

2. There was a lot of controversy regarding the perpetrators of the attacks and after the construction of the Memorial. Do you feel the memorial justly expresses something about Spanish nationalism or identity?

Hubo mucha controversia en cuanto a los perpetradores de los atentados y luego después de la construcción del monumento. ¿Se siente que el monumento justamente expresa algo sobre el nacionalismo español o la identidad?

3. How does the Association collectively feel about the selection of Estudio FAM as the architect of the Memorial?

¿Cómo se siente la Asociación colectiva acerca de la selección de Estudio FAM como arquitecto del monumento?

4. What do you think the Memorial communicates about being Spanish?

¿Qué piensa que el monumento comunica acerca de lo que significa ser español?

5. What would you like foreigners to obtain from their trip to the Memorial?

¿Qué le gustaría a los extranjeros obtengan de sus viajes a este monumento?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR SPANISH NATIONALS

Interviews were conducted between the dates of February 26 and March 12, 2011 with Spanish citizens, both domestic tourists and Madridians. Interview subjects were collected using a convenience sampling method known as a snowball sampling. Potential tourists/visitors were identified by being at the Memorial, speaking the Spanish language, and by responding affirmatively to Spanish as a national identity. An attempt was made to gather opinions from both genders and from a range of ages.

Ice Breaker Question:

1. Hi. My name is Laura Fresco and I am doing research on this Memorial for graduate school. Do you have five minutes to answer a few questions?

Hola! Mi nombre es Laura Fresco y estoy investigando este monumento para los estudios postgraduados. ¿Ud. tiene cinco minutos para contestar algunas preguntas?

Probing Questions:

The following semi-structured questions will be asked of all participants (in no particular order).

1. Is this Memorial an important destination for Spanish tourists? Why?
¿Es este monumento un destino importante para los turistas españoles? ¿Por qué?
2. What do you think this Memorial says about being Spanish?
¿Qué cree que este monumento comunica acerca de ser español?
3. What kind of memories does this Memorial evoke for you?
¿Cuáles recuerdos tiene Utd. como resultado de este monumento?
4. Why did you decide to tour this Memorial? Or why should people tour this Memorial?
¿Por qué decidió visitar a este monumento? ¿Por qué debe visitar la gente este monumento?

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