

## **WE EUROPEANS? MEDIA, REPRESENTATIONS, IDENTITIES**

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The volume in your hand is the result of a unique constellation of factors. It draws on the combined efforts of a group of European scholars bound together by research interests in media. It reflects a series of urban explorations in sites characterized by contested identities, both remembered and lived, from Berlin to Bilbao, Brussels to Budapest, Istanbul to Palermo. And it has as its backdrop a fitful period of time during which project Europe saw a doubling of member nations...and the formal rejection of a unifying constitution. Academic *flâneurs* of sorts, the authors interrogated local specialists, visited sites of media production, participated in rituals of media consumption, and debated among themselves – fiercely at times – the implications for European identity. Grounded in diverse disciplines spanning the humanities and social sciences, deploying an assortment of methodologies, and reflecting different national and generational intellectual profiles, they brought an appropriately broad array of perspectives and analytic strategies to their task.

Working under the rubric of ‘homogenization and diversity: media and cultural identities’ as part of the larger European Science Foundation-supported *Changing Media, Changing Europe* project, the team explored the relations between media and identity among the many shifting collectivities, both past and present, that constitute Europe. Europe, of course, is a fast-moving target. Whether conceived as a discursive entity or a set of institutional practices, it flits among accreted meanings, embedded memories, and an ever-changing configuration of borders, affiliations and organizations. It stands as a cultural zone – some might even say desire – as

complex in its spatial and administrative logics as in the dynamic flows of its histories, its inhabitants and their symbols. Although it enjoys a certain 'taken-for-grantedness' evident as much in everyday parlance as in regulatory practice as in cartography, a closer look reveals underlying ambiguities and exceptionalisms. Tradition coupled with geography, for example, lead some in the United Kingdom to refer to their continental counterparts as 'Europeans', in the process implicitly excluding themselves; while others on 'the Continent' debate the limits of European expansion as it moves to include nations once perceived to be on the cultural and political periphery of the West, such as Turkey. The accretion of different historical 'Europes', together with the complex overlapping of many current 'Europes' (Schengen, the European Union, the European Community, 'fort Europe', the alphabet soup of the EBU, EMU, EEC, and EDC, and even US Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's post-September 11 'old and new' Europe), challenge any easy definitional assertions.

Our attempts to interrogate European media and identity necessarily struggled with this underlying dynamism. How could we even begin to assess media and cultural identity in Europe when European definitional logics were contested as well as in a state of rapid change? Our solution was relatively simple: to seek out sites where these various tensions were writ large; to explore locations where the scarring of historical contestation was still visible; to embrace the tangible fault-lines, fissures, and ruptures that seemed to emblemize the larger European dynamic. Although our questions ranged far beyond the various locales we visited, our work was deeply informed by the specificities of place, and the crystallizations of memory and performances of identity that we encountered there. Found objects, encounters with local informants, media productions, and the lingering traces of the past served as inspiration, sites of interrogation, and provocations to our theories. Our visits and conversations took place over a five-year period, permitting us to deploy and push our ideas in settings defined by radically different dynamics.

The disciplinary and cultural plurality of the authors both amplified and refracted these insights. Among us were film and television scholars and mass communications specialists, but also linguists, policy analysts, sociologists, and cultural anthropologists. In addition to the authors whose work appears in the current volume, our regular conversation partners included Ib Bondebjerg, Daniel Dayan, Kirsten Drotner, Carmelo Gartaonandia, Sonia Livingstone, Mirca Madianou, Dominique Mehl, Ulrike Meinhof, and Roberta Pearson.<sup>3</sup> Their experiences and voices, although not explicitly acknowledged in the essays, formed an essential part of our discussions and are evident throughout the pages that follow. It is also worth noting that the biographies of our team members served as a constant reminder of the complications of national and European identity. Our group included an Englishman who resides in Turkey, an American who works in the Netherlands, an English woman who grew up in the US, and many hyphenated identities: Moroccan-French, French-Israeli, Swedish-American, and so on. These complexities, compounded by language sets, educational background, personal circumstances (career patterns, partners, and so on), underscored our approach to questions regarding media, various collectivities and identity in Europe.

Thanks to this plurality of perspectives, our collaborative explorations of media and identity across Europe tempered the explanatory capacities of any one analytic paradigm, any one school of thought. It underscored as well the role of national academic traditions and generation in producing nuances of difference and inflections of meaning even within disciplines. While scholarship, particularly in media-related fields, enjoys a high degree of transnational coherence, academic localization is evident in nationally distinct patterns of translation, clusters of literature associated with particular ideas, trends in intellectual influence, and even the meanings of shared words. This variegation mirrored on a methodological level the very complexities of regional identity that confronted us across a Europe 'united in diversity'.

No small part of the diversity that we encountered both in our mode of study and in the practices we investigated can be traced back to language. A plurality of languages must certainly be counted among Europe's cultural treasures, but it also accounts for many barriers to the exchange and interpretation of ideas. The patterning of language competences is also central to the patterning of media, whether facilitating the communication of diasporic populations across Europe, addressing the needs of sub- or transnational minorities, or aligning with and reinforcing the territorial nation state. A number of essays in this collection explore the tensions and possibilities produced by this enactment of language, media and identity.

But as just suggested, language is also the stock-in-trade of scholars, a finely calibrated instrument of analysis and expression in harmony with the cultural spaces that constitute home. And the double displacement that many of our colleagues experienced when speaking in a foreign language about culturally displaced analytic paradigms infused our meetings with a high degree of reflexivity, actively resonating with the very dynamics under investigation. I mention this because I think the reflexivity of our endeavour was singularly appropriate to the dynamism of the cultural practices and European identities that we explored; and because these twin conditions provide a hermeneutic key to the essays here collected. Our project yielded not only the reflections and publications typical of academic work, but helped to establish common discursive ground across linguistic, cultural and disciplinary divides, while building a robust European network of partners and resources.

### Setting the Frame

Consider the case of *Europe Day*, declared by the European Union during the 1985 Milan Summit to be 9 May in honour of the Schuman Declaration (1950). French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman proposed a supranational agency that would manage French and German (BRD) coal and steel production as 'the first concrete foundation of a European federation'. This EU decision replaced the earlier *Europe Day* established by the Council of Europe in 1964 that celebrated Europe's founding on 5 May 1949. And in so doing, it repositioned Europe's defining referent from the 5 May celebration of the defence of human rights, parliamentary democracy and the rule of law, to the 9 May celebration of an economic vision. Although only four days apart, there is a world of difference between these two notions of Europe, accounting both for the ongoing contention over which date is more appropriate and a more general indifference to such celebrations. Given the rather greater success of Europe's conversion to

the Euro than its adoption of a constitution, perhaps this shift in referent reveals more than its framers intended. In any case, it underscores the definitional contentions and *realpolitische* strains in determining precisely what constitutes Europe.

The conversations and investigations that form the background of this book took place during a particularly volatile period. During the project's five years, ten new nations and nearly 100 million people joined the Union. A post-Warsaw Pact wave of emigration swept westward, while immigrants from Africa, the Middle East and even Asia continued to seek political and economic stability inside Europe's borders. And, following the response of the Bush administration to the events of September 11, 2001, the weight of American cultural products and political pressure seemed more problematic than ever. Not surprisingly, this cultural mix challenged long-held assumptions and revered myths regarding national and ethnic identities, inspiring a predictable political backlash. But at the same time, this state of flux also helped to mobilize a new sense of Europeanness, a concept that seems most sharply defined when positioned in distinction to the 'other,' be it Islam or CNN. The problem with this scenario, however, was that this process of self-definition turned on a logic of contrast, and therefore required the performative fixing of the 'other'. The ensuing notion of 'Europe' that emerged might best be characterized as reactive: a series of compulsive enactments of identity triggered by each new anxiety.

The various cultures, values and reference points called upon in the enactment of identity provoked multiple and competing defensive moves; they sharpened definitional antagonisms; and they served both those on the outside and inside who thought they could play these dynamics for their own interests. This unstable mix, for example, served as fertile ground for US Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld when he described a political rift in Europe in answer to a question by Dutch journalist Charles Groenhuijsen regarding a lack of European support for the US invasion of Iraq. 'Now, you're thinking of Europe as Germany and France. I don't. I think that's old Europe. If you look at the entire NATO Europe today, the centre of gravity is shifting to the east. And there are a lot of new members. And if you just take the list of all the members of NATO and all of those who have been invited in recently - what is it? Twenty-six, something like that? - you're right. Germany has been a problem, and France has been a problem.'<sup>2</sup> But the larger problem - larger even than antagonists such as Rumsfeld - remains Europe's definitional dynamic.

Probing beneath the surface of the present, one can find the densely patterned tracings of vaguely remembered borders, old trade routes, language areas, ideological, economic and religious zones, and former ethnic enclaves. Any and all of these are in principle subject to activation...and therefore, manipulation, particularly in a setting where a contrastive definitional logic reigns, as it does in Europe. The point has not been missed by those seeking to have their way with the European Union, evident from Mr. Rumsfeld's negotiation strategy to American pressure for ever-increasing incursions on privacy for those Europeans flying to or even over the US. In each case, historical divisions are activated for policy ends, complicating the difficult and ongoing work of framing a constitution and crafting a unified sense of Europe. These potentials argue powerfully for scholars of media and history to engage in an archaeology of forgotten

memories, suspended identities and dispersed affiliations in order to demarcate and assess the fault lines so open to exploitation.

The potentials of the remembered (or imagined) past both to disrupt and to define underscore the crucial importance of media as brokers and circulators of representation. The media are, after all, repositories of memory, both public and private; and they play an important role in giving us access to selected aspects of the larger world and in constructing the metaphors we live by. We inhabit a moment - exacerbated by the new digitally networked media - where the strategies for media containment and stability of content long deployed by the nation state have largely collapsed. Deregulation of broadcast markets, satellite and cable distribution, the growth of transnational market cohorts, and the migration of content - whether print, image or sound - across multiple platforms, have combined to weaken the state's ability to contain or shape representation. Containment, of course, has been an issue as long as transnational media such as wire services have existed. But the repertoire of well-established techniques for constructing national memory - and its reciprocal, amnesia - has grown inadequate for its task. Even reframing the problem from the Manichean opposition of 'control or collapse' to the far more nuanced ideal of the public sphere, celebrated for its potentials with regard to informed debate over the construction of representation and memory, only underscores the importance of media as a source and site for informed discourse.

The authors in this collection work from a broad definition of media, including public forms such as film and television broadcasts, newspapers, novels, currency, and monuments, and more idiosyncratic forms such as personal photographs, postcards and even branded mouse pads. Each has distinct logics of production, distribution and reception. Each can be approached as traces, fragments, or details, helping us to understand the persistence of memory, the engagement of emotion, or the contestation of meaning specific to a particular situation. And each can be assessed by different modes of analysis and interpretation. But despite these wide-ranging notions of media and a plurality of methodological entry points, the essays all share an embrace of 'situatedness' in their assessments of media-in-action. Whether exploring the role of media as an element in constructing potentially cohesive identities (the trans-European flow of iconographically rich bits of paper in the form of money; satellite transmissions of Turkish television), or examining the interworkings of history and memory through photographs or monuments, the authors foreground the role of media within particular constellations of time and place.

### Palimpsest

Italo Calvino observed that every element of the whole is important; no whole exists without parts, no parts mean anything without reference to a whole. His *Invisible Cities*, with its tantalizing taxonomy - cities and memory, cities and desire, cities and signs, thin cities, trading cities, cities and eyes, cities and names - haunts this project, hovering above it like a guiding spirit.<sup>3</sup> His 'part-whole' assessment seems particularly appropriate for the definitional logics of a Europe spread among cities, regions, languages and memories, both defined by and defining the larger whole. And his readings of imaginary cities echo through the reports of our

explorations of real cities. These reverberations will be evident in the essays that follow. But there is a third, and perhaps not so obvious, sense in which Calvino's work informs this collection. Teresa de Laurentis has suggested that *Invisible Cities* is an open work in the sense that it challenges narrative patterning itself, exposing its meaning and its logic, and therefore revealing its power. Calvino replaces the usual organization of narrative elements with his curious taxonomy of cities and their tales, offering an alternative and provocative approach to familiar fictional forms.<sup>4</sup> Although our endeavour is far less radical (collections of essays are, after all, rather familiar in the world of scholarship), the variation among perspectives, methods, and levels of specificity stand at odds with familiar approaches to our topic. They challenge the coherence of any particular master narrative in a way that is generative, rubbing one against another in a manner that can produce meanings outside the intent of any individual author.

In order to gain analytic access to the shifting and sometimes elusive dynamic that characterizes the nexus of media, identities and Europe, the essays in this collection work from two different and complimentary entry points. Some move from textually specific engagements, charting particular media encounters in particular locations at particular times. Others operate from a more abstract vantage point, analyzing and mapping spaces of contestation or consolidation. In the case of textually-specific approaches, the essays explore such issues as media production, representational strategies, and meanings in terms of the collective identities they enable. Whether sited in cities or in transnational flows, the analyses reveal the complex negotiations of history, identity, and everyday media as something of an experiential palimpsest. In the case of those studies that are more concerned with what might be called the spaces of identity, tensions among political, economic, and cultural citizenships are variously set into relief by the vantage points provided by notions of the 'other' (religion, the past, 'America', and so on) and by the sometimes dimly recalled memories underlying and shaping the interplay of media and identity.

Although the relationship between media and identity has been taken up in a number of other scholarly works, these studies have typically been concerned with identity either in the individualistic, psychological sense, or in the social sense of national (or European) specificity. This collection, by contrast, takes as its focus the complexities and contradictions of mobile and situation-bound identities as manifest in media production and consumption, identities that simultaneously contest and construct the notion of Europe. The collection's concern with the notion of 'new collectivities' speaks to its authors' understanding of identities as multiple, shifting, and overlapping. With this as a starting point, the authors seek in various ways to explore the rich interactions and the dynamic processes of identity formation that characterize post-war Europe generally and have been particularly evident over the past decade as Europe physically expands and administratively consolidates.

The notion of the palimpsest seems apt for this collection given its overall concern with accretions, shadows, ruptures, and flows. The deep divides of history, whether memorialized in Berlin's Jewish Museum or enacted through violence by the extreme faction of the Basque separatist

movement, are traversed by the coherent flows of currency, television formats, and American cultural presence. Memories of violence or past glory accrete in the forms of monuments and photographs, in the forms of fact and fiction, which themselves acquire new meanings in an ever-changing present. The 'new collectivities' whose representation in, and deployment of, media is central to our study, ebb, flow, and morph across borders and across time. Add to this, the multi-vocal and multi-disciplinary perspective of the authors, and the complexity of the palimpsest, at once coherent, multi-layered, bearing the traces of its own construction, and only partially legible, looms large as a relevant metaphor.

### The Essays

Rob Kroes highlights the current map of collective identifications, showing how it overlays older configurations of remembered borders and regions that helped previous generations to locate themselves politically and culturally. Proposing an archaeology of Europe as remembered space, he shows how the act of making these memories legible can set the stage for meaningful affiliation and collective action for Europeans as Europeans. Kroes goes on to argue that America – as imagined and represented in the European space – may have affected Europeans' sense of their own continent as a stage for collective action of similar scale, effectively offering a homology for self-perception. He explores the possible consequences of this new scale of self-perception in terms of an implied cosmopolitanism, a form of citizenship in a larger democratic space that transcends the prevailing nation state frameworks for cultural and political affiliation. As a model of multi-national democracy, this cosmopolitan Europe is compared to the American space in terms of its possible proselytizing power. Kroes asks whether the European model, by urging candidates for membership in the Union to democratize as a pre-condition for membership, is not a better way to democratize the world than the alleged neo-Wilsonianism – or what he terms a Wilsonianism in boots – of the current American administration.

Working from the particularities of the sites the team visited, Roger Odin explores the processes by which the various cities attempted to build (or rebuild) their identities inside the new context created by the construction of Europe. Using a mouse pad given by EITB (a Basque-language television broadcasting company), a monument in Palermo, a series of postcards found in the gift shop of the Jewish Museum in Berlin, Odin draws upon the notion of the detail, less in the sense of *particolare* (a small part, a fragment) than as *dettaglio*, something symptomatic for the questions he asks, an intellectual provocation of sorts. Working within a semiological framework, Odin moves from the selection of revealing objects, to their *interpretation*, and finally to a combined assessment of these different analyses as a way of characterizing the *paradigm* inside of which the towns' identities are inscribed. In the case of Palermo, for example, he reflects on Mario Pecoraino's monument for those who died fighting against the mafia: three plates of rusted metal reminiscent of Richard Serra's sculptures. This monument, located in the 'Square of the Thirteen Victims', is not historically innocent, and links to Valenti's (now evacuated) monument to the victims of the repression by the Bourbons. The fights against the Mafia and the Bourbons are thus conflated, signifying a renaissance for Sicily. In the process of his explorations, Odin moves across expressive forms, drawing on Laetitia Battaglia's photographs,

texts from Pasolini, Sciascia and Camilleri, and several films. He reflects upon and compares these various texts, using them as guides to indicate what is changing in Palermo today: an attempt to shift from the anarchic, ephemeral, tricky production of meaning characteristic of Sicilian communication, toward the paradigm of *immanency*, of presentness, a paradigm where truth exists without any interpretation.

Odin's deeply informed analyses flow from his deceptively unpretentious stance as a cultural tourist. Karin Becker seizes upon the construction of tourism, and explores a very different dynamic, namely the subtle transformations that enable the exile to return as tourist to a once familiar place. Working with photographs, memories and motives, Becker interrogates the experiences of a new breed of tourist enabled by the political and economic changes that have reopened many European borders. She examines what it means to return as a tourist to a place once regarded as home after many years of being away, a place reshaped by faded memory and complicated by layers of images and accreted media accounts. Her focus is on one exile/tourist's photographs and films of the place that once was home, comparing images from before the period of exile with those made when returning as a tourist. She teases out the actualizations of identities, explores how these are brokered through private photograph collections, and traces the ways that images and memories confront the reality of return. While highly particular in focus, the essay offers important insights into the complexity and mobility of the cultural identities being created and recontextualized in contemporary Europe.

Philip Schlesinger reflects on contemporary literary representations of the condition of exile in terms that are broadly ethnographic, suggesting that there are powerful connections between the condition of exile and the ethical obligation to document what this means. Concerned with exploring how we constitute memory and construct identity, both as individuals and as members of groups, Schlesinger takes up W. G. Sebald's work, located on the borderlands of anthropology, journalism, the memoir and the travelogue. In Sebald's case, these generic crossings leave the reader unsure about whether the text is fact or fiction, autobiography or invention. Arguing that Sebald's writing is ethnographic in style and methodology, Schlesinger finds that it shares close affinities to contemporary anthropological ethnography in its coupling of 'first-hand observation with interviews and with historical data and analysis of texts and imagery'. It intervenes in spaces that are by definition undocumented and undocumentable, while being nevertheless precise and experientially grounded, and capable of reaching truths that defy the limits of fact-bound representation. In making this argument, Schlesinger offers a way to reconcile the delicate balance between history and memory so central to the construction of identity. And in the process, he suggests a way to recover the potency and poignancy of certain literary forms as well as the structural lacunae of the past.

As these essays show, advertisements, monuments, postcards, family photo albums, and novels can all serve as textual sites for interrogating the interplay of memories, histories and identities. But media industries, too, bear the inadvertent traces of collective identities. Jérôme Bourdon draws on the example of American influence in the domain of television production – and the ensuing debates on 'Americanization' – to make a case for a complex set of interactions.

Elements of structural and cultural convergence between American and European television can certainly be considered 'Americanization', and such a term appropriately captures attempts to use the medium as a conduit for cultural values. But it also masks a multi-layered set of processes that includes economic logics, production protocols, and highly divergent motives for localization. Bourdon charts many European nations' fascination with American-style light entertainment and journalism, evident in discreetly imported formats and practices. And he shows how the changing economic logics of certain national television systems deterred the wholesale import of American programming at the same time that deregulation encouraged it, allowing him to complicate the discourse of 'Americanization.' At the same time, he demonstrates how these perceptions led to the stimulation of new European genres of infotainment, talk shows, and reality programming. Role model, informant, wholesaler and fierce competitor, American television – like other fields before it (advertising, opinion polls, print press) – was willingly embraced by Europeans, but for their own reasons and to their own ends, greatly complicating the notion of 'Americanization.'

Kevin Robins deals with a quite different manifestation of transnational television broadcasting as he considers the significance of new media for cultural diversity in the new Europe. If public service broadcasting was central to the institution of national cultures and communities, it follows that the new broadcasting culture must be central to the imagination of the new Europe that is coming into existence. In order to make this argument, Robins focuses his discussion on a single case study: Turkish migrants in western Europe and their relation to media cultures. Working from the concrete viewing experiences and voices of this population, he works against the grain of the national imagination in order to reflect upon how we might deal with cultural diversity more adequately – and respectfully. The point is to think beyond old stereotypes of 'the Turk', and to see what some Turks might have to teach western Europeans about cultural diversity. Robins argues that despite its struggles with the question of diversity, the European Commission limited its policy framework to the need to create an expanded, pan-European market ('television without frontiers'). But this *imaginaire* remained essentially national, and did not address – because it could not recognize – the actual complexity and diversity of Europe. The experience of Turkish television viewers in western Europe offers compelling insights into a much more robust vision.

The flows of American and Turkish television programming across Europe offer Bourdon and Robins very different ways to explore the role of the 'outsider' (whether American or Turkish) as an agent in the performance of identity. In each case, the flow of product and programming has long-term implications for transnational identity formation. Johan Fornäs also deals with the transnational flow of symbolic culture, but through a very different medium, money, in his comparative study of euro (€) coins and banknotes as symbolic texts and media artefacts. Coins and banknotes not only communicate an abstract exchange value, but also throw other meanings into circulation in daily life. Produced by the international system of state national banks, they circulate condensed images of national identities and sociocultural value hierarchies through their carefully chosen designs. Thus, they are widely spread media communicating conventionalized collective identifications that reach deep into daily life by being used by

virtually everyone on a daily basis. Fornäs offers a close reading of these signs of economic and cultural value, in relation to current public discourses of national and post-national identity, and to ideas on money and cultural identity from Simmel, Benjamin, Habermas and others. He makes comparisons among value levels, countries, and pre-euro national currencies in order to discern value hierarchies, regional and political patterns, and historical changes. The public and political processes that gave birth to the euro designs show how European Union (EU) institutions, states, economic market actors, designers and citizens interacted to develop new forms of identification across Europe. These micro media of communication and exchange greedily criss-cross national borders, but Fornäs asks to what extent and in which ways do they also produce germs of truly transnational identities?

In her essay on the tradition of European 'films of voyage', Maria Rovisco offers a way to rethink collective identity formation in relation to the flow of people by focusing on questions of boundary crossing and national definition. She is concerned with the conceptualization of notions of boundary, and goes on to propose the view that European 'films of voyage' offer a critique of universalistic conceptions of the 'other' while avoiding the fallacies of cultural relativism. Rovisco's underlying assumption is that the voyager can come close to the 'other' in the course of his or her subjective experience of movement across a seemingly foreign space. Thus the difference between self and 'other' can be negotiated; even if the symbolic boundaries enabling the distinction between 'us' and 'them' remain relatively stable and unchallenged. The key question is whether a collective identity is always constituted against the 'other', as suggested earlier in the discussion about the role of contrast in Europe's definitional logics. Analyzing three European 'films of voyage' (*Five Days, Five Nights* [Portugal, 1996, Fonseca e Costa], *The Suspended Step of the Stork* [Greece, 1991, Angelopoulos] and *The Crazy Foreigner* [Romania, Gatlif, 1997]), she investigates on both narrative and visual levels how they deal with questions of boundaries and cultural diversity in relation to different spaces with distinct historical contexts.

The final two essays focus on the nation and its relation to regional identities – particularly as evident in media policy – as a prism through which to reflect on larger European dynamics. Sabina Mihelj offers a close analysis of the definitional logics within one nation: Yugoslavia at the point of its disintegration. Focusing on the role of broadcast media and the high-circulation periodical press, she charts the changes in collective identifications and their relations to territory and memory – changes apparent in the erasure of certain terms (for example, socialist, Yugoslav), and the transformation in meaning of others (East, West, Europe, Balkans, as well as all labels referring to specific republics, nations and nationalities). Mass media, Mihelj argues, were among the central institutions that supported such developments by constituting, perpetuating, or changing the contents and reality status of the narratives and rituals that support collective identifications and spatial units. One of the often-discussed features of the Yugoslav communication space was the weakness of pan-Yugoslav media, and especially the fact that until 1990, Yugoslavia had no common, federation-wide television channel. Instead, most mass media with high circulation and coverage were under the control of the various republics (and thus, potentially, nations). Mihelj traces the implications for identity of the complex, changing

and often conflicting media narratives of particular Yugoslav nations as they competed for the status of 'reality', 'truth' and 'history', in the process offering a valuable synecdoche for that larger cohesive unit, Europe.

Finally, Giuliana Muscio explores Sicily and its relations to both Italy and Europe as a way to understand the various tensions underlying the enactment of regionalization. Using a close study of Emanuele Crialesè's *Respiro*, she focuses on film production as a way of charting the birth of a 'Sicilian cinema' and assessing its larger identity politics. Muscio argues that the tensions between globalization and reactive forms of localization often encourage the adoption of circumscribed identities – leading to what she describes as cultural insularity. Although local movements are often identified with conservative or traditionalist tendencies, she argues that these movements might also be understood in terms of innovative forms of expression and modes of production. Sicilian film production offers a robust example of *glocalization's* innovative potentials, both in working methods and themes. Moreover, Sicily's cultural position, between the two cultural macro-identities of Europe and the Mediterranean, locates the concrete expressions of its regional identity in a productive space, particularly if we define Europe through a contrastive logic. Crialesè's *Respiro* achieved notable international visibility, won several prizes in different festivals, and was nominated for the European Film Award in 2002. In fact within the Sicilian group, it is the only film produced by an international combination (French-Italian) and with European contributions (Eurimages). As a European production it enjoyed international distribution, thus attracting more attention than usual, even reaching the American market. Its marketing strategies pose interesting questions about the cultural identity of European cinema rooted in the regional.

Together, these essays interweave a mix of media forms (novels, money, films, television programming, monuments), of sites (the region, nation, 'Europe'); of flows (of media, of populations) and markers of identity (language, history, memory, trauma, desire). Although somewhat entropic in appearance, the whole is bound together by an overarching concern with the tensions and fissures underlying the ongoing project of Europe's definition, and by the process of collective exploration and interrogation facilitated by the Changing Media-Changing Europe initiative.

### A Final Word

Our decision to take *We Europeans?* as a title merits a brief explanation. The year 1939 saw the publication of two reflections on identity, one from each side of the Atlantic. The *Atlantic Monthly's* "We Americans: Who We Are – Where We Come From – What We Believe – Where We Are Going" and Julian Huxley's *We Europeans: A Survey of Racial Problems*, although quite different initiatives, both shared an interrogation of cultural values and a relationship to the identity question provoked by developments in Nazi Germany.<sup>5</sup> The issue of race loomed large in both publications, and with it, not only issues of tolerance and civility, but far more fundamental questions regarding identities and coherence in an environment where patterns of race and ethnicity did not necessarily align with certain prominent discourses. These two works mirrored their national conditions, one populist in appeal and format and the other

imbued with traces of hierarchization; each in its own way challenged largely unspoken assumptions regarding identity; and each did so by targeting an issue that continues to function as a fault line in cultural identity. Both titles, *We Americans* and *We Europeans*, have continued to appear on books with various subtitles throughout the intervening years, and authors such as Daniel Boorstin and Thomas Allen, Richard Hill and Tony Kusher have continued to interrogate the issues that divide and that bind.

This collection of essays is both indebted to, and very much a part of, this tradition. Europe remains in a state of dynamic development; media systems and flows continue to transform; and the collectivities – the variously clustered people – at the heart of our endeavour continue to shape-shift. Our attempts to assess these dynamics, to strategize ways of comprehending their implications, and to offer tentative conclusions, have all been made with the awareness that conditions continue to shift. Nevertheless, we hope that the reader finds the sum of our multi-disciplinary parts to be greater than the whole.

### Notes

1. Most of these colleagues contributed to the team's first volume, *Audiences and Publics: When Cultural Engagement Matters for the Public Sphere* (Bristol: Intellect, 2005), edited by Sonia Livingstone.
2. 22 January 2003.
3. Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1974) originally published as *Le città invisibili* (Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1972).
4. Teresa De Laurentis, 'Semiotic Models, Invisible Cities,' in Harold Bloom, ed., *Italo Calvino* (Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2001), p. 47.
5. Atlantic Monthly, *We Americans: Who We Are – Where We Come From – What We Believe – Where We Are Going* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly C, 1930); Julian Huxley, A. C. Haddon And A. M. Carr-Saunders, *We Europeans: A Survey of Racial Problems* Harmondsworth: Pelican Books Penguin, 1939.