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Endless land, endless opportunity. The coloniality of elite boarding school landscapes

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■ *Allgemeiner Teil*

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Impressum U3

Leila Angod/Rubén Gaztambide-Fernández

Endless Land, Endless Opportunity

The coloniality of elite boarding school landscapes

Abstract: This article brings studies on elite schools into conversation with studies on colonialism to show how elite status, as constituted through boarding school campuses, is implicated in colonialism. Using document and visual analysis of elite boarding school materials available online, this article reveals the pastoral coloniality of elite boarding school landscapes in Germany (Schule Schloss Salem), the United States (Phillips Academy Andover), and Canada (Appleby College). We argue that the pastoral design of these elite school landscapes, together with the schools' narratives about the character of their campuses, require and mobilize colonial logics of open, endless land for the purpose of constituting elite status as endless opportunity.

Keywords: Elites, Boarding Schools, Colonialism, Landscape, Global Citizenship

1. "What is This Place?"

In the film *The X-Men*, Logan, a wolverine humanoid with superlative skills, is rescued and brought to Professor Xavier's School for Gifted Youngsters. Wandering around campus, Logan interrupts a physics class in Professor Xavier's office, bewildered by his surroundings and the extraordinary abilities of those he meets there. Logan asks Professor Xavier, "what is this place?" A scientific genius and telepath who founded the school to protect and develop the talents of other mutants, Professor Xavier's description of the school is accompanied with images of an idyllic campus. The school, a restored mansion, is nestled within a clump of trees and surrounded by manicured lawns, a pond, stone garden walls, and a stable. The school is untouched by evil forces and protected from the humans who are determined to eliminate the mutants.

Xavier's School for Gifted Youngsters typifies the iconic elite boarding school landscape inspired by the English *public schools* that informs many of the most prestigious boarding school campuses. In this article we argue that the iconic elite boarding school landscape is not just English, but pastoral, and as we will show, colonial. Taking Logan's question as a starting point, we inquire into what kinds of places elite boarding schools are by analyzing their landscapes. Clearly, these are places of wealth and resources. But are they colonial? And if so, what do boarding school landscapes reveal about the coloniality of elite boarding schools?

In much of elite school literature, colonialism is taken up as a historical period that has been either transcended or incorporated into a *postcolonial* present. In fact, when scholars of elite schools take up colonialism, it is almost exclusively in the context of analyses of elite school formations within what are typically framed as *postcolonial* na-

tion-states (e.g. Fahey, Prosser & Shaw, 2015). Even in these cases, colonialism is either discussed only as part of the schools' histories or examined as a contemporary remnant. In short, elite schools scholars usually frame colonialism as a historical problem with contemporary *manifestations*, and even then only within contexts understood as *post-colonial*.

Rather than a thing of the past, here we conceptualize colonialism as a living force, an intricate and contemporary part of a complex structure of power that we must theorize in order to uncover how elite status is produced. While this structure of power always imbricates with capitalism, race, and gender (see Angod, 2015, forthcoming; Gaztambide-Fernández & Angod, forthcoming), in this article we focus on colonialism and argue that scholars of elite schooling must interrogate coloniality. We aim to underscore that colonialism is neither simply historical nor merely aesthetic. Instead, we argue that colonialism is not only ongoing, but central to how elite schools consolidate their power and produce elite subjects. We examine one site where we can observe the colonial organization of elite schools: their campuses. This article provides an argument and analytic tools that scholars of elite schools may use to interrogate the coloniality of elite schools.

As an important part of the *hidden curriculum* (see Apple, 2004), the organization of elite boarding school campuses is just one expression of the importance of colonialism, particularly how it is predicated on a specific relationship to land. The premise of our analysis is that elite school campuses, as part of the institutional body, are regulated just as the demographic body is regulated through hiring and admissions (see Angod, forthcoming; Gaztambide-Fernández, 2009a). We propose that elite boarding school campuses are similarly curated through the creation of a pastoral landscape that is intended to appear – and *feel* – *endless*. This endless pastoral is construed in opposition to a wilderness – an *out there* – that elite students are prepared, in a sense, to conquer and civilize through their elite education.

While elite school landscapes are meant to appear naturally pastoral, we show that these spaces are made through a cautiously manicured aesthetic with origins in English estates and elite *public schools*. This landscape serves a central function in both expressing and, as we will show, constituting elite status. Holding these three strands of colonialism, pastoral landscapes, and elite boarding schools together, we argue that the English pastoral form is crucial to how these schools are implicated in ongoing colonialism. Key to this process is the making of elite subjects who internalize a sense of entitlement to land and the feeling that they *belong everywhere and can do anything*, a colonial disposition central to the kind of cosmopolitan global citizen that these schools promise. We argue that pastoral boarding school landscapes: (1) configure land as infinite and available for possession; (2) facilitate the *sense of entitlement* (see Gaztambide-Fernández, 2009a) to endless opportunities; and (3) produce subjects whose very sense of entitlement to *belong everywhere* is premised on a ruling relationship to land that is expressed as happiness. These features of pastoral landscapes create the conditions that produce colonial – or more specifically, colonizing – subjectivities.

As illustrations, we use schools in Germany, Canada, and the US with origins in the English public school model that are shaped by specific national and colonial contexts.

In the next section, we theorize the relationship between colonialism, the pastoral, and elite schools. We then describe the three schools and their national contexts before discussing methodology, presenting our analysis, and concluding with implications.

2. Colonialism, Pastoral Landscapes, and Elite Boarding Schools

To inquire into the relationship between colonization and elite schooling, we begin with a brief overview of colonialism, focusing on some central concerns of decolonial, Indigenous, and postcolonial scholars as a basis for elucidating the German, US, and Canadian contexts in the following section.

As a structure of power and exploitation, colonialism has been and continues to be in the service of capitalism. Colonialism is premised on a view of the world that imagines a *we* that is entitled to land and resources available for exploitation and that requires the elimination (through genocide and/or assimilation) and exploitation (particularly through enslavement and other forms of coerced labour) of a *them* (see Fanon, 1967/1986; Razack, 2004; Wynter, 2003). Today, colonialism continues as a project of modern liberalism and capitalism that leverages and imposes interlocking logics of domination along axes that include race, gender, class, language, religion, and caste. These axes of oppression are not themselves forms of colonization, but rather they imbricate with and are inextricable from processes of colonization.

Materially, colonization is as a form of land theft and resource exploitation for the benefit of the people, institutions, and nations that are considered properly modern and entitled to regulate and modernize Others. The subjective, social, psychological, and affective dimensions of this categorization of life and the planet continue to be profoundly powerful and devastating. Scholars of colonization, particularly those who theorize it from their own experience, demonstrate the profound impact that colonial dynamics have on how the colonized come to think about themselves and the world (see Césaire, 1972; Fanon, 1967/1986; Said, 1979; Wynter, 2003; wa Thiong'o, 1986). Recent scholarship, particularly from Latin America, has put forward the notion of *coloniality* as a way to describe the subjective experience of colonization and the effect this has on the formation of subjectivities (e. g. Maldonado-Torres, 2008; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010; Wynter, 2003). This notion of coloniality, perhaps for good reasons, has only been mobilized to make sense of the experience of colonization and its aftermath, particularly as a way to think through what it would mean to decolonize. With some notable exceptions (e. g. Memmi, 1967; Said, 1994), few scholars of colonialism have taken up the task of theorizing colonizer subjectivity and the notion of coloniality has not been applied to an analysis of elite subject formation (see Ayling, 2019).

Central to an understanding of coloniality is the notion that colonization is an ongoing process that not only operates through specific events, but that manifests through the everyday at micro-sociological and affective levels. We argue that coloniality is key to elite subject formation and elite boarding schools. The process by which young elites internalize the sense that they are entitled to unlimited resources and to the cosmopoli-

tan ethos of a *global citizenship* unencumbered by borders, we argue, is a colonial one. And just as imposing a particular relationship to land is integral to producing colonial subjects, we argue here that land itself is also central to this making. We further argue that the landscape is crucial for producing young ruling elites who will continue the project of colonization.

Our concept of *landscape* includes but exceeds the organization of land to comprise other institutional places such as classrooms and sports fields. While some of these places are not pastoral, it is crucial to engage these as learning environments embedded within and shaped by a pastoral landscape. Elite school scholars, while similarly interested in power inequities, tend to focus on privilege, exclusivity, and the reproduction of elite classes and subjects. A few elite school scholars pay some attention to the role of land and space in constituting the power of elite schools (see Gaztambide-Fernández, 2009a; Fahey, Prosser, & Shaw, 2015). However, these scholars have failed to connect this particular *social aesthetic* to ongoing processes of colonization and the making of colonizer subjectivities in the global north.

Central to our argument is the notion that landscapes are highly political signifying systems and that the pastoral landscape is a particular spatial discourse. In Duncan and Duncan's (2004) study of elites in Westchester County, New York – the same place where Xavier's School is located in the film – the authors identify three discourses that shape the landscape and how people talk about it. The most important of these is the pastoral, which dates to the middle of the 1700s when the British government ended the ban on the enclosure of common lands, a law originating in the 1600s that aimed to limit the power of wealthy landowners (see Bermingham, 1986, cited in Duncan & Duncan, 2004). Duncan and Duncan (2004) describe the origins of the pastoral in the English pastoral estate with its wide vistas, lawns, waterways, and groves. Part of the tradition of Romantic poetry and painting, a pastoral aesthetic comprises idyllic, country scenes. English estates became exclusive retreats for the wealthy, who hired landscape designers to create large parks on their newly enclosed estates (see Bunce, 1994, cited in Duncan & Duncan, 2004).

While Duncan and Duncan do not make the link, there are at least two ways in which the pastoral is implicated in colonization. First, as Said demonstrates in his analysis of Austen's *Mansfield Park*, the idyllic pastoral English estate is symbolically constructed in opposition to the brutal spaces of colonization, while at the same time the first is materially supported by the former (see Said, 1994). Second, this contrast between the pastoral and wilderness is used as both expression and confirmation of the doctrine of Manifest Destiny to justify Indigenous genocide and land theft (see McCoy, 2014).

We begin from the premise that the country vistas, lakes, rivers, and barns of boarding school landscapes are quintessentially *pastoral*. This organization of campus land and space, and the stories these schools tell about them, are not innocent; they are significant in the formation of eliteness (see Lefebvre, 1991; Razack, 2002). Both the landscapes and the narratives the schools tell about them are curated for the political purpose of staking claims to power that are colonial.

3. Three Schools and their Colonial Contexts

While there is no definitive list of elite boarding schools globally or in a given country, we selected schools that indisputably fit the criteria laid out by Gaztambide-Fernández (2009b) to define elite boarding schools. Schule Schloss Salem (“Salem Castle School”), Phillips Academy Andover, and Appleby College are typologically, scholastically, historically, demographically, and geographically elite (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2009b). Specifically, each institution is an independent, co-educational, day and boarding school that has graduated generations of elites.

Andover is the oldest of the schools, founded in 1778, with Appleby in 1911 and Salem in 1920. All schools offer exclusive learning experiences and are affiliated with elite school associations; all are members of the exclusive G20. Geographically, each school owns valuable real estate in affluent areas. Salem has three campuses in the wealthy, southern-German state of Baden-Württemberg. Andover, itself a wealthy suburb of Boston, is located in New England (Massachusetts), and Appleby is in Oakville, an affluent suburb in the Greater Toronto Area. In addition to shared markers of elite status, German, US, and Canadian elite boarding schools are linked through English public schools as a key historical referent (see Gaztambide-Fernández, 2009a; Wakeford, 1969). Finally, and as we explore in the next section, the landscape of each school campus is pastoral.

Andover, one of the oldest US boarding schools (see Gaztambide-Fernández, 2009b), links its origins to the birth of the nation. Andover describes itself as, “almost as old as the United States,” being founded, “at the height of the American Revolution by the Honourable Samuel Phillips Jr.” (Phillips Academy Andover “History,” n. d., n. p.), a wealthy businessman and politician with ties to Harvard and whose father owned the land (see McLachlan, 1970). Phillips envisioned a school that would bring *youth from every quarter*, away from the dangers and corruption of the growing cities, to turn them into the leaders of the nation. While this link to the American Revolution suggests a distancing from England, the very architecture of the school was designed to emulate Eton and Oxford (see McLachlan, 1970; Reed, 2000). Appleby College was co-founded by Sir Edmund Walker, a Toronto businessman on University of Toronto’s Senate who founded the Royal Ontario Museum (see Lorinc, 2014). The co-founder was Walker’s son-in-law, John Guest, Head of elite Upper Canada College. Similar to Phillips, Walker and Guest’s vision was to establish a school, “in the country” (Thomson & Lafortune, 1999, p. 284), suggesting a desire for a space uncorrupted by urban dangers. Appleby College forges links with the making of the nation, for example, by emphasizing a history of students who were soldiers (see Appleby College, 2012).

Since these schools tell their histories in relation to land and the nation, we must read these origin stories against their settler colonial contexts and unsettle any claim to national innocence. Because settler colonialism requires the elimination of Indigenous people from the land in order to take their place as the rightful inhabitants, US and Canadian governments continue to pursue tactics of genocide (see Byrd, 2011; Coulthard, 2014; Kauanui, 2008; Simpson, 2014; Wolfe, 2006). Colonialism at home included, in

both contexts, Japanese internment and exploited Asian labour, and still includes the ghettoization of the urban poor, police carding, the school to prison pipeline, and staggering numbers of Black and Indigenous deaths in police custody. Modern-day colonialism abroad comprises the ongoing occupation of territories in the Pacific and the Caribbean, such as Puerto Rico and Guam, and military and peacekeeping presences around the world (see Razack, 2004). In the context of ongoing colonial violence, it is important to note the success of Black and Indigenous resistance movements such as Black Lives Matter and Idle No More.

Turning to the German context, in founding Schule Schloss Salem, Prince Max von Baden worked with education philosopher Kurt Hahn (see Veevers & Allison, 2011). Hahn was inspired both by Abbotsholme School in England, and fellow education philosopher Hermann Lietz, who was also inspired by English boarding schools (see Koerrenz, Blichmann, & Engelmann, 2018). Drawing on this inspiration, Lietz theorized the *Landerziehungsheim* or *country boarding school* model, from the concept of *Ländlichkeit*. In this context, *Ländlichkeit* means *pastoral* (see Koerrenz, Blichmann, & Engelmann, 2018; Lischewski & Fengler, 2018; Yamana, 1996). Connecting nature with the nation and the making of good citizens, the *Landerziehungsheim* emphasizes a rural location, protected from surrounding wilderness, where students may become morally and physically resilient citizens in relationship with the land. The *Landerziehungsheim* model, in seeking to avoid the contamination within urban centres (like Andover and Appleby), bears the hallmarks of race and class segregation, and, for non-elite students, race and class improvement. Hahn's link with Lietz raises questions about the nationalist and racial impulses of German boarding school landscapes, including Salem. These questions resonate with Germany's colonial past and present, which extend far beyond Imperial German rule from 1871–1918, taking the form of external occupation and settler colonialism (within Africa and the South Pacific), internal colonialism (Third Reich), regional occupation and rule (of Eastern Europe and China), and ongoing racism in Germany, particularly in relation to the citizenship of Turkish, Arab, Muslim, and Black populations (see Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2015; Césaire, 1972; Conrad, 2013; El-Tayeb, 1999; Fanon, 1967/1986; Weheliye, 2005). The colonial contexts of these schools is linked via English boarding schools as well as deeply layered in their respective national contexts.

4. Methodology, Methods, and Data

To conduct our analysis, we use the tools of critical discourse analysis (CDA) (see Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 2013; Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui & Joseph, 2005). We locate *the pastoral* discourse in curated elite school landscapes as well as in the stories that schools tell about them. Accordingly, we examine visual (photographs, videos) and textual (narratives, documents) objects as evidence of how meaning making happens (see also Helsper, Dreier, Gibson, Kotzyba & Niemann, 2018). This meaning-making process is pedagogical; it enables young elites

to learn their place in the world. In fact, the schools use these artifacts to attract prospective students, who must begin to see themselves as the kinds of students the schools seek (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2009a); that is, they must see themselves *taking space in this place*.

For Salem, we chose images and a recruitment video, “Leben im Internat” (“Living in Boarding”), from the school’s homepage. For Andover, we chose their “Catalog” (n.d.) and “Viewbook” (n.d.), which serve as recruitment tools, as well as the “Phillips Academy Campus Master Plan” (Phillips Academy, 2016), a framework to expand the already expansive campus. For Appleby, we analyzed the school’s 2012 centennial video. As public documents, these artifacts contain salient stories that the schools tell about themselves. We are interested in the similarities in how these three schools in three different national contexts with different colonial histories order their landscapes (what does the campus look like?), the colonial logics embedded in the stories they tell about the landscapes (what happens in these campuses?), and the colonizing gaze that the elite boarding school landscapes cultivate in students through these representations (what kind of looking do the landscapes encourage and what kind of person does this gaze cultivate?).

Drawing on CDA, we approached these artifacts as expressions of ideological constructs and the kinds of power relationships that these schools seek to produce. Specifically, we used analytic tools from narrative (e.g. Riessman, 2008) and visual methodologies (e.g. Rose, 2016) to distill the discursive strategies through which coloniality is at once expressed as well as occluded in and through the landscape. With all of the data, we manually coded and analyzed each text using the three themes that we present here. We read for how landscapes were used to tell the story of the school, how the land was presented as a character playing a role in the students’ educational experiences, and how students are positioned as characters on the land. We paid special attention to the gaze that the videos invite through visual strategies, such as zooming, and how the land is portrayed in order to invite a particular way of seeing from the viewer.

We also examined the actions that students in the video perform as a way to express a particular relation to the land, as well as the feelings that are expressed through those actions. These agentic and affective expressions are crucial for understanding the ideological dimension of these visual texts and the relation to land that these articulate. We also paid special attention to the ideas that are expressed through words and how these are juxtaposed with images, either in the videos themselves or alongside in text. We are attuned to shared practices of ordering land through a pastoral aesthetic and the colonizing subjects that these landscapes produce.

5. Producing the Colonial Through the Pastoral

In this section, we analyze the school landscapes and how they are represented through the visual stories the schools tell about themselves. Using colonialism and coloniality as lenses, we suggest that these visual representations express: the sense of an infinite, end-

less landscape; the promise of endless opportunities; and the sense of happiness through engagement with the landscape. We further reveal the pedagogical role of these pastoral expressions in producing young elites.

5.1 *Endless Land*

Salem's homepage features a carousel of photographs, several of which show expansive campus views. The first image shows grand, historical campus buildings nestled against gently sloping hills and lush, green fields. A winding road leads to a campus surrounded by stately trees. The viewer's eye is drawn towards the horizon through an endless green dotted with villages. A second landscape image shows the viewer a different vista; we peer down the hilly, wooded campus to a glistening lake dotted with sailboats under a pristine blue sky, the endless blue interrupted only by velvety, white clouds (Schule Schloss Salem, n. d.).

This interaction between land and sky is also present in Andover's "Viewbook", where the second image shows a tall clock tower pointing toward the blue sky, like a rocket ready to depart toward the sun (see Phillips Academy Andover, n. d., p. 5); the *big blue experience* that the school promises to prospective students. Andover is explicit about the pastoral design of the landscape, describing it in the "Master Plan" as a, "pastoral academic campus" (Phillips Academy, 2016, p. 16). While the document describes the pastoral campus as, "a uniquely American innovation" (Phillips Academy, 2016, p. 16), as we have shown, this landscape is a colonial formation that originates in enclosed English estates and public schools. Like Salem, Andover's materials feature open lawns and historical buildings. In addition to the images of endless lawns and golden autumn leaves, the spaciousness of the facilities also features prominently, for example, in the wide steps leading to heavy, wooden doors flanked by columns (Phillips Academy Andover, *Catalog*, n. d., p. 50).

The pastoral landscape of Appleby College plays a starring role in the Centennial video, which opens with a 1908 quote from the school's founder, John Guest: "Everywhere one looked the landscape delighted the eye, and if the property weren't beautiful enough the view of Lake Ontario was splendid" (Appleby College, 2012). The land, as private property with endless vistas that extend to the horizon over the lake, incites the pastoral pleasure that Duncan and Duncan (2004) describe. The opening images of the video invite the viewer to step into an empty landscape. The first image shows the expansive blue waters of Lake Ontario lapping at the shore, wide, sun-dappled fields, a grove of gnarled trees, and a stream flowing under a bridge and bordered by flowering shrubs. The voice-over describes the 32 acres of land as having, "retained their enduring natural beauty and splendour" (Appleby College, 2012). While the landscape that follows is highly manufactured, true to the pastoral mode, it invokes *natural beauty*. Images of the immense facilities follow, with views of students after that, suggesting the central place of the landscape in telling the story of Appleby as an elite boarding school, much in the same way as Salem and Andover.

As a whole, these images evidence the manufactured, pastoral ordering of the landscape, an ordering that cites the English landscapes from which it is descended. Duncan and Duncan observe that it was landscape designers, in particular Capability Brown, who were responsible for, “the spread of the lawn as the miniaturization of the pastoral, as well as the mix of meadow, water, trees, and grazing animals that we associate with the natural, romantic garden” (Jenkins, 1994, p. 10–15, cited in Duncan & Duncan, 2004). As the authors note, lawns did not exist when settlers arrived in North America; settlers brought grasses from Europe. The English public school, as a vast estate, would have been subject to similar landscape aesthetics as private English estates and played a key role in separating the schools from the surrounding, and yet to be conquered, wilderness. For example, the campuses we examine here are just woody enough to feel sheltered rather than wildly forested, evoking the separation between the *Landerziehungsheim* and the surrounding wilderness (see Yamana, 1996). The fields and lawns are perfectly green and manicured. The buildings are designed to similarly evoke expansiveness.

These images also depict – and invite us to exercise – the gaze of the young elite; whether sweeping views of lush landscapes or aerial views of the campus (as in Andover’s “Master Plan” and “Schule Schloss Salem – Leben und Lernen im Internat”), these limitless vistas enable us to gaze on pastoralized land. The ordering of elite boarding school landscapes around the world according to a pastoral aesthetic, then, is a living legacy of the English ruling class (see McLachlan, 1970). This is not to say that the English estate link is the only foundation of elite school landscapes, but rather that it is a predominant, shared one that has been exported to elite schools around the world.

The viewers are invited to look through the eyes of the colonizer who is entitled to limitless land and space, and to imagine themselves as this colonizing subject. Both the landscape and the visual representations of the landscape cultivate a subject who possesses. The infinite gaze that these landscapes invite bear the hallmarks of what Pratt names, “the ‘seeing-man,’ an admittedly unfriendly label for the male subject of European landscape discourse – he whose imperial eyes passively look out and possess” (Pratt, 1992, p. 7). This gaze is now available to male and female subjects, as well as white and non-white ruling elites, who would look out and possess limitless opportunities. Surveying the pastoral landscapes of elite boarding school campuses, young elites gaze upon unsullied abundance as that which is rightfully theirs. This is the possessing gaze of the colonizer, which is rooted in the material processes of ongoing colonial possession that we have been describing.

While all of these landscapes are on private, enclosed properties, the space *feels* infinite because it is unobstructed by anything that would disrupt the pastoral mode, that is anything marked as urban, industrial, or impoverished. Instead, one’s eye extends unimpeded to the horizon with a god’s eye view. Further, the coloniality of spatial infinity becomes temporal infinity. For example, Andover’s “Master Plan” (2016) features a photo of a tree-covered pathway that leads through a green lawn (p. 18–19). The photo is accompanied by the caption, “A path to the future,” confirming Gaztambide-Fernán-

dez's (2009a) conceptualization of *envisioning* as the fifth *stage* of elite subject formation; these pastoral landscapes open portals to equally limitless elite futures for the right child.

The documents reveal that Salem, Andover, and Appleby each reference the hallmark attributes of an expansive pastoral landscape in strikingly similar ways. This demonstrates the transnational salience of the pastoral mode, not only in reference to the English public school aesthetic and the *Landerziehungsheim*, but also as central to the pedagogical project of producing *global citizens* with a sense of elite cosmopolitanism. Through the pastoral, these elite subjects construct a relationship to land as not only endless, but as ownable. The implication of this shared aesthetic is that elites can move with ease between elite school (including postsecondary) landscapes because they all feel familiar (see Gaztambide-Fernández, 2009a). Young elites feel entitled to move through these spaces because they recognize them as *theirs*.

While the limit of the pastoral landscape remains hidden, we find in these documents its corollary, external landscape: wilderness. These are spaces other than the pastoral, unmanicured places of challenges, risks, and dangers where colonizer subjects may test and affirm their empowered subjectivities. These landscapes include northern campuses (Appleby) and globally southern spaces of volunteer abroad (Appleby) and place-based learning (Andover) where students may encounter and conquer wilderness and its racial Others (see Angod, 2015, forthcoming). Stated differently, young elites feel entitled to move *towards* these spaces because they feel entitled to them, as the rightful owners of everything in the horizon; the true cosmopolitan global citizen.

5.2 *Endless Opportunities*

An endless landscape likewise communicates the sense of *endless opportunities*. Pratt's (1992) *seeing-man*, who looks out and possesses, is similarly entitled to all abundance. Andover's "Viewbook" provides an answer to the unstated question, *Why Andover*, the reply in bold font: "Because this is a place of limitless opportunity" (Phillips Academy Andover, n.d., p. 4). The schools' online documents have in common a variety of images of academic, athletic, arts, and community-related activities available within the elite school landscape; the list of extracurricular activities and campus facilities for pursuing them is immense.

Young elites learn through this environment, carefully curated for their self-exploration, that the world is their oyster. Andover is particularly explicit about selling limitless opportunities in ways that emulate limitless landscapes. The "Catalog" describes, for example, "tools for an expansive education" (Phillips Academy Andover, n.d., p. 66). Limitless opportunities mean that everyone can *find their niche* and be, "the best at something" (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2009a, p. 84). Within a landscape of abundant resources, the opportunities are similarly abundant and available to all its selected subjects. Indeed, this abundance of opportunities is impossible without access to the land. In the case of Andover and Appleby, of course, the land is actually Indigenous land, yet

Indigenous people are entirely invisible. In the case of Salem, while the land itself is not colonized in this way, the way that the land is manufactured creates a particular aesthetic, a *bird's eye view* of the world, where everything is within reach, ownable, and therefore colonizable.

These landscapes suggest a childhood protected from urban, industrial, and racialized spaces, like fantasies of childhood innocence (see Farley & Garlen, 2016), including that of the *Landerziehungsheim* concept. Further, the pastoral campus, as a space of childhood innocence, safely grooms young elites who embrace endless opportunities and are entitled to possess all they see. According to the classical notion of the pastoral ethic, children have an essential purity and the role of education is simply to provide a natural habitat that allows this essential purity to unfold. Of course, the category of the child is not available to all children. The pastoral, while appearing natural, is in fact highly manufactured, providing this curated environment for some students, and, further, producing this subject. Here, young elites may become who they are destined to be: ruling elites who are entitled to the abundance of the planet.

5.3 A Sense of Happiness through Engagement with the Landscape

The limitless opportunities produced by limitless land enable young elites to experience and express *a sense of happiness through engagement with the landscape*. Being the right child is a happy experience. This happiness is an emplaced one; it is produced by actively engaging the endless opportunities within an endless landscape. The viewers of the online materials, in imagining themselves as the colonizing subject surveying the landscape, also experience the pleasure of this subject's ruling relationship with land.

Each of the schools deploys images of students who express happiness through engagement with these pastoral landscapes. Appleby's video shows happy students on campus for their overview of the shift to co-education, suggesting that the "inclusion" mentioned in the voice-over, that is, a co-educational landscape, produces institutional and personal happiness (see Appleby College, 2012). Diversity, too, is a way to experience happiness through the landscape; students of colour are prominently displayed with smiling faces. Happy faces also appear in scenes that show moments from closing day, when young elites affirm that they are the right child and that the limitless landscape of the school has indeed opened the vista of a limitless future.

Salem's "Leben und Lernen im Internat" (2015) video in particular focuses on the emplaced body, with fifteen seconds of footage featuring students on campus at the opening and closing of the video. The opening montage features close-up images of happy students against the blurred background of the campus. The closing montage brings the landscape into focus, cutting quickly between a series of scenes to show images of students walking within different places on campus. These scenes are pastoral; they include a tree-lined trail in front of a church and a walkway bordered by flowering shrubs and old windows. In each scene the students walk towards the camera, smiling, engaged in the landscape, inviting the viewer to imagine the happiness of their body in

these spaces. The pristineness of the landscape, together with being the right child that belongs in this landscape, and to which the landscape belongs, induces happiness. The logics of pristineness and purity are simultaneously racial and colonial; the managing of undesirable populations at home and abroad is at the heart of colonialism (see Said, 1994). To be the right child of these elite boarding schools is to be a colonizing subject who is at home in landscapes of endless land and endless opportunity, and who experiences happiness engaging with these landscapes.

6. A Colonial Place: Concluding Thoughts

We have attempted to show how a particular relationship to land *at home* is necessary for the consolidation of elite subjectivities through which a sense of entitlement to land *elsewhere* can be secured. This sense of belonging in the world, and of the world belonging to an *us* is at the heart of contemporary elite subjectivity and, as we have argued, it is fundamentally colonial. Precisely because empire is *all about land*, to paraphrase Said, an entitlement to endless land and endless opportunity, together with the feeling that they *belong everywhere and can do anything*, are crucial for modern elite subjects.

The pristine pastoral landscapes of modern elite boarding schools do more than provide a secluded, safe environment where academically talented students can thrive and become *the best of the best* (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2009a); they also create a pastoral pedagogy through which young elites learn to rule. This is perhaps most evident in the case of Andover and Appleby, where the landscape is itself Indigenous land that has been stolen through the displacement of Indigenous people, and where the ideology of Manifest Destiny inscribed settlers as the rightful inhabitants of the land. But the German case is equally implicated, not only through the colonial histories that produced German elites, but in the ways that the landscape reproduces a colonizing gaze and incorporates the logic of global citizenship that is the new moral priority of contemporary colonization. There is much at stake in discourses of elite boarding schools, land, and belonging. We hope that this article opens new questions and discussions that reveal and unsettle the coloniality of these places.

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Zusammenfassung: Dieser Artikel bringt Studien über Eliteschulen mit Studien über Kolonialismus in Verbindung und zeigt damit, wie der Status als Elite, der durch die Internatslandschaft konstituiert wird, mit Kolonialismus zusammenhängt. Mithilfe der Analyse von Dokumenten sowie der Untersuchung von online verfügbaren Materialien von Eliteninternaten deckt dieser Artikel die ländlich-idyllische Kolonialität von Eliteninternaten in Deutschland (Schule Schloss Salem), den Vereinigten Staaten (Phillips Academy Andover) und Kanada (Appleby College) auf. Wir argumentieren, dass die ländlich-idyllische Gestaltung dieser Eliteschulen zusammen mit den Narrativen der jeweiligen Schule über ihren Campuscharakter die koloniale Logik des offenen, unbegrenzten Landes sowohl erfordern als auch mobilisieren, mit dem Zweck, den Elitestatus als Tor zu unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten darzustellen.

Schlagworte: Eliten, Internate, Kolonialismus, Landschaft, Weltbürgerschaft

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