

promotes one's superior identity over the other and seeks control of the nation. Therefore, the fundamentals of nationalism are embedded in identity politics.

This chapter tries to map out critical theoretical debates on nationalism. It looks at the scholarship around nationalism and finds out that the idea of exclusion emerges complementarily to the concept of nationalism. The chapter attempts to understand how exclusion converts itself into the derivative discourse of ethnic nationalism in a heterogeneous society. It identifies the basis, strategies, and principles of ethnonationalism and throws light on how ethnonationalism is constructed through sociopolitical grievances.

The Study of Nationalism During the Early Years

The emergence of nationalism is commonly associated with the French Revolution, during which the rights of man were recognised as the rights of the citizen. Hence, the nation emerged as the source of political authority. Junaid (2008) writes that conceptually, the origin of a nation can be traced to the Hebrew Bible, where the connection between land, language, and kinship was established after the deluge and dispersion of Noah's sons.

This section looks at the major influences on the study of nationalism in three phases: from the 18th century to the early 20th century, from 1944 to 1980, and from 1980 to the present. The first intellectual traditions for understanding the nation are primordialism and perennials. Primordialism recognises nations as organic givens and natural divisions of humanity. They regard nations as fixed and permanent entities of the world and trace the nature of national ties to primordial attachments. Smith (1999) recognises the power of such social groups in rooted kinship and genetic bases of human existence. Subsequently, they survived later processes and developments.

Schleiermacher (2004) and Fichte (1808) were the significant theorists who argued on the primordial/perennial grounds where nations are ancient and natural phenomena. As the nation appears timeless, na-

tional forms evolve, and particular nations cease to exist. Fichte (1808), in his 'Address to the German Nation', advocated for the earthly fatherland.

The natural impulse of a man, which should be abandoned only in the case of absolute necessity, is to find heaven on earth and to endow his daily work on earth with permanence and eternity, to plant and to cultivate the eternal in the temporal-not merely in the incomprehensible fashion or in connection with the infinite that seems to mortal eye an impenetrable gulf, but in a fashion visible to the mortal eye itself.¹ (Jones and Turnbull:1992, 136–138)

Fichte conceived nation as something organic and believed that love for the fatherland can be consolidated only through its eternal character. He simplified it by individualising the context that an individual may imagine having a fatherland in the afterlife but not in this life. He has no fatherland. Jones and Turnbull (1992:143-145) bring out Fichte's translations and describe education as having the capacity to imbibe devotion to the fatherland. Drawing heavily from Herder and Hegel, Fichte regarded the subordination of the state to the nation. While the state was involved in the governance of human life, it was a means to a higher organic purpose. Fichte's nation was based on ethnic-genealogical and cultural linguistic elements, which inspired proto-jingoistic conservatism over the years.

Herder again belongs to the organic tradition of visualising nations as divine and focuses on the education of mankind. Education makes an individual a man; the whole species lives as a chain of individuals. To his understanding, a common language in a familiar territory marks a nation, and inherited myths and traditions nourish its spirit. Herder (1800) sees education as performing the function of imparting social traditions. Following this tradition, he progressed to say that man's natural state is society and that the first forms of government arose from these

1 Fichte advocated that men fundamentally had a tendency to live and perfect their lives, but also to preserve these qualities for the souls of those he leaves behind, so that in turn they may hand it over to their successors. The tendency acquires a national character gradually.

natural social relationships. Mutual assistance and protection are the principal ends of all human associations. For a polity, the natural order ensures that each member becomes what nature wants him to become. Crouter (1988), in his reading of Schleiermacher, points out the defence of the fatherland, whether by the armies already in motion or according to their inclination. A common aim is organised into a noble whole, and personal ambition is not allowed to weaken the actual effectiveness of this courage.

There are three varieties of primordialism: popular, socio-biological, and cultural. Popular primordialism sees nations as close to natural organisms and closer to natural laws. Thus, national identities are seen as an organic part of human beings, and nature predetermined nationality. Hutchinson (1994) recognises that the common claim of popular primordia lists propagates nations as primordial formations that were recognisable through their distinctive way of life, their affiliation to a territorial homeland, and a deep desire for political autonomy. On the other hand, socio-biological primordialism stresses the social and biological intersection of ethnicity and nationhood. Its leading proponent, Van den Berghe, tried using socio-biology principles in animal grouping and cooperation to explain ethnic ties. Socio-biological primordialism suggests that ethnic groups can be traced to the genetic reproductive drives of individuals and the desire to maximise their gene pool. Berghe (1978) explains that socio-biological primordialism is dictated by kin selection, reciprocity, and coercion. The entire process of socio-biological primordialism works on the persistence and strength of social cohesion in ethnic groups or nations by the shared biological heritage of group members.

On the other hand, perennialists do not specify a specific date of birth for nationalism but see modern nations as lineal descendants of their medieval counterparts. For perennialists, the nation is an ethno-cultural community politicised. It claims political recognition because of its common ancestry and rootedness in specific geography at a particular time. Smith (1988) identifies two types of perennials: continuous and recurrent. At the same time, constant perennialism advocates that specific nations have existed for centuries and their history is traceable

and continuous. He believes that some nations like Egypt and Greece are immemorial while others in Asia and Africa can be more recent. Recurrent perennialism, on the other hand, believes that nations appear and disappear, emerge and dissolve in different places and times, but nation in general as a human association is perennial and ubiquitous.

However, writing in 1882, Renan challenged the primordial understanding of the nation in subtle yet powerful ways. What makes his contribution worthwhile is that, unlike the importance of the idea of 'remembrance' in nationalist studies, Renan introduces the concept of forgetting the discipline. "Forgetting, I would even go so far as to say historical error, is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation", Renan (1882) lectured in his classic statement, "*Quest-ce-qu'une*, what is a Nation"? Renan reminds his readers that the essence of the nation is in the belief that individuals have many things in common and have forgotten many things. Likewise, a nation represents an earlier conquest that would have displaced and massacred individuals to set up a specific realm.²

His argument also challenges German scholarship, which assigns undue importance to race in forming nations. While race becomes a primordial right, he holds the rich legacy of memories and present-day consent supreme as the nation's soul. He uses a meticulous metaphor, 'daily plebiscite,' which forms the consent to continue an everyday life.

Man is a slave neither of his race nor his language nor of his religion nor of course of rivers nor of the direction taken by the mountain chains. A large aggregate of men, healthy in mind and warm of heart creates the kind of moral conscience which we call a nation. So long as this moral consciousness gives proof of its strength by the sacrifices which demand the abdication of the individual to the advantage of the community, it is legitimate and has the right to exist. In case of disputes, the populations would be consulted for decisions. (Rundell, 1992:11)

2 Renan discusses the idea of forgetting along with the massacre of Saint Bartholomev in which many thousands of Hugonots were killed. This event had momentous repercussions in the history of France.

Clearly, Renan emphasises the radically subjective analysis of nationhood and gives analytical importance to the contemporary against the romanticism of the nations was the order of the day. Nation, for him, is a spiritual principle, and the most crucial aspect emerges from the consensual principle of how nations act and their performativity against the divisive politics of race, language, geography, and religion. This aspect of Renan's thinking made contemporary theorists resurrect him in the 1990s.

Renan's importance also lies in putting forward the subjective identification of the factors that influence nationalism over the objective ones. Weber (1963:172), in his "The Nation", wrote that "it is based on sentiments of prestige, which often extends deep down to the petty-bourgeois masses of political structures rich in the historical attainment of power positions". The fervour of nationalism does not have an economic origin and runs deep down to the prestige principle, making itself indispensable in the sphere of values. And those who zealously shoulder the idea have access to specific cultural capital. He establishes the concept of the vital importance of intellectuals to the nationalist consciousness by demonstrating how the particularistic interest transformed into the national mission.

The Weberian analysis introduced a vital idea later developed by Clifford Geertz, Carleton Hayes, Edward Shills, and Elie Kedourie.

The Study of Nationalism, 1944–1980

During the second phase, from 1944 to 1980, the study of nationalism acquired a contemporary rational liberal outlook. The rational liberal understanding was shaped prominently by the ideas of Hans Kohn (1961), Elie Kedourie (1966), and Isaiah Berlin (1979). Their main argument rests on the premise that nationalism developed in response to the intellectual and political crisis during the Enlightenment. In this sense, nationalism is a unit bound together, and the group is looking forward to the highest organised activity, forming a sovereign state. As attaining sovereignty might take time, it satisfies itself with autonomy or a similar arrange-