

# MODERN ROOTS

*Studies of national  
identity*

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Edited by  
Alain Dieckhoff  
Natividad Gutiérrez

Contemporary Trends in European Social Sciences



## MODERN ROOTS



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# Modern Roots

Studies of national identity

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# Contents

<i>List of Contributors</i>	vii
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xx

## **PART I: INTRODUCTION**

1	The Study of National Identity <i>Natividad Gutiérrez</i>	3
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## **PART II: DIMENSIONS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY**

2	Interpretations of National Identity <i>Anthony D. Smith</i>	21
3	Theories of National Personality Revisited: Anglo-American Models and French Conceptions <i>Philippe Claret</i>	43
4	National Identity and Modernity <i>Montserrat Guibernau</i>	73

## **PART III: SYMBOLIZING THE NATION**

5	Forging the Authentic Nation: Alpine Landscape and Swiss National Identity <i>Oliver Zimmer</i>	95
6	Folk Culture and the Construction of European National Identities between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries <i>Anne-Marie Thiesse and Catherine Bertho-Lavenir</i>	118

7	The Shaping of a Nation: Catalan History and Historicity in Post-Franco Spain <i>Yolaine Cultiaux</i>	130
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#### **PART IV: TEACHING NATIONAL IDENTITY**

8	Recreating the French Nation: The Teaching of History at the <i>École Libre des Sciences Politiques</i> at the end of the Nineteenth Century <i>Corinne Delmas</i>	151
9	National Identity Construction and the Teachers' Unions of the Germanys and Japan, 1945-1955 <i>Julian Dierkes</i>	174
10	Hindu Nationalism and the Social Welfare Strategy <i>Christophe Jaffrelot</i>	196

#### **PART V: DISRUPTED NATIONAL IDENTITIES**

11	Nationalism and the Politics of National Identities in Latin America: Gender, Power and Racism <i>Sallie Westwood</i>	217
12	The Difficult Stabilization of Turkish National Identity <i>Gérard Groc</i>	240
13	Between Mimesis and Rebellion: The Vicissitudes of Romanian Nationalism <i>Catherine Durandin</i>	259

#### **PART VI: CONCLUSION**

14	Culture and National Identity <i>Alain Dieckhoff</i>	279
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# Preface

In the last fifteen years 'identity' has become a concept of growing significance in the media, the political world and academia. Popularity, however, does not make for clarity. Not only is the term understood in a variety of sometimes incompatible ways: the very connotations of the word seem at variance with what it purports to describe. 'Identity' implies 'sameness', i.e. that the subject, whether individual or collective, has a timeless permanence; yet even a cursory historical view shows that identity is contextual: it changes with the passage of time. Nevertheless, the evolutionary nature of identity does not mean that it is always changing. Take, as an indication both of continuity and of change, our own position as editors of this book. Our homelands - France and Mexico - have different histories and geographies. Obviously we may feel attached to what we are and represent, the languages we speak, the values we subscribe to, yet we can not claim that we have remained isolated from change, nor that our perceptions of what it means to be French or Mexican are shared by others -still less by all. We are not essentially French or Mexican, nor should we accept definitive conceptions of 'Frenchness' or 'Mexicanness'. But what we are, and the way we think and speak, has a degree of stability and commonality without which ordinary human existence would be unimaginable. Our capacities for both continuity and change are ultimately inseparable. And this dialectic of change and continuity is as true of national as of personal identity.

We approach the nation here as a mode of social organization and a category of political analysis that is fundamentally modern. Its emergence is an aspect of the development of the state as a new form of political order based on a hitherto unknown principle: the sovereignty of the people. In its revolutionary manifestations, this principle could present itself, at least in theory, as establishing an entirely new polity. However, a degree of continuity and historical legitimacy is invariably expressed in practice, and is arguably a theoretical requirement. In order to function as a political sovereign, any people needs to regard itself as a nation with roots through which it demonstrates, and thereby constructs, its peculiar history. Such

historical roots offer, at best, a collective, affective, emotional framework for people's modern sense of continuity and change. The nations studied in this volume offer examples of 'modern roots', which while undoubtedly the product of deliberate strategies of invention and fabrication, in particular on the part of the state, are nonetheless neither fictitious nor unrelated to historical reality. 'The invention of tradition' builds on three major innovations designed to influence the masses by frequent repetition: a standardized school system, public ceremonies and mass production of public monuments. While fabrication may resort to 'artificiality' we show, through the different cases in this volume, how intellectual creativity influenced teachers, nationalists and intellectuals in building a convincing continuum between past and present, between nature and geographical boundaries, between history and teaching, to mention just some of the modes through which identity may be expressed.

Our conception of invention reflects the excitement of discovery in the passionate search for a common ground of shared identification through the countless possibilities implicit in nature, peoples, heroism, art, language, and religion. In certain cases, genuinely new discoveries - ceremonies, parades, cultural institutions - expressed creative energies applied to the organization of collective life. More often, perhaps, exploration meant digging up, literally or metaphorically, previous social artefacts, architectures, tales, or stories, which had been taken for granted, neglected, or forgotten. The identity of nations, in other words, is often rooted in the revival and recombination of proto-national elements such as ethnic ties, language or religion. Revival and recombination demand scholarly study and sensibility, and thus become the working field of antiquarians, experts, intellectuals and artists. The purpose, however, is rarely purely academic: nationalist leaders and state-makers have a pragmatic interest in such enterprises because they offer the people a language of historical and social coherence. For this reason, intellectual coherence is not always a major consideration. Nationalist leaders draw a line between the people they want to mobilize and their (imagined) 'forebears', ensuring detachment while highlighting ancestral prestige (Hellenes and Greeks, Hebrews and Jews, Daces and Romanians, Aztecs and Mexicans). In some cases, nationalists will even make use of epics and narratives forged by talented men of letters to portray the national self. An example is the 'Fragments of Ancient Poetry Collected in the Highlands of Scotland' ascribed to a third century bard named Ossian but in fact written

by the eighteenth century poet James Macpherson. In other cases, national symbols use icons of indisputable originality which are capable of inducing shared cultural identification despite the diversity of peoples and of topography. A case in point is the Mexican national emblem which depicts typical flora (*Cactaceae*) and fauna (eagle and serpent). The historicity of the emblem parallels the age of *Mesoamerica* (since 800-400 B.C.) and still holds currency since it was first used by nationalists to epitomize the sovereignty of Mexico from 1821 onwards. No matter how much fiction or imagination is at stake, national identities can make sense only if traditions, myths, history and symbols grow out of the existing living memories and beliefs of the people who are to compose the nation. In this sense, Zionism invented the identity of the modern Jewish nation when it placed the people centre stage and established a historical continuity between contemporary Jewry and biblical times, but it could do so only by taking account of the real past, however selectively. Not surprisingly, the creation of a Jewish state in Uganda or Argentina, as was occasionally suggested, never had much appeal.

National identities are thus only marginally based on pure forgeries and falsehoods. It is more rewarding to stress their openness to discovery, recombination and adaptation of peoples' endless capacity to create and reproduce culture and history. In order to illustrate this view of traditions as both 'invented' and 'real', this volume covers a wide range of experiences of, or experiments in, the making of national identity. Starting with Europe -the prototypical case of identity formation in the context of the state -, we consider Switzerland, France, Catalonia and a comparative study of the two Germanys and Japan. Turkey, India, Romania and Ecuador will further illustrate how the search for identity can involve engaging combinations of imagination and rationality. The essays, however, do not presuppose a principle of geographical or continental specificity. What is distinctive for Switzerland may have no appeal for Germany despite the fact that the two countries are neighbours within Europe. The study of national identities is not the application of uniform abstract rules to diverse cases. For this reason, the volume is organized around certain themes emphasising the route taken by each nation and showing, accordingly, how national identity is forged, disseminated, represented and, until recently, contested.

The book is divided into six sections. The first section begins with a chapter by Natividad Gutiérrez, which seeks to update the major theoretical trends in the study of national identity. The author argues for the distinctiveness of national identity by focusing on two universal principles of the organization of the nation-state: the construction of homogeneity and common culture. In doing so, she brings into discussion the widespread use of markers of identity and citizenship, the archetypes and stereotypes through which we are able to identify two roles of national identity: the construction of self-images and the ability to express and recognize differences held by others.

The second section, entitled 'Dimensions of National Identity', includes three contributions that discuss the peculiarity of national identity as distinct from other types of collective identity. The second chapter, by Anthony D. Smith, shows how identity can be the subject of multiple interpretations. By establishing distinctions among the current trends of post-modernity, ethno-symbology, and modernism, he draws a typology of national identities, resulting in three main types: the plural, the ethnic and the civic. Such a typology is useful in identifying the different routes that nation-formation may take. However, Smith demonstrates that the durability of ethnic ties shapes the types of nations that compose the modern world.

Philippe Claret, in the third chapter, looks in depth at the analysis of 'national personalities' which, having enjoyed wide and long-lasting popularity, is now decisively out of fashion. Claret reviews the major sociological schools within the national personality perspective, the common feature of which is to assert that each nation is culturally and/or psychologically distinct. Such a view conflicts with the currently dominant modernist and post-modernist perspectives, which ascribe to nationhood a fundamentally artificial quality, derived either from deliberate nationalist strategies (modernism) or from artefactual webs of discourse (post-modernism).

National identity is central to our understanding of modern societies. Montserrat Guibernau, in the fourth chapter, discusses the dual importance of identity – symbolic and political – in creating culture and citizenship. The terms 'nation' and 'nation-state' tend to be used interchangeably. However, while both depend on shared culture, Guibernau argues that the distinctive feature of the nation-state project is to aim at the creation of common culture at the expense of pluriculturalism. As a consequence, she

argues that Gellner's modern theory of nationalism overlooks the impact and assertiveness of stateless nations or immigrants by making the homogenization of culture constitutive of modernity.

The third section, 'Symbolizing the Nation', deals with the various ways of using and selecting symbols to represent the identity of the nation. There is a close link between national identity and the symbols that enable it to be taken for granted on the basis of routine, continual representation. The content and meaning of the symbols, however, make sense only for those who have forged them or to the people socially organized around them. The symbols of nationhood, which are the bearers of such notions as originality, authenticity and continuity, therefore usually have an institutional, or at least standardized, character. Breathtaking natural scenarios are potent and useful symbols of commonality in a context of ethnic and linguistic diversity. Oliver Zimmer demonstrates how the Alpine landscape has represented, since the late eighteenth century, the organic principle of Swiss national identity. The transformation of landscape as an 'assumed given' into a widespread symbol of identity leads Zimmer to distinguish between two suggestive concepts, the 'nationalization of nature' and the 'naturalization of nationhood'.

Catherine Bertho-Lavenir and Anne-Marie Thiesse, in their joint contribution, stress the paradox of folk culture taken as a symbol of national identity. European intellectuals, imbued with the spirit of romanticism, were convinced that true authenticity lay in the people. They thus sought to collect popular values and traditions. However, because there was in fact no such a thing as a pure and unspoilt popular culture, it had to be created in a systematic way – thereby ceasing to be 'authentic' and 'popular'. To follow this argument, the authors distinguish three stages: (1) the identification, collation and standardization of popular culture; (2) its dissemination through new means of communication (lithography, photography and recordings) and new sites (ethnographic museums, international exhibitions and so on); and (3) its transmission to the people as part of the process of nationalization.

In the consolidation of national identity, historiography has played a crucial role, connecting generations and rooting the nation in an immemorial past. Yolaine Cultiaux studies, in chapter seven, two phases in Catalan historiography: first, the development of Catalan historiography during the nineteenth century at a time when Catalan nationalism was on the rise and the writing of history was highly politicized; and later, after



the re-establishment of democracy in Spain in 1977, the promotion of nation-building by the reinstated *Generalitat*. In the contemporary context, the author concentrates particularly on two instruments that serve to mould a sense of continuity: the commemorative celebrations of patriotic historians and the establishment of the Museum of the History of Catalonia.

National identity is not something spontaneously felt, it has to be taught. The fourth section of the book 'Teaching National Identity' focuses on the many ways in which national identity can be transmitted. It opens with Corinne Delmas's discussion of the recreation of the French nation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The national regeneration of France, after the defeat of the Second Empire, was thought to require reform of its higher education system in order to train political elites and civil servants capable of serving the Republic efficiently. The establishment of the *École Libre des Sciences Politiques* as a training ground for a new elite was the French answer to counteract Germany. The École was, therefore, premised on a firm belief in the psychological unity of peoples and in national institutions as an expression of national character (see also Claret's contribution in this volume), subscribing to a 'civic' and political nationhood, contrasting the German 'ethnic' conception.

National identity has also been challenged faced by the task of reconstruction after war and defeat, and teachers have not remained indifferent to this crisis. Chapter nine, by Julian Dierkes, is a comparative analysis of identity reconstruction in Japan and the two Germanys after the Second World War. Dierkes strategically compares teacher's trade unions to explain how those nations reworked their identities in a political ambience seeking internal unification and external recognition. This methodology allows him to identify three patterns. The Japanese teacher's union was forward-looking, politically oriented and internationalist. The West German Union looked to the achievements of the past and to culture, while East Germany articulated an identity akin to the emerging Communist block combining internationalism and localism, political progressivism and rootedness in traditional culture.

Christophe Jaffrelot, in the final chapter of the fourth section, focuses on the value assigned to Hindu culture, as the essence of Indian identity, by the Hindu nationalists of the BJP (Party of the Indian People). Contrary to Nehru's inclusive spirit of unification on the basis of a form of nationalism addressed to all Indians, the BJP defines Indian national identity in terms of 'Hinduness'. In order to promote this idea, activists have invested heavily in what Jaffrelot calls a 'social welfare strategy', based on the provision of health, social and educational services to the underprivileged. While the services are free, they demand ideological commitment, and thus serve to disseminate the idea of 'Hinduness'. We see here how, even when nationalism presents itself as the manifestation of an immemorial identity, the sense of belonging is in practice actively promoted by nationalist leaders.

Republican France is often presented as the archetype of the civic nation, embodying a national community of standard French culture made uniform by the national school system. While some states have long invested in such a model, political instability, cultural contestation or open rebellion are some of the factors accounting for the difficulties in defining and transmitting an encompassing identity in ethnically divided societies. The fifth section of the book, 'Disrupted National Identities', illustrates three cases of political struggle and contestation as a result of attempts to impose national identity. Sallie Westwood initiates the discussion with a critical assessment of nation-state formation in Latin America. She then looks at Ecuador and unveils multiple areas which have traditionally remained uncontested in the typical Latin American state. Behind the 'grand official' narrative which equates nationhood and citizenship, such factors as indigenouness, race, gender, region and class have achieved some degree of political visibility of their own, and have thus contributed to substantiating the notion of distinct peoples within the state and to questioning the viability of a unique national identity.

The case of Turkey, analysed by Gérard Groc, emphasizes the difficulties in the consolidation of Turkish national identity. Kurds, Muslim fundamentalists and Alevis have persistently questioned the official view that Turkey is a unitary and homogeneous nation-state. The building of a Turkish nation-state out of fragments of the Ottoman Empire was, for Groc, an enterprise of monumental proportions since neither the territory (Anatolia) nor the language were immediate attributes of Turkish nationhood. In addition, the new Turkish nationalism was ambivalent

towards Islam, which was seen both negatively, as opposed to modernity, and positively, as a feature distinguishing Turkey from the West. As a result, Turkish nationalism is powerfully state-centred: the state is seen as both the expression and the protector of the nation. This explains why attempts to downplay nationalism are seen as a challenge to the authority of the state, the defence of which by most political elites and the army stands in the way of any real pluralization of civil society.

In the final chapter of this section, Catherine Durandin explores the vicissitudes of Romanian nationalism. Here we see the importance of imitation in the making of nationalism: the torchbearers of Romanian nationalism were Westernized elites imbued with French romanticism. Romania also illustrates the construction of national identity by demarcation from the 'Other', whether external (Russia and Hungary) or internal (the Magyars of Transylvania and the Jews). Hostility towards these 'others' was all the stronger that there was a terrible uncertainty about what it meant to be a Romanian. It is striking that this 'excessive nationalism' spanned the ages, from the young kingdom of Romania in 1878 to the authoritarian monarchy in the 1930s and to the national communist regime of Ceaucescu. Only with the departure of the neo-communist president Ion Iliescu in 1996 has Romania moved towards a more settled national identity and attempted to build bridges, at least with Hungary and the West, rather than antagonising them.

In the conclusion, Alain Dieckhoff returns to the discussion between culture and national identity, the linking thread of all chapters in this volume. His main point is that it is debatable to oppose two radically different conceptions of the nation, the first political and civic, the second cultural and ethnic. While often taken for granted in the literature, this dichotomy obscures the real dynamics of nation-building. The promotion of a national culture was vital not just for nationalist movements in the supposedly 'ethnic' East (Eastern Europe, Asia) but also in the supposedly 'civic' West (France, Great Britain, United States). Of course, culture was not used the same way in the various historical contexts but 'civic culture' is, precisely, cultural. National identities are always a combination of associative and communal relationships, and thus of politics and culture.

What we have offered in this volume is a view of national identity as a cultural system of information which bestows historical meaning and social cohesion on modern political communities. Although the different contributions reveal how diverse and vast the themes, practices and symbols used to encourage national identification may be, the essays also stress that the making of national identity corresponds to globally shared expectations: the longing for authenticity, the search for historical continuity and rootedness in a common territory. National identities are diverse and respond to change, but the ways in which nation-building seeks to inculcate in the masses a sense of belonging are strikingly similar all over the world.

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# PART I

## INTRODUCTION



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# 1 The Study of National Identity

NATIVIDAD GUTIÉRREZ

The decade of the 1990s witnessed a renewed academic interest in identities. National identity is included in this revival and its study encompasses two broad perspectives. In the discussion *per se* the nation-state holds centre stage.

A first approach refers to the emergence in the political scenarios of social actors and movements previously marginalized and excluded from integrationist politics of nation building. The popularization of the so-called 'right to difference' is one of the key factors supporting the construction, negotiation and reinterpretation of identities presumably repressed or excluded. As mobilizations and demands seek an increase in political participation, it is becoming an accepted fact that no political claim for recognition within the nation-state can be substantiated and successful if it lacks a historical memory accounting for specificity of some sort (gender, racial and ethnic identities, and so on). Identities in this perspective allow disparity and fragmentation and a new wave of recognition.

A second approach visualizes identity as the arena for the unity and solidarity of peoples and for the realization of common goals. National identities reinforce social cohesion but can also activate political response from other groups who are capable of constructing their own limits of representation. In the study of national identity what fascinates is precisely this: on the one hand, the process in which absolute uniqueness is the goal inasmuch as no identity is ever the same, and, on the other, the recognition of the universal need of mankind for differentiation and the ability to handle increasingly greater degrees of distinctiveness.

Our interest in this chapter is to discuss what separates the study of national identity from other forms of collective identity. We argue that the peculiarity and ritualistic uses evident in national identity are inextricably linked to three imperatives of the nation-state: the standardization of practices, the construction of homogeneity and the delimitation of common



culture for all citizens in a given territorial sovereignty.

## Theories

Theories of nationalism continue influencing the study of national identity, it being practically impossible to disassociate identity from the typical polarization of views expressed in the methodology of nationalism. Is this type of identity a cultural continuum or an indoctrination sponsored by the modern state? To answer this question we first need to briefly clarify that nationalism, despite its many definitions, has one unmistakable attribute: the 'ideal of independence' (Smith, 1984). Nationalism is also closely linked to the policies of the state aimed at building a unified nation in a pluriethnic society, since most existing nation-states have not emerged as a result of political claims from one single ethnic group.

Modernists and historical culturalists dispute theoretical influence. While the former argue the instrumental role of the state in making the nation (Gellner, 1983), the latter looks at the cultural artefacts, rituals and memories (myths, symbols and legends) (Smith, 1991) which fulfil peoples's ethnocentrism. Identity and ethnocentrism run parallel although ethnocentric views in our approach are not limited to the act of conventional stereotyping or 'narrowmindness' used as parameters of belonging. Identity nurtures itself from strong beliefs, inherited perceptions or repetitive information, helping thus to conform 'the power of self' (Smith, 1991; 1994). For this author, 'the power of self' is of a clear subjective nature but very much required in times of crisis, wars, mobilizations; it gives people willingness and reasons to act and react.

A well known example showing the influential links between identity and ethnocentrism is provided by an ancient inquiry into the origins of a collectivity, that is: where do we come from? Interest in finding out what may be the beginnings of a social group establishing or seeking differentiation has provided a creative host of ideas of origin codified, according to Smith, in mythological accounts. The exaltation of beginning and origin is certainly a powerful and attractive cultural construct for the making of national identity. But this implies the unfolding of various problems, some of them dangerous. In the multicultural world of today, no nation is able to venture an open veneration of single origin when many other ethnic components coexist in the same sovereign territory. This is

particularly true after the Second World War and the genocidal atrocities committed in the name of racial purity. The modern democracies of nation-states, their projects and policies for tolerance and multiculturalism, are inclined to neutralize any possible attempts to institutionalize rights and privileges unilaterally. So, would it be of relevance for modern citizens of nation-states to know their origins? Or, as Gellner has put it, *do nations have navels?*, in reference to mankind's impossibility to know what the past was really about. A few days before his sudden death in 1995 Gellner said, at the Warwick Debates, that 'my own view is that some nations possess genuine ancient navels, some have navels invented for them by their own nationalist propaganda and some are altogether navel-less. My belief is also that the middle category is by far the largest, but I stand open to correction by genuine research' (Gellner, 1997, pp. 90-6).

National identity recurs to fabrication and idealization if one follows the category of nations bearing 'invented navels'. The myth of origin of the Mexican nation is a case in point. There are no sociological or demographic arguments to support the claim that the majority of Mexican people are the result of interbreeding, between Spanish and Indian communities, from the early sixteenth century onwards. However, the myth of the *mestizo* people (people of mixed culture and race) has two important functions in the making of the modern Mexican nation. On the one hand, it produces (a) the idea of common origin for antagonistic groups and (b) the *mestizo* population itself - the result of an imposed myth of origin - became the yardstick of national integration for indigenous peoples in terms of adoption of language (Spanish), religion (Christianity) and way of life (urbanization). The result has been, so far, an elastic formula, or common identity, that has contributed significantly to the foundations of a diversified nation: social cohesion, political unity and cultural originality (Gutiérrez, 1998).

There are several routes to studying national identity. The possibilities are not surprising as the identity of any nation seeks to fulfil three aspirations, authenticity, originality and continuity. Hence, we identify two logical stages of national identity regarding the fulfilment of the above aspirations and the relevance of including the state of disciplines and science. On the one hand, we refer to the identification of sources in order to identify uniqueness, *essence* or personality. On the other, we include the inculcation of such *essence* into the population. Uniqueness may be found in the collective personality, thus psychoanalytical approaches have

permeated most research on identity (see Claret in this volume) but also geography and art are two other well known sources. The study of collective behaviour was a useful instrument in the organization of the masses into new ways of seeking to respond to the challenges of nation building such as the introduction of a political culture, spread of mass literacy, communications and cultural homogenization. Official agencies were created to involve the masses in national goals, creating at the same time scientific interest in identifying people's character. A neat picture of people's character may reveal intimate, subjective or emotional tracts such as temperament, attitude, acceptance or reluctance to change and continuity. If the collective behaviour appeared to be far from satisfying ideals or plans, corrective measures could be applied. Thus, education became the tool for forging, redeeming or civilizing the masses. Space geography encompasses a wide arena for the search and recreation of national identity because it provides informed accounts of people's sensibility towards landscape, 'geo-political visions' (Dijkink, 1996) and natural environment. Amazement and pride of natural beauty create a suitable framework for elaborating symbols, narratives and tourist attractions of a given land, for instance, the Alps (see Zimmer in this volume). There is nothing one can do to improve or correct nature; thus, it is better appreciated as an intense inspiration for numberless possibilities of national pride or defense against cultural attack. An illustrative case was the pre-independentist claims of Peruvian intellectuals who rejected French eighteenth century environmental determinism, regarding the New World as naturally underdeveloped (De Paw and Leclerc called America, the *girlish continent in puberty*). But Peruvians retorted, arguing that a mild climate is not only a healthy phenomenon but also a priceless and exclusive possession for some, not for all (Gutierrez, 1990). Nature and landscape cannot be separated from the organization of social life. Evidence of this is the fact that they have frequently become an issue of political dispute in defining territorial frontiers and cultural boundaries and drawing the pertinent maps to reflect the changes. G. Dijknik, referred to above, provides the notion of 'geo-political vision' to give an account of peoples' construction of order and threat regarding the balance of power and security policies of states on the basis of geographical position and/or natural resources, transnational economies and minorities within nation-states (pp. 6-7).

Nations cannot survive without cultural history. One of the most deeply rooted collective emotions is a people's defense of self-determination. Creativity, artistic and literary movements, as well as people's sensibility to achieve (and preserve) independence, reflect a capacity to discover, reconstruct, depict or invent a distinctive collective self. A complex interrelation of cultural movements starting with Romanticism, the production of intellectuals and writers and the development of disciplines like archaeology, anthropology and philology, to mention but a few, have contributed to the search for and research of a cultural patrimony which gives an important substance to our understanding of national identity.

There is of course an impressive wealth of cultural patrimony. The challenge of understanding national identity from the perspective of the social sciences and humanities is not only to survey museum collections or debate cultural policies but to look critically at the way in which citizens relate to, defend and feel their patrimony, rituals or commemorations. Thus, no single approach is enough to study national identity and its various interconnections. Instead, and given the richness of sources inspiring identity, a combination of theoretical trends and a creative design of methodologies are concerns of modern research. Moreover, it is forever tempting to identify the construction of identity as a momentum of celebration and dignified remembrance, but identity is also nurtured by the collective experience in tragedy, suffering, humiliation and hostility. National identity cannot be reduced to the cultural expression of an ancient art, a literary piece, a monument or a sports competition, it constitutes a valid type and system of information ritually socialized. Thus, we now turn to a consideration of the specific nature of national identity.

### **The Peculiarity of National Identity**

A useful point of departure is to bear in mind that national identity is, first and foremost, the self-identification of the peoples of nation-states. Therefore, its full expression can only be appreciated within a modern context, although its evolution and construction reveals discernible links with an accumulation of various historical pasts. This premise helps to clarify unmistakable attributes of national identity with respect to other types of collective identity, these being class, gender and race. Consequently, nation-

states distinguish themselves from previous forms of polity or grouping due to the following facts and operations: they rule *citizens* either by liberal or authoritarian means and principles, that is, they establish a system of duties, rights and obligations regardless of race or ethnicity; at other times, they apply criteria of ethnic and racial differentiation.

Nation-states exist because of their belief, capacity and potentiality in exercising self-rule and in defending their sovereign rights. A nation-state administers one clearly defined territory and seeks self-sufficiency through its own economy and commercial transactions. It believes in linguistic and cultural homogeneity as a condition for implementing equality and achieving common goals. It develops institutions and codes of practice which help it to standardize a wide range of factors such as the division of labour, the unification of loyalties and the activities and customs affecting everyday life, namely the educational system and mass media. Lastly, but no less important, a nation-state displays pride in its various pasts, its traditions and historicity, through which it claims and legitimizes modern nationhood.

At this point it would be useful to draw a line separating national identity from other types of collective identity which have provided a fresh reappraisal of civil society. These collective identities correspond to the first approach in studying identity, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Normally, these groups seeking identity through mobilization focus their action on opposition to the state. Such groups, which are indeed numerous, include urban squatters and ecologists, socialist feminist groups, human rights campaigners, gay and lesbian coalitions, fundamentalists, workers co-operatives and peasant activists, defenders of the rain forest, antinuclear protesters and Afro-Caribbean musicians. These collective identities, also referred to as 'new' identities, have mainly emerged due to the events and influences of 'daily life'. The result: a rejection of existing institutional channels. The aim (one at least): to construct or negotiate more democratic spaces in which to act with greater autonomy (Alvarez and Escobar, 1992).

These groups embody a critique of institutionalization and centralization of power and resources. Their discourse enhances the restricted confines of their action in that they are obliged to work in partial, local and limited areas. In other words, small groups seek to find their own limited or domestic space and construct, recombine or invent an identity accordingly. Since the scope of the collectivity is reduced it does not require support for dissemination, although the interest of the media, together with assistance from other collectivities, are regularly provided.

In contrast, national identity has not emerged spontaneously or locally, it is learned and acquired and thus requires massive institutional support (e.g., schools, educational campaigns, mass media) as it aims at influencing the overall population of a national territory. Not all groups - ethnic, racial, gender - inhabiting a territory, identify with or are loyal to the dominant ethnic group representing the nation. Hence, the relevance of *national* identity is to achieve sustainable levels of assimilation and socialization among the population - no matter how diverse - by displaying and inculcating those socio-political facts (dates, sagas, episodes, heroes, nature) that celebrate the formation of nation-states - as all encompassing vertical and horizontal unities. Citizens are united by common culture and in this way express *identity*; in this way they learn what to do and how to perform (Renan's daily plebiscite - see Guibernau in this volume) in order to make possible the functioning and reproduction of the national collectivity; by the same token they also acquire a common set of beliefs, training and loyalties. People are made to believe that they have the same beginning (ancestry and origin) (Smith, 1984) and share a similar destiny (Bauer, 1979). Moreover, such communal self-identification creates powerful emotional sentiments and attitudes because *national identity makes people aware of themselves as a unique collectivity conscious and protective of their historical possessions such as territory and culture.*

## **The Uses of National Identity**

Nation-states are committed to fulfilling three basic goals: the standardization of practices, the construction of homogeneity and the delimitation of cultural originality. It has been sufficiently demonstrated that institutions such as the educational system in the Gellnerian tradition, the printing press and, today, the electronic mass media, textbooks and civic rituals, play a decisive role in inculcating and transmitting through the practice of repetition, the *modern culture of nationalism* (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Anderson, 1992). However, modern nationhood, despite its alleged 'break with the past' (which means conditions for introducing and allowing standardization to cope with the high demands of modernity), also confronts the need of rescuing or rediscovering cultural originality.

To possess an authentic culture is an imperative of nation-states and it may take the form of a systematic search resulting in revivalism,

reconstruction, and reconstitution of past cultural traditions, ethnicity or popular culture. In this context the arguments advanced by ethno-symbolists or historic-culturalists such as A.D. Smith (1994), J. Hutchinson (1987) and W. Connor (1972) effectively persuade that the nation cannot afford to get rid of its past and neglect its origins. Another kind of cultural search responding to purposes of national identity making, is the appropriation of cultural sources located in nature or people. This is exemplified in the contemporary situation of some indigenous and aboriginal peoples struggling to recover their inheritance seized by policy makers and intellectual elites servicing the nation-state (Urban and Sherzer, 1992; Keffe, 1988). If on the one hand the nation (and its dominant cultural group) is a subject of ritualistic veneration, on the other, and from the ethnicist viewpoint, its construction has discouraged and invalidated the multifarious expressions of ethnicity (and perhaps of potential nationalisms).

### **Archetypes and Stereotypes**

National identity is often described as a set of habits, attitudes, beliefs, sentiments and emotions reflecting the standardization of practices to meet the demands of modern labour, as well as the representation of cultural originality to which citizens with shared identity recreate their sense of belonging in the ever increasing interdependent world.

Notwithstanding the several purposes and meanings attributed to national identity, this is not an empty category. School children, factory workers and teachers (to mention a few) learn and acquire the social memory of national identity through the repetition of an often eclectic mix of codes of practice, ceremonials, narratives, heroes and histories (Connerton, 1992).

To recognize the various components of national identity is a basic task. These components interact in continuous contradiction and conflict expressed by the conjunction of reality and historical fact, of traditional values and modern practices, of ethnic regionalism and cosmopolitanism. One way of making sense of this labyrinth is by locating precise empirical guidelines which in our analysis are represented by the identification of archetypes and stereotypes to be found in a very vast field of cultural constructs. For example, universal ways of testing how the nation is

conceptualized and portrayed have been carried out through the study of the various trends of both pictorial art and literary creations (Baddeley and Fraser, 1989). Analysis of school textbooks continues to be the most well known supplier of studies of identity (Citron, 1987). Adding to the role of schooling is the case of teacher's trade unions, discussed comparatively by J. Dierkes in this collection. Furthermore, a recent interest in exploring perceived changes of popular identification caused by the demise of Communist politics in Eastern Europe has stimulated new studies of collective identity using the medium of cinema as the main provider of symbols and images of collectivities from the 1980s. Another attractive field awaiting exploration is the study of a nation's sense of humour; similarly, certain historians provide us with new data helpful in compiling the history of national identity through the study of national cuisines.

By looking at such sources one can identify the permanent form assumed by events, characters, values, tastes or places. Archetypes and stereotypes help with the routine of standardization because of their permanent forms, and mark the difference between authenticity and foreignness; they foster internal solidarity and create deep rivalries and enemies (See Gutiérrez, 1998, 1998a).

Archetypes condense in someone or something those important characteristics which epitomize models of perfection, accomplishment and beauty and thus worthy of admiration and emulation. For instance, suffering heroes and martyrs (Admiral Nelson, Saint Ignatius of Loyola) (Colley, 1992), protectors and defenders of independence and civil rights (The 'fathers' and 'founders' of the American civic nations: S. Bolívar, B. Franklin and B. Juárez), as well as virtues, values and deeds. As components of the national imagery one can also include 'archetypical' places, a typical town (Stratford), landscape (the Alps) and monumental architecture (Petra, Teotihuacán and Fuzhou).

Stereotyping, on the other hand, implies reference to a state of fixation or staticism imposed arbitrarily on others. It gives us an account of the extent of preconceived ideas or assumptions held by one social group with respect to another. An interesting quality of stereotyping is the forging of fixed ideas about someone or something as well as the assumption that these ideas are predictable, that is, the belief in static patterns of behaviour. While archetypes reinforce a sense of cultural pride by encouraging emulation and admiration, stereotypes convey prejudices and derogatory meanings towards