

Nation as an Imagined Community

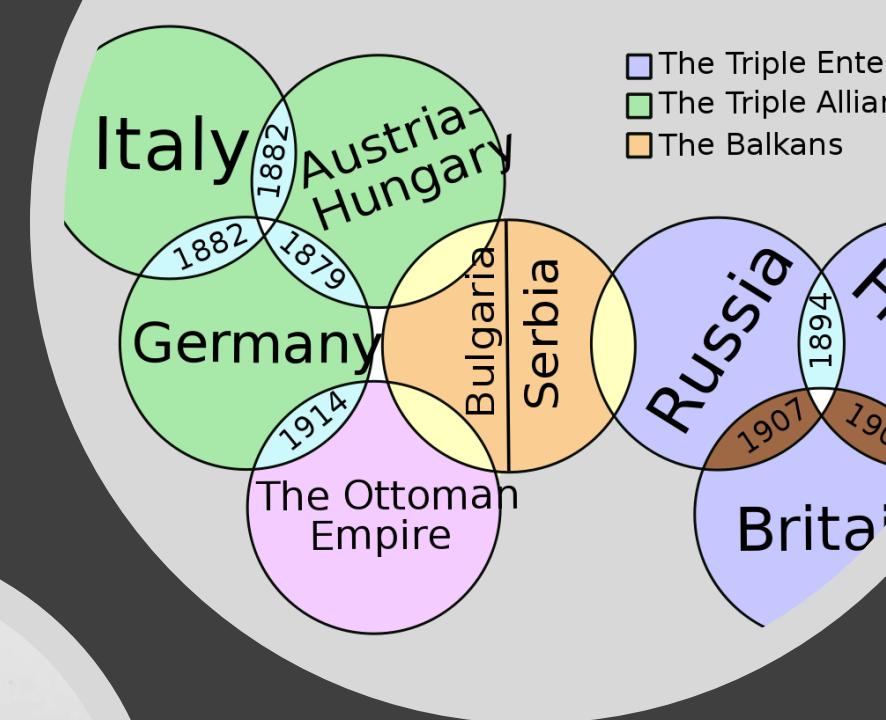


- Theories and Practices of Nationalism
- HSS444 – Monsoon 2020
- Aniket Alam



Starting point

- Liberalism and Marxism have both failed to define or understand the nation or its ideology
- From the 19th century till the end of World War II, scholars and politicians have considered nationalism a lowly ideology not worthy of deeper engagement
- World Wars were seen as the apogee of Nations and Nationalism
 - Global revulsion against nationalism
- Yet by 1980s nationalism was universal, even if Liberalism and Marxism were not



Historical-Anthropological Understanding

- Benedict Anderson was an anthropologist who worked on communities in South East Asia
- Nations formed there in late 19th and 20th century
- Nationalism was often a weak force
- Growing in front of his eyes into a dominant, hegemonic force
- Thus, for Anderson, Nations and Nationalism can only be understood as an historical phenomenon
- “nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are **cultural artefacts** of a particular kind”

Three Paradoxes

1. Objective modernity of nations

v/s

Subjective antiquity in the eyes of nationalists

2. Universal as a socio-cultural concept

v/s

Irremediable particularity of its concrete manifestations

3. Political power of nationalism

v/s

Philosophical poverty, even incoherence

“...it [nationalism] belonged with ‘kinship’ and ‘religion’, rather than with ‘liberalism’ or ‘fascism’.”

Definition

The nation is an **imagined** political community –
imagined as both **inherently limited** and **sovereign**

Small Diversion: What is Community?

- Distinction between “Community” – “Society”
- Important distinction in sociology and anthropology
- Shift from *Gemeinschaft* (community) to *Gesellschaft* (society)
- Ferdinand Tönnies, German sociologist first propounded this idea
- Max Weber made it a global concept

Gemeinschaft

- Community social order based on Personal social ties
 - Small groups: communities of thousands or tens of thousands at most
 - Custom and tradition guide / enforce behavior: Moral codes
 - Family, Kin, Religion are guiding forces for social status, economic roles, personal relations
- Typical for a rural, agrarian society of distributed populations, distributed production, little division of labour
- Individual is assured a place in an emotionally full community; little alienation but little possibility of social movement

Gesellschaft

- Social relations based on contract and mutual consent
- Instead of custom and moral codes, reason guides relations
- Reason expressed as self-interest
- Instead of family or kin group, individual is the centre of society
- Typical for industrial, urban society where population and production is concentrated, there is high division of labour
- Large populations, everyone is anonymous
- Individual is alienated from others, but allows for social mobility

“MAN MAKES HIMSELF”





Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft

- Ideal types
 - to model the shift from one form of society to another
 - Rural, agrarian traditional also had society ...
 - ...and urban, industrial modern also has community.
- In Gemeinschaft individual's identity is "Primordial and Ascribed": given to us at birth
- In Gesellschaft identity is created and earned by individual by her own actions
- Modern culture is marked by (hu)man's search for community, meaning, faith in a rational, self-interest driven, individuated society

IMAGINED Political Community

“It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”.

- All communities feel a sense of connectedness among members
 - Earlier sense of connection was kin-based, religion based, status based
 - A new way of imagining a community

Imagined as LIMITED

- “...even the largest nation, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations.”
- “No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind.”
- “The most messianic nationalists do not dream of a day when all members of the human race will join their nation in the way it was possible, in certain epochs, for, say, Christians to dream of a wholly Christian planet”

Imagined as SOVERIGN

- Concept of nation born in an age when sovereignty was shifting from divinely ordained dynastic power to the mass of the people
- Kings and emperors too were starting to draw their legitimacy from how good they are as representatives of the people
- “Nations dream of being free [but] directly so. The emblem of this freedom [of the nation] is the sovereign state.”

Imagined as a COMMUNITY

- “Regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.”
- “Ultimately, it is this fraternity which makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings.”

Roots and Foundations of Nations

Cultural Roots of Nation

- “nationalism has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which – as well as against which – it came into being”
- 1. Religious community; 2. Dynastic Realm
- “It is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into destiny”

Religious Community

- “All the great classical communities conceived of themselves as cosmically central, through the medium of a sacred language linked to a super-terrestrial order of power.”
- “Accordingly, the stretch of written Latin, Pali, Arabic, or Chinese was, in theory, unlimited. (In fact, the deeper the written language – the farther it was from speech – the better: in principle everyone has access to a pure world of signs).”
- Any person can be admitted to membership if they accepted this world of signs.
 - Barbarians (those outside the sacred sign system) are ultimately redeemable by conversion and cross-pollination (“miscegenation”)

Religious Community: Structure

- Centripetal
- Hierarchical
- (rather than boundary-oriented and horizontal)
- Religious communities started declining (fading, losing coherence)
- Two main reason
 1. Geographical explorations and expansion of cultural boundaries
 2. Demotion of the sacred language; rise of vernaculars

Old world got fragmented, pluralised, territorialised

Dynastic Realm

- “Kingship organises everything around a high centre. Its legitimacy derives from divinity, not from populations, who, after all, are subjects, not citizens”
 - Borders porous / indistinct, territorial control overlapped with other states
- States expanded and contracted by warfare and sexual politics
- Dynastic legitimacy started waning
- Kings needed the “nation idea” to legitimise their rule
- Borders started becoming sharp / hard

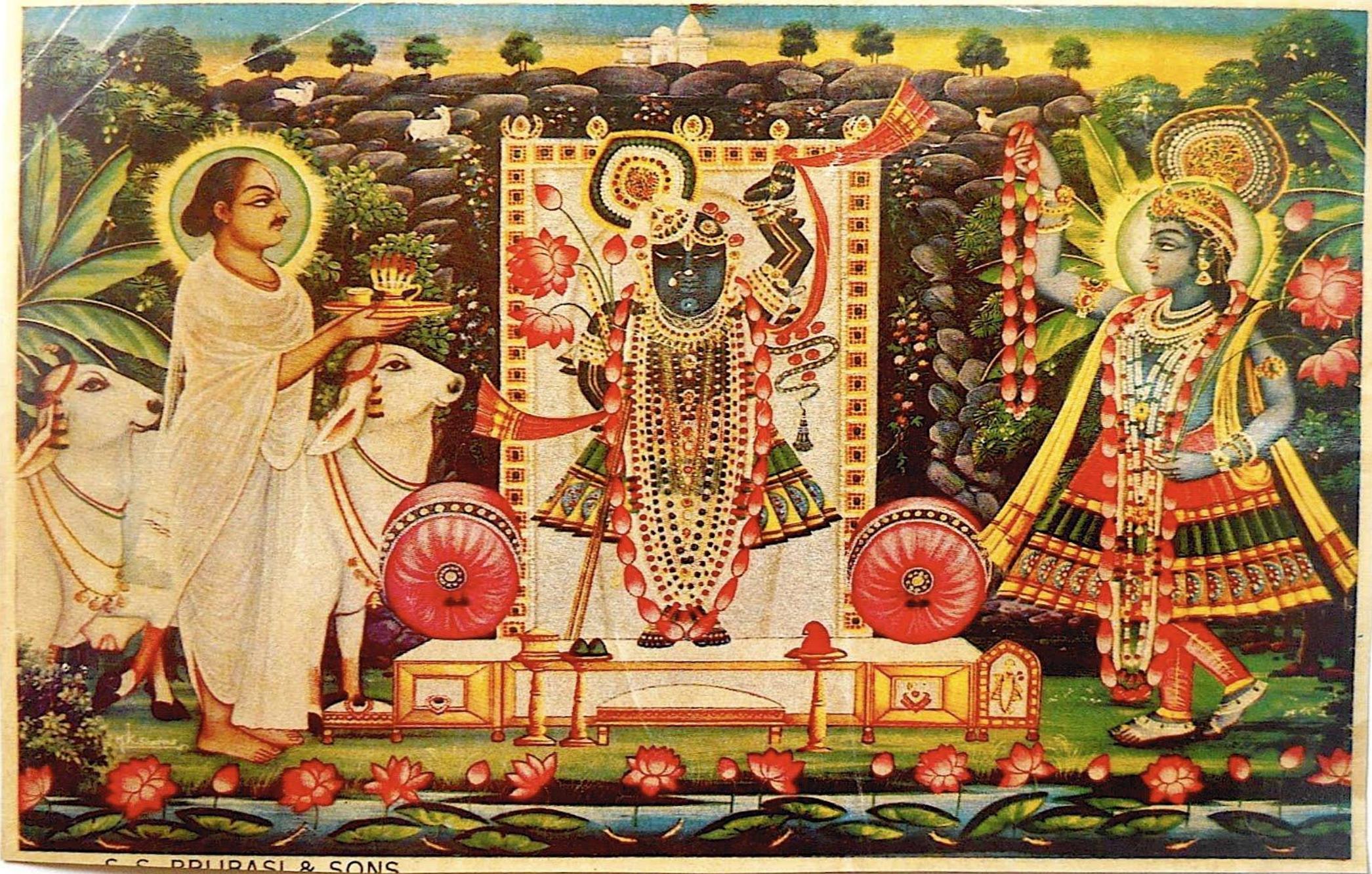
Decline of sacred communities, languages, lineages:
Secularisation

Apprehensions of Time

- Pre-modern society had “Messianic Time”
 - “...a simultaneity of past and future in an instantaneous present”.
- World was seen as two dimensional
- “...the here and now is not longer a mere link in an earthly chain of events, it is simultaneously something which has always been and will be fulfilled in the future”
- Events are designed by divine will and are omnitemporal







C. S. PARIASI & SONS







Points to Note

- 1) The new conception of time
 - a) Time flows and we can capture only one moment
 - b) All action – Divine or Human – inside time
 - c) Time marked not by prefiguring/fulfilment
 - d) Simultaneous action is mere temporal coincidence
- EMPTY HOMOGENEOUS TIME
- 2) The new conception of space
 - a) Three dimensional; Size and shape correspond to reality
 - b) What the eye sees: REALISM

HISTORY IS: WHAT REALLY HAPPENED

The Importance of Meanwhile

- Novels and Newspapers work on the foundation of simultaneity
- Empty time
- Homogeneous time
- To answer the question
 1. Events embedded in society
 2. The reader is omniscient

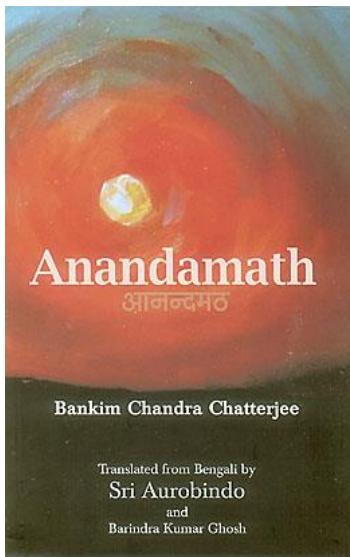
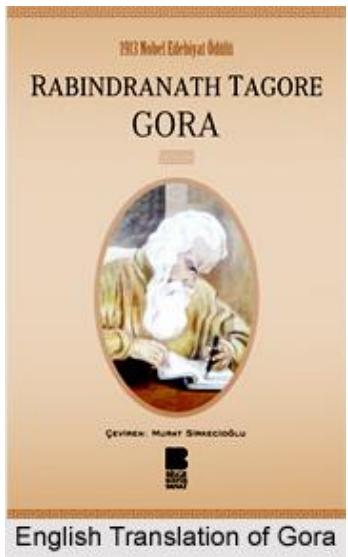
the word ‘meanwhile’. Take, for illustrative purposes, a segment of a simple novel-plot, in which a man (A) has a wife (B) and a mistress (C), who in turn has a lover (D). We might imagine a sort of time-chart for this segment as follows:

Time:	I	II	III
Events:	A quarrels with B C and D make love	A telephones C B shops D plays pool	D gets drunk in a bar A dines at home with B C has an ominous dream

Notice that during this sequence A and D never meet, indeed may not even be aware of each other’s existence if C has played her cards right.³⁶ What then actually links A to D? Two complementary



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Clocked Calendrical Time of Nation

- “That all these acts are performed at the same clocked, calendrical time, but by actors who may be largely unaware of one another, shows the novelty of this imagined world conjured up by the author in his readers’ minds”
- “The idea of a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogeneous, empty time is a precise analogue of the idea of the nation, which is also conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history.”
- Novels and newspapers speak to the anonymous reader with ironical intimacy: “We are in this together”
- Event-Horizon bounded by a community of “we” moving together in history, aka time

A World of Plurals

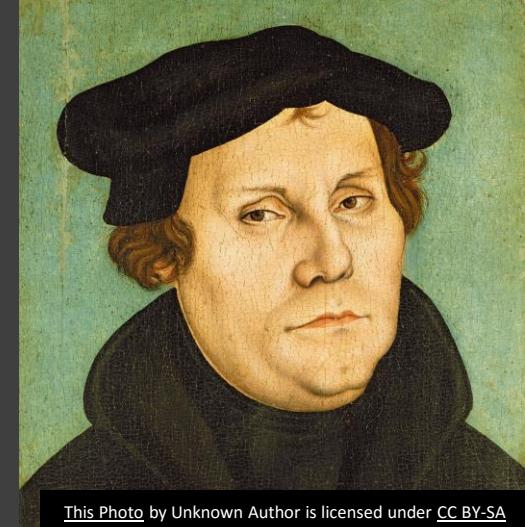
- “Nothing assures us of this sociological solidity more than a succession of plurals”.
- Cities, villages, locality (mohallas), houses, families; ministers, bureaucrats, traders, sportspersons, celebs, criminals....
- These can, and do, remain anonymous to each other but all recognise that they are together in this common imagination
- This reading and imagination is performed in silent privacy, “in the lair of the skull”

Print Capitalism

- There were 20,000,000 printed books in Europe by 1500
- This number rose to over 200,000,000 by 1600
- Search for markets led printer-capitalists to Vernaculars
- Martin Luther's "theses" were available in all German speaking regions within 15 days of being nailed to the chapel door in Wittenberg.
- "Luther became the first best-selling author so known. Or to put it another way, the first writer who could sell his new books on the basis of his name"
- Related ideas of copyright, originality, (and plagiarism)



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Rise of the Vernacular

- Slow, uneven spread of vernacular languages as vehicles of centralised administration...
- Language of administration and language people spoke became one
- From Language of State to “National Language”
- Vernacular languages rose in literary dignity
- Which vernacular emerged as national language was fortuitous
- Vernacular language communities emerged in the interplay of chance, print technology, and capitalism.

Old English vs Modern English

• Old English
"... alegdon tha tomiddes
maerne theoden
laelet hiofende hlaford
leofne
ongunnon tha on beorge
bael-fyra maest
wigend weccan wudu-rec
astah
sweart ofer swiethole
swogende leg
wope bewunden"

• Modern English
translation
The sorrowing soldiers then
laid the glorious prince,
their dear lord, in the
middle. Then on the hill
the war-men began to
light the greatest of
funeral fires. The wood-
smoke rose black above
the flames, the noisy fire,
mixed with sorrowful
cries"

A B C D E F G H I J
K L M N O P Q R
S T U V W X Y Z a b c
d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s
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7 8 9 ! " \$ % ? & * ()

Beispiel Alte Schwäbischer: Victor jagt zwölf Boxkämpfer quer über den Sylter Deich.

Language Community

- “Capitalism created mechanically reproducible print-languages capable of dissemination through the market”
- Laid base for national consciousness in three ways
 1. Created unified fields of communication and exchange
 2. Gave fixity to language form (which help build image of antiquity)
 3. Created languages of power; certain dialects dominated the print form
 - King’s English; High German, Central Thai, (also Hindi, Bengali...)
- Politics between dialect and language
- Politics of script
- Politics of grammar, accent and usage

Evolution of Nations and Nationalism

Three Phases

- Creole Pioneers
 - Americas; 18th and 19th century; Republican
- Language Nations
 - Old Europe; 19th century; Mass Politics
- Official Nationalism
 - Global; 19th and 20th century; State Policy

Creole Pioneers

- 18th Century American continent was made up of European colonies
- Spanish Colonies
- English Colonies
- Portuguese Colonies
- French Colonies
- Population of Europeans...
 - Those who were born in the Americas were called “creole”
 - ...and of Native Americans, African Slaves.

Spanish and Portuguese America 18th Century



Riddle of American Nationalism

- Why was it precisely creole communities that developed such early conceptions of their nation-ness – well before most of Europe?
- Why did the European settler population define the non-Spanish speaking, oppressed populations as fellow nationals?
- Why did entities like Chile, Venezuela, Mexico, Bolivia, Nicaragua, etc turn out to be emotionally plausible and politically viable?



Administrative Logic of Spanish Americas

- Each province of Spanish America was self-contained
- Dealt directly with Madrid and not with each other
- People, Commodities, Laws of each province unrelated and unlinked to other provinces
- Route from Buenos Aires (Argentina) to Caracas (Venezuela) went through Madrid
- Creole could only operate – socially, politically, economically – within the boundaries of each province
- European born Spanish could travel anywhere in the colonies

Journey as meaning

- “Nonetheless, in themselves, market-zones, ‘natural’-geographic or politico-administrative, do not create attachments. Who will willingly die for Comecon or EEC”.
- Study the ways in which administrative organisations create meaning
- Draw on the ‘model’ of the religious pilgrimage
 - Bringing together disparate populations along the same route, for the same purpose, linked by the same journey – both physical and metaphorical
 - These journeys map out the centre and the periphery of the community
- Each administrative zone provided the stage for such journeys of people, commodities, documents and laws...

Modern State Journeys

- “In the modal feudal journey, the heir of Noble A, on his father’s death, moves up on step to take his father’s place. This ascension requires a round-trip, to the centre for investiture, and then back home to the ancestral demesne.”
- “For the new functionary, however, things are more complex. Talent, not death, charts his course. He sees before him a summit rather than a centre. He travels up its corniches in a series of **looping arcs** which, he hopes, will become smaller and tighter as he nears the top. Sent out to township A with rank V, he may return to the capital at rank W; proceed to province B at rank X; continue to vice-royalty at C in rank Y; and end his ‘pilgrimage’ in the capital with rank Z. On this journey there is no assured resting-place; every pause is provisional. The last thing this functionary wants is to return home; for he has no home with any intrinsic value.”
- “On his upward-spiralling road he encounters as eager **fellow-pilgrims** his functionary colleagues, from places and families he has scarcely heard of and surely hopes never to have to see. But in experiencing them as travelling companions, a **consciousness of connectedness** (*‘Why are we ...here... together?’*) emerges”.

Common Circuits

- People, documents and laws, commodities move along **circuits bounded** by the boundaries of the administrative region.
- **Interchangeability**
- What hinders and what facilitates these journeys
 - Who is hindered and who is allowed to move
- What is the apex of the “looping climb” that is allowed a person
- Fellow-travellers had “shared fatality” (of American birth, even if of pure European descent)
- Shared language, religion, culture between Spanish and Creole, but different journeys
- These made the borders, and the territories bounded by these borders, into meaningful entities – a value laden geography!

Imagining Common Journeys

- These shared journeys, cramped by the administrative borders, “had no decisive consequences until their territorial stretch **could be imagined as nations**, in other words until the arrival of print-capitalism”.
- Printer Journalist
 - Between 1691 – 1820, 2120 ‘newspapers’ were published in Spanish Americas
 - 461 lasted more than a decade
- Brought together, on the same page, this marriage with that ship, this price with that bishop...
 - Very structure of the colonial administration and market
 - Each newspaper was bounded by the administrative borders
- Administrative boundaries provided the framework for journeys – circuits of movement
- **Newspapers allowed these to be imagined into communities**

Phase One: American Journeys



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- Nations emerged out of colonial administrative units
- Cohesion formed via the common condition of
 1. Colonial birth
 2. Journeys, Circuits bounded by provincial borders
- National consciousness emerged among European settlers (creoles)
 - Who then imagined a territorially bounded nation of citizens who were beyond racial / ethnic categories
- The role of newspapers
- Model created
 - Republican, citizen based polity
 - Nation represents mass of people: Populism

Term Paper (Nationalism, HSS444)

Write an essay to discuss either one of these two questions.

1. Of the theories and definitions of Nation and Nationalism studied in this course, whose definition do you find best suited to understand nationalism in India today? Explain your answer by highlighting the insights you gained from this thinker, but also compare him to the others too, as well as take comparative examples from other countries' nationalisms too.

2. Will nationalism survive globalisation? Or will globalisation, in its current information technology mediated version, lead to the fading away of nationalism and nation-states?

Class Test 2

Which aspect of Stalin's definition of nationalism is still useful?

And which aspect of his definition of nationalism is now obsolete?

- List only one aspect for each question. Even if you think there are more than one aspects, prioritize the one you think is most important.
- Write no more than 200 words.



Stalin

- "A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture."
- "...a nation, like every historical phenomenon, is subject to the law of change, has its history, its beginning and end."
- "It must be emphasised that none of the above characteristics taken separately is sufficient to define a nation. ...sufficient for a single one of these characteristics to be lacking and the nation ceases to be a nation."
- "It is only when all these characteristics are present together that we have a nation."

Old Languages, New Nations (Phase Two)

- Spread of Vernaculars led to a revolution in ideas about Language
- Comparative Linguistics; Philology
 - Comparative grammar, language classifications, ‘proto-languages’
 - Equal ontological footing of classical and vernacular languages
- Dictionaries and Grammars standardised each language
 - Bilingual dictionaries and translations made their equal status clear
- Paired with script each language made its own borders
 - Within these borders emerged circuits of news, literature, official documents
- Modern languages emerged which have remained understandable even today
 - You will understand literature or official documents written in 1820 but perhaps not in 1720
 - A century later for Indian modern languages



Literature Consuming Publics

- The rising urban middle class created by capitalism and colonialism
- Emergence of **mass literacy** in the mid-19th century
- Expansion of bureaucracy and State functions/institutions
- Writing history of the nation, literature of the nation, tradition ...
 - History, Novels, Poetry, Culture got **national qualifier**
- Print Vernaculars became languages of art, business, science, politics
 - **Market-place of information/ideas bounded by circuits of print commodities**
 - Language boundaries rarely mapped on to existing political borders

Language Politics

- Britain and France had **isomorphism of language and political borders**
- Empire of Austria-Hungary was **opposite**
 - “In its huge, ramshackle, **polyglot, but increasingly literate**, domain the replacement of Latin by *any vernacular*, in the mid 19th century, promised enormous advantages to those of its subjects who *already* used that print-language, and appeared correspondingly menacing to those who did not”.
- Linguistic nation was propagated and defended by
 - “a **coalition** of lesser gentries, academics, professionals, and businessmen, in which the first often provided leaders of ‘standing’, the second and third myths, poetry, newspapers, and ideological formulations, and the last money and marketing facilities.”
- Hungary, Romania, Poland, Ukraine, Greece, Turkey, Arab Nationalism, Norway and Denmark, Czech, Serb-Croat, Slovene, etc



Imagining Community in the Vernacular

- Relationship between the masses who spoke the vernacular and the new “missionaries of nationalism” who had turned these **vernaculars into standardised print languages**
- “As literacy increased, it became easier to arouse popular support, with the masses **discovering a new glory** in the print elevation of languages they had humbly spoken all along”.
- “The new middle-class intelligentsia of nationalism had to **invite the masses into history**; and the invitation card had to be written in a language they understood”.

Accumulating Memory of Print: Model

- The overwhelming and bewildering concatenation of events leading to revolution, end of colonial empires, rise of nation-states became...
- “A Thing”
 - Varied experience of hundreds of thousands over decades was shaped by millions of printed words into a ‘concept’, a ‘model’.
 - Why ‘it’ broke out, what ‘it’ aimed for, why ‘it’ succeeded or failed, could be discussed
 - No one had any doubts, whether in support or opposition, about its ‘**it-ness**’
- Nation and its State became a **concept**, a **model** which could be **copied**
- “By the second decade of the 19th century a ‘model’ of ‘the’ independent nation state was available for **pirating**”.
 - There could be no copyright, no patent on it. It was an idea whose time had come

Pirate Nations!



- Ready historical examples of such successful imaginations of political community which could be **consciously aspired to**
- Nation was a standardised model; successful adoption required following the model specifications
 - **Few deviations permissible** for political success
- Fixed territory
- Populist politics of equality: “All Hungarians”, “All Japanese”
 - In due course led to dissolution of social hierarchy like serfdom and nobility, caste, ethnic and tribal privileges, gender
 - Led to adoption of universal education, universal suffrage (vote)
- Anyone could take this model and apply

Official Nationalism (Phase Three)

- European empires faced “philological incendiaries” of new Nationalism
- Historical legitimacy of these dynasties had **no link to national-ness**
- Romanovs ruled over
 - Tartars, Letts, Germans, Armenians, Russians, Finns, Khazak...
- Habsburgs ruled over
 - Magyars, Croats, Slovaks, Italians, Ukranians, Germans, Czech...
- Hannoverians ruled over
 - Quebecois, Maori, Bengali, Punjabi, Chinese, Malay, Scots, Irish...
- Members of the same dynasty often ruled different, sometimes rivalrous, states
 - Bourbons in France and Spain, Hohenzollerns in Prussia and Rumania, Wittelsbachs in Bavaria and Greece
 - Most linked by marriage

National Emperor

- Rapidly rising “prestige of the national idea” led monarchies to discover their national identity
- Romanovs became Great Russians
- Hohenzollerns became Germans
- Hanoverians discovered they were English
 - Victoria von Saxe-Coburg-Gotha
 - “If Kaiser Wilhelm II caste himself as ‘No. 1 German’, he implicitly conceded that he was one among many of the same kind as himself, that he had a representative function, and therefore could, **in principle, be a traitor to his fellow-Germans** (something inconceivable in the dynasty’s heyday. Traitor to whom or to what?). In the wake of the disaster that overtook Germany in 1918, he was taken as his implied word. Acting in the name of the German nation, civilian politicians and General Staff sent him packing from the Fatherland to an obscure Dutch suburb.”



Reaction

- Official Nationalism was **deliberate merger** of national idea with dynastic empire
- Developed consciously, willed, deliberated, by state authorities after, and in reaction to, the popular national movements spreading in Europe since 1820s
- The modular nature of nation and nationalism allowed dynastic states to copy features and “permit empire to appear attractive in national drag”.
- **Uneasy move**, for regal monarchs to take to populist streets

Russification



- Russification proposed by Count Sergei Uvarov in 1832
 - To be based on principles of Autocracy, Orthodoxy, Nationality
 - Took more than half a century to implement Russification
 - By then Ukrainian, Polish, Finn, Lett nationalism had already emerged
- Russian made **language of State** and schools
 - Till then it was French and German
- Romanovs became **Great Russian**
 - Represented the nation
 - Russian language allowed entry into bureaucracy, army, expanding markets of the empire

Queen of Britain, Empress of India

- Britain already had English as common language between nationalities of English, Scot, Welsh, Irish
- Scots and Welsh had no barriers to bureaucratic, military, economic journeys within realm;
 - Irish were barred because of religious creed
 - Thirteen colonies, Canada, Australia, South Africa, India
- **Policy of Anglicisation** followed over the empire
- **Macaulay's Minutes on Education (1934)**
 - Like Russification it allowed all those who adopted “national language” English to join the armies of state functionaries, professionals, schoolmasters, merchants, planters.
 - These journeys were empire wide for British subjects, while only region wide for colonial subjects

Pal's Pathos

- Indian magistrates “had not only passed a very rigid test on the same terms as British members of the service, but had spent the very best years of the formative period of their youth in England. Upon their return to their Homeland, they practically lived in the same style as their brother civilians, and *almost religiously* followed the social conventions and the ethical standards of the latter. In those days the **India-born** [compare our Spanish born creoles] Civilian practically cut himself off from his parent society, and lived and moved and had his being in the atmosphere so beloved of his British colleagues. *In mind and manners he was as much an Englishman as any Englishman.* It was no small sacrifice for him, because in this way he completely **estranged himself from the society of his own people** and became socially and morally a pariah among them... He was as much a stranger in his own native land as the European residents in the country”.
 - Bipan Chandra Pal, 1932
- Those born in colonies were “condemned” to have their journeys short-circuited both spatially as well as hierarchically: **Brown and White Pals**



Global Model

- Japan
 - Meiji Restoration
 - 1871: Power centralised; 1872: Universal male literacy; 1873: Conscription in army; 1889: Constitution inspired from Prussia/Germany
 - Policy of Japanification in colonies: Taiwan, Manchuria, Korea; yet subjects from these places could not move beyond their region while Japanese could
- Siam (Thailand)
- Hungary
 - Magyar language raised in stature
 - Tussle with German
- Official Nationalism was a **reactionary, conservative** policy deliberately adopted to transform old political power to new legitimacy

The Last Wave

- Post-Colonial World of Asia, Africa
- **European language-of-state** (American model) coupled with **ardent populism** of linguistic nationalism (European model) pushed by a **Russifying policy orientation** (State Nationalism model)
- Common Features
 - **Bilingual intelligentsia** poised precariously over monoglot populations
 - **Bureaucratic structure** expanded to encompass development works
 - **Arbitrary frontiers**, where new nation-state's borders map exactly to imperial territories, which themselves were the **geography of colonial pilgrimages**
 - **Mobility**: spread and speed of journeys increased with rail, steam, motor vehicles and planes; the new communication technologies

Young Nations

- The importance of youth in post-colonial nationalism
 - First generation bilinguals
- Schools and colleges played a crucial role in education and building networks for colonial journeys
- In colonial Asia and Africa school systems were crucial in marking out the circuits of upwardly looping journeys from local schools to colleges and universities
- Schools and colleges produced the young intelligentsia which had the capabilities to learn and copy the models
- Schools brought together print-vernaculars, with journeys, with learning

New Technologies of State: Census

- Pre-colonial states did not count everyone
- Census: counting every single individual, as *homo-sapiens*, in the given territory ...
 - Create the **material conditions** for imagining a bounded horizontal community
- ...and classifying them according to certain given identities
 - Gender Religion Language Caste
 - The strange classificatory “Other”
- **Demographic topography:** Mapping the entire population of a territory
- Everyone resident in territory is counted, irrespective of any purpose

Quantification of Identity

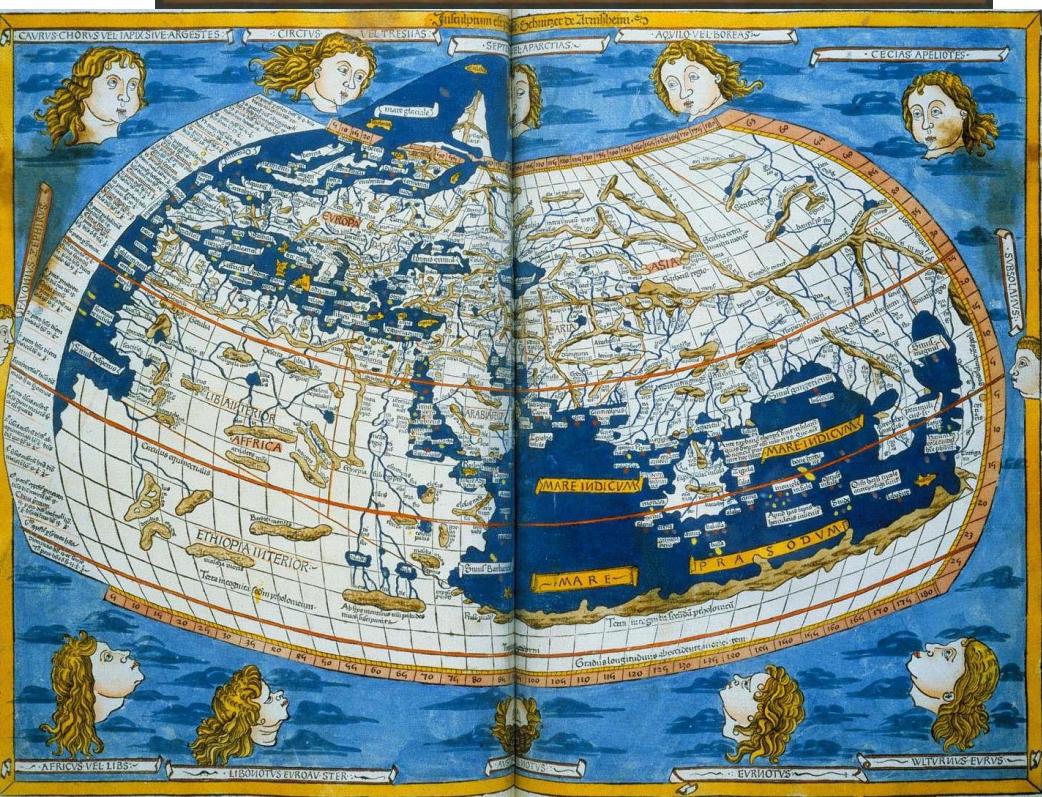
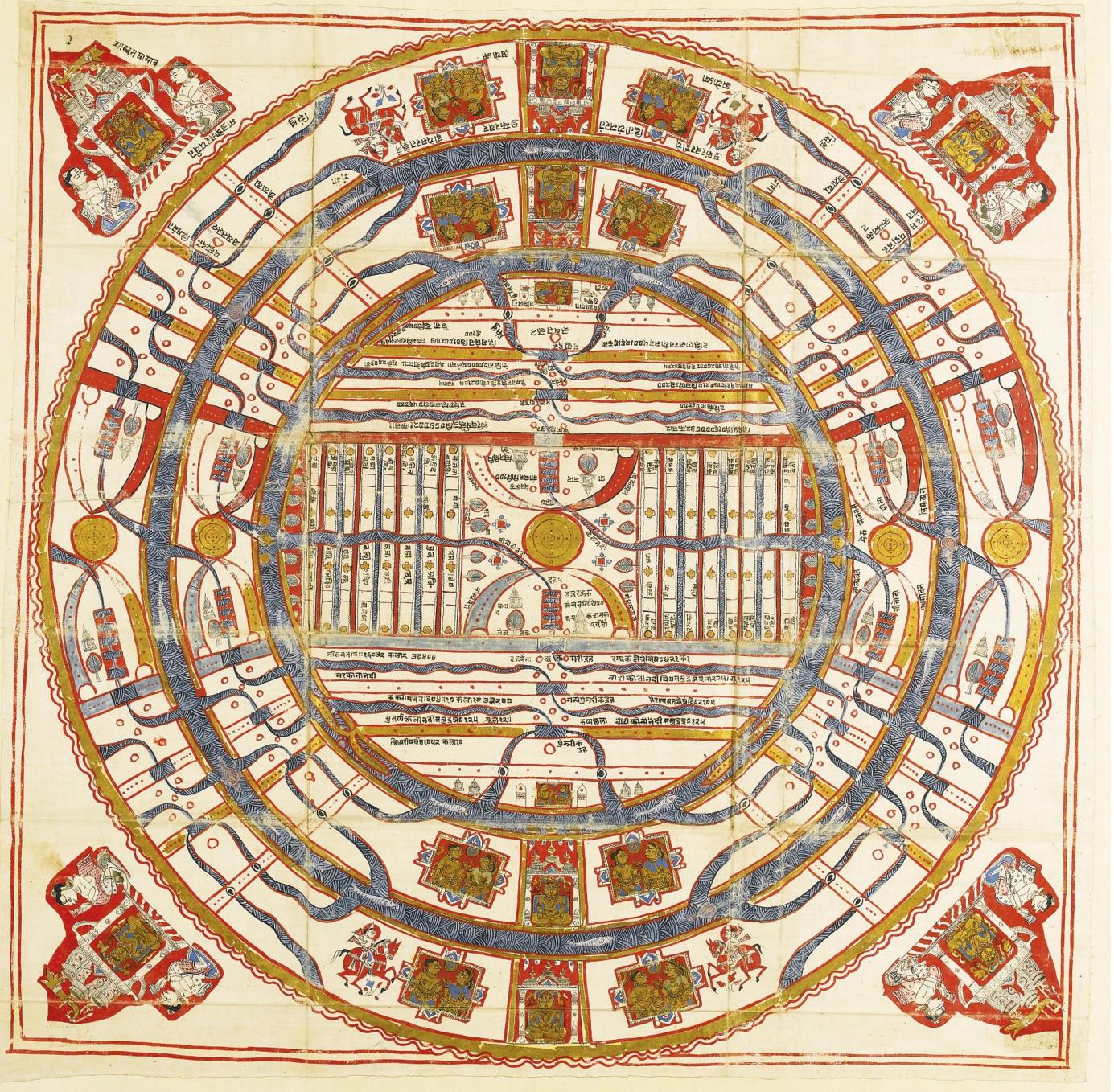
- Identity is no longer religious (sacral), or community (moral)
- It is a quantification of **discreet numbers**
- **Discreet identities** created through these categories
- Colonial State organised schools, courts, land revenue system, markets, police, public health, and political bureaucracies through identities thrown up by Census categories
- “The flow of subject populations through the **mesh** of differential schools, courts, clinics, police stations, and immigration offices created ‘**traffic habits**’ which in time gave real social life to the state’s earlier fantasies”
- Colonial State attempt to regulate, constrict, count, standardise, hierarchically organise populations’ social practices, economic relations...

New Technologies of State: Map

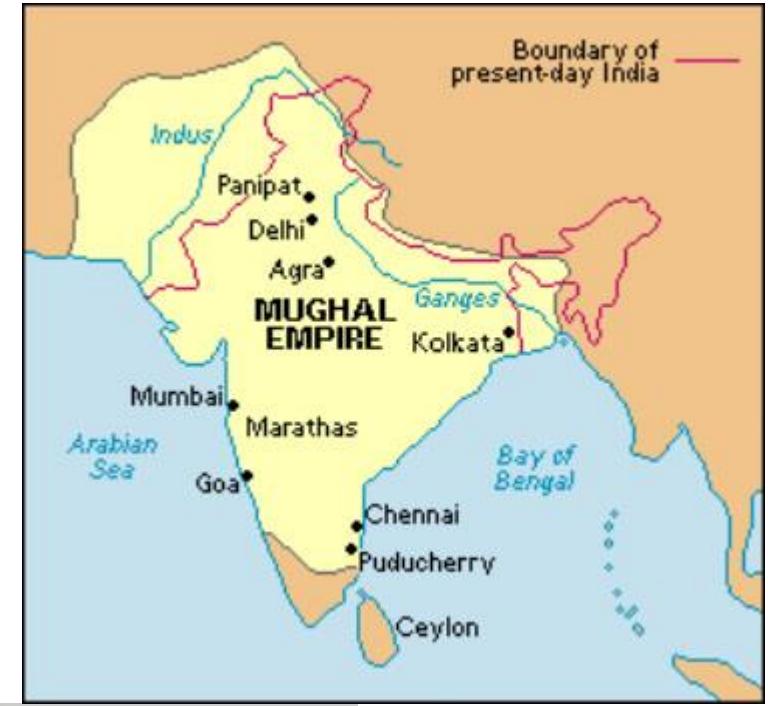
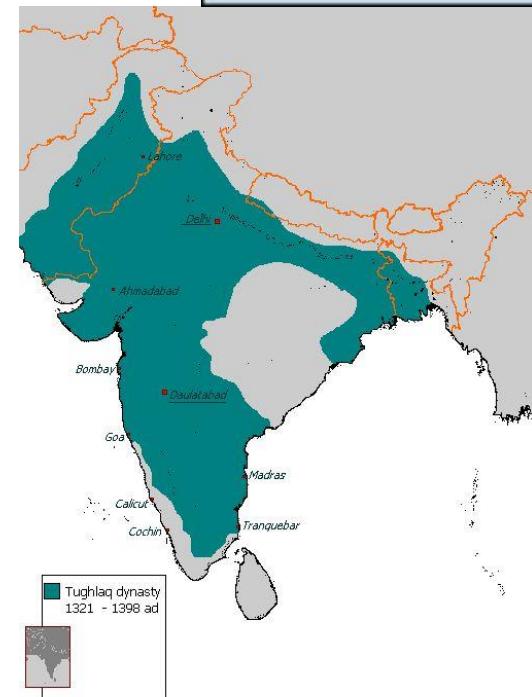
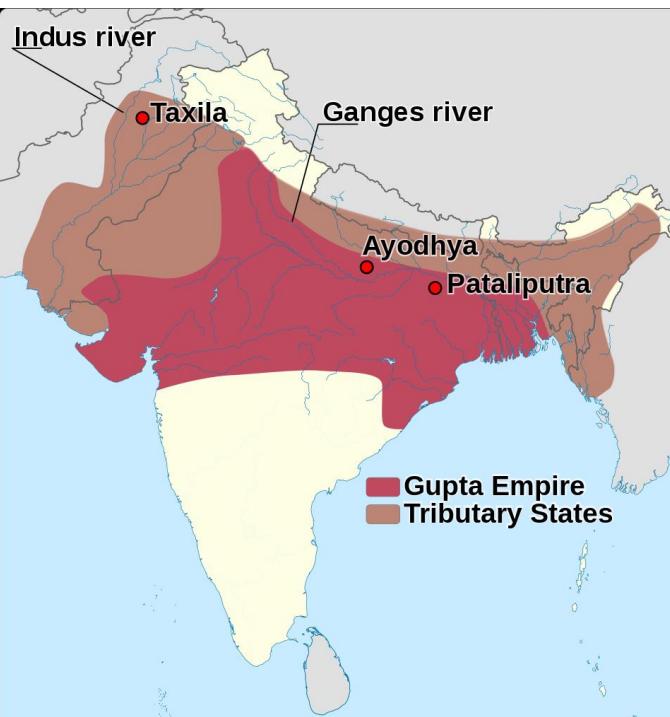
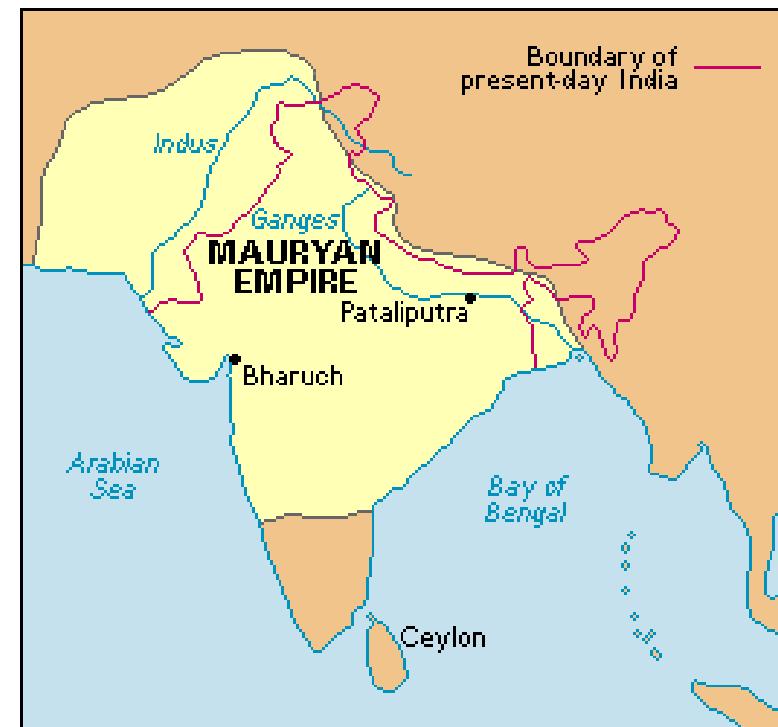
- “A map merely represents something which exists objectively ‘there’. In the history I have described, this relationship was reversed. A map anticipated spatial reality, not vice versa. In other words, the map was a model for, rather than a model of, what it purported to represent... It had become a real instrument to concretize projections on the earth’s surface.” Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped*
- Conception of space and territory changed with the modern map
 - Earlier representations of geography and territory based on religious and moral codes: Not to scale or a realist depiction of space

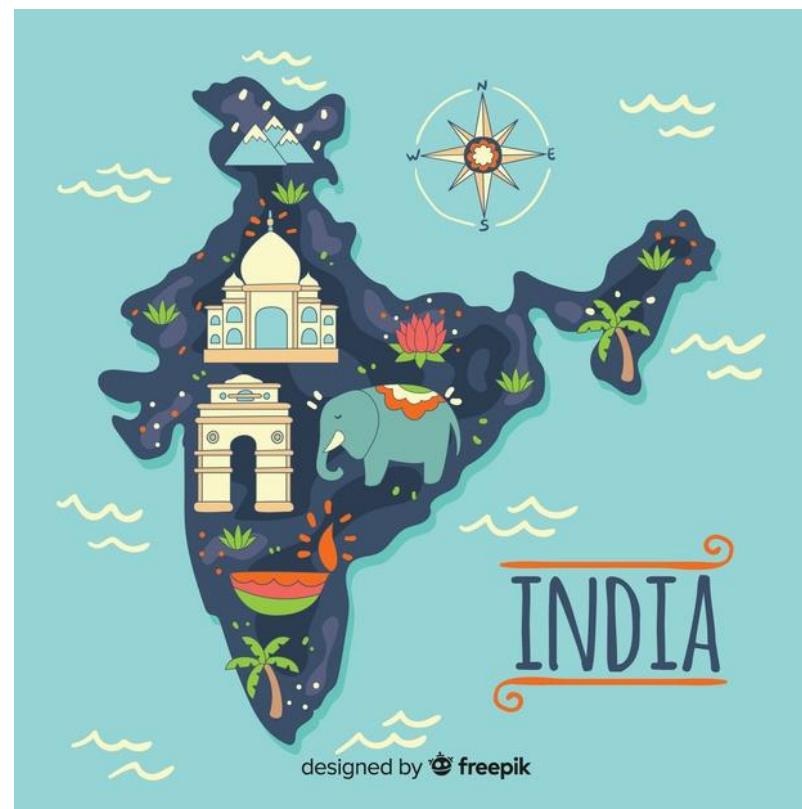
Pure Historical Sign

- **Longitude**: Global mapping of space; **territory as empty space**
- Trigonometrical Surveys: realist map of entire territory as **exact replica**
- Borders are clear and distinct
- **Historical Maps**, take country back in time as physical entity
 - "...designed to demonstrate the antiquity of specific, tightly bounded territorial units. Through chronologically arranged sequences of such maps a sort of **political-biographical narrative of the realm** came into being, sometimes with vast historical depth."
- Maps as **Logo** makes the national territory a “pure sign”
 - “In its [maps’] final form all explanatory glosses could be summarily removed: lines of longitude and latitude, place names, signs of rivers, seas, mountains, neighbours. **Pure sign**, no longer compass to the world. In this shape, the map entered an **infinitely reproducible** series, available for transfer to posters, seals, letterheads, textbook covers, tablecloths... Instantly recognisable, everywhere visible, the logo-map penetrated deep into the popular imagination, forming a powerful emblem for the anti-colonial nationalisms being born.”



Historical Maps





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Warp and Weft of National Cloth

- “The ‘warp’ of this thinking was a **totalising classificatory grid**, which could be applied with endless flexibility to anything under the state’s real or contemplated control: people, regions, religions, languages, products, monuments,... The effect of the grid was always to be able to say of anything that it was ... bounded, determinate, and therefore – in principle – countable”.
- “The ‘weft’ was what one could call **serialisation**: the assumption that the world was made up on replicable plurals. The particular stood as a provisional representative of a series, and was to be handled in this light.”
- Another warp and weft: **memory and forgetting!**

Nationalism as Reawakening

- The constant in all nationalisms is the idea of
 - “Continuous Awakening from Slumber”
- Nationalism, and its agents: the Nationalists, main agenda was to awaken their compatriots from their **epochal sleep**
- **Reverse Ventriloquism:** The nation speaks for the dead, it links past personages and events into an unbroken line of nation’s citizens
- Every member of the nation is **assumed to have forgotten and to simultaneously remember** the nation’s history
- “...systematic historiographical campaign, deployed by the state mainly through the state’s school system, to ‘remind’ every young Frenchwoman and Frenchman of a series of antique slaughters which are now inscribed as ‘family history’. Having to have ‘already forgotten’ tragedies of which one needs unceasingly to be ‘reminded’ turns out to be the characteristic device in the construction of national genealogies”

Small Test to End Anderson!

- Place in descending order these three paradoxes based on how well Benedict Anderson manages to explain them in his book. You can write a short note why you say so (not more than 300 words)
- Please put your name, roll number on the answer-sheet.
- Only MSWord or PDF please

Three Paradoxes

1. Objective modernity of nations
v/s
Subjective antiquity in the eyes of nationalists
 2. Universal as a socio-cultural concept
v/s
Irremediable particularity of its concrete manifestations
 3. Political power of nationalism
v/s
Philosophical poverty, even incoherence
- “...it [nationalism] belonged with ‘kinship’ and ‘religion’, rather than with ‘liberalism’ or ‘fascism’.”