Cultural Nationalism

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INTRODUCTION

Nationalism may involve the combination of culture and politics, but for many of its most prominent students, the former is subordinate to the latter. In this view, nationalist appeals to culture are a means to a political end; that is, the achievement of statehood. Hence, for Ernest Gellner (2006 [1983]: 124), culture is but an epiphenomenon, a 'false-consciousness … hardly worth analyzing …'. For their part, Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (1983) suggest that national traditions are 'invented' by elites concerned with the legitimization of state power. Similarly, John Breuilly (2006 [1982]: 11) defines national movements as 'political movements … which seek to gain or exercise state power and justify their objectives in terms of nationalist doctrine'. A broadly similar characterization of nationalism can be found in the writings of many other esteemed scholars (Giddens, 1985; Laitin, 2007; Mann, 1995; Tilly, 1975).

The privileging of politics over culture remains the dominant approach to understanding nationalism, but it is not without criticism. There is now a vast and rapidly growing body of literature insisting that the role of culture should be made more prominent. In opposition to the argument that nationalist appeals to culture are but an exercise in legitimation, this body of literature suggests that they can be ends unto themselves. This latter phenomenon, generally referred to as cultural nationalism, is the subject of this chapter. The chapter proceeds as follows. I begin with the definition and history of cultural nationalism before discussing several key themes in its study. To conclude, I briefly outline several lines of research that I believe hold particular potential for developing the field. In the light of the huge array of literature on cultural nationalism, the review is focused on seminal contributions.

DEFINITION AND HISTORY

In much of the scholarly literature, cultural nationalism has become a stretched concept, encompassing the full gamut of cultural practices and texts. Inspired by Benedict Anderson's (1983) Imagined Communities, researchers have gone in search of all those elements of culture that factor in the construction of national identity, from the extraordinary to the everyday, and everything in between. In this review, I employ a more limited definition of the term, which is largely in agreement with the work of John Hutchinson (2013). In short, I am focused on reflexive practices and texts where it is the national community that provides the chief inspiration. This definition shares much with Joep Leerssen's (2014) definition of Romantic nationalism. However, whereas Leerssen is focused on Romantic nationalism as a historically and spatially specific phenomenon in Europe, I approach cultural nationalism more as an ideal-typical concept, which finds its origins in the Romanticism of Europe, but has since migrated throughout the world, and can now be applied in a wide variety of contexts.

Because I am focused on practices and texts that are oriented to the national community, I do not include in this chapter literature that relates to 'official' cultural nationalism, whose form and content is tightly controlled by the state. My reasoning is that it is often unclear in these instances whether they are oriented to the state or the nation. For example, the many ceremonies around the world that annually commemorate the founding of states tend to more closely fit the interpretation of the uses of culture I suggested could be found in the work of John Breuilly and the others mentioned in the opening paragraph. However, I do acknowledge that the distinction I have adopted here is a fuzzy one; even when cultural activities and texts are imposed by the state, the actors involved can find ways of inserting their own interpretation. Indeed, I am aware that the idea that there exists a class of state bureaucrats who are somehow inured against culture is surely in need of revision. Nevertheless, I make the distinction in the hopes that it will result in a more coherent chapter.

In sum, if political nationalism is focused on the achievement of political autonomy, cultural nationalism is focused on the cultivation of a nation. Here the vision of the nation is not a political organization, but a moral community. As such, cultural nationalism sets out to provide a vision of the nation's identity, history and destiny. The key agents of cultural nationalism are intellectuals and artists, who seek to convey their vision of the nation to the wider community. The need to articulate and express this vision tends to be felt most acutely during times of social, cultural and political upheaval resulting from an encounter with modernity. Cultural nationalism often occurs in the early phase of a national movement, sometimes before an explicitly political nationalism has appeared. But it can also periodically recur in long-established national states (for an excellent summary of cultural nationalism, see Hutchinson, 2013).

The history of cultural nationalism begins in 18th-century Europe. A variety of developments in the realms of ideas, culture and politics converge at this time to produce what Leerssen refers to a 'tipping point' leading the explosion of cultural nationalism in the 19th century. These developments include: the emergence of historicism and Indo-European linguistics; the rise of Romanticism in literature and the arts; and a growing commitment to constitutional politics and the idea of 'rule by the people' (Leerssen, 2014: 11). From this period of change, John Hutchinson

writes,

> emerged a polycentric Weltanschauung that presented a pantheistic conception of the universe, in which all natural entities were animated by a force that individualized them and endowed them with a drive for realization. The nation was one such life-force, a primordial, cultural, and territorial people through which individuals developed their authenticity as moral and rational beings. (2013: 76)

As part of this heady new world-view, Gregory Jusdanis (2001) argues that the rise of a historicist belief in the possibility of progress was a crucial ingredient in the emergence of cultural nationalism. According to Jusdanis, intellectuals in central and northern Europe became aware of their 'backwardness' in the face of French dominance and simultaneously sought prestige in their own cultures, while also embarking upon a programme of progress.

The writings of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), a key figure of this period who I describe in greater depth below, encapsulate the new programme of cultural nationalism that emerged from these developments. In sum, Herder edified the nation as the primordial scene from which the best of human endeavour owed its provenance, and which therefore obliged its cultivation through the recovery and celebration of its history and culture. Interestingly, Herder was as much practitioner as he was intellectual. In his search for the true character of the nation among the rural peasantry of central Europe, he played an influential role in the development of several practices that became associated with the cultural nationalism of the 19th century, including: philology; the writing of history; and the collection of folk songs, myths, and other practices.

In the wake of Herder's elucidation of a doctrine and program for cultural nationalism, Europe became the site of a massive efflorescence of intellectual and cultural activities devoted to national 'revival'. Poets, historians, philologists, painters and architects, among many other professions, arose from, or were rapidly transformed by, the new spirit of the era. Across Europe, they formed cultural societies, pressed for the institutionalization of their pursuits in universities, and demanded sponsorship from governments. Critical to the rapid spread of their ideas and practices was the increasing density of communication in the 19th century triggered by the '"second print revolution", which hugely increases the availability of printed matter: cheap woodpulp paper, stereotype and rotary printing, mechanized binding, improved distribution services' (Leerssen, 2014: 13). To this, we can add the growing numbers of the educated middle classes, who encounter the new spirit of cultural nationalism in the recently reformed universities, and then go on to consume its products (Leerssen, 2014: 13). From its European origins, cultural nationalism spread outwards, enjoying a renewed efflorescence in the decolonizing efforts of the 20th century. It is now a recurring phenomenon throughout much of the world.

Returning now to Herder, a German-speaking Lutheran minister, poet, philosopher, historian and all-around celebrity-intellectual of his day. Herder is often attributed the greatest individual responsibility for elucidating the ideology and practice of cultural nationalism. His writings on nationhood became renowned in his own lifetime, giving succour not only to German pan-nationalism, but also providing a chief inspiration for the Slavic national revival. So lasting has been Herder's impact that it is now possible to find traces of his thought and practice in national movements throughout the world. In the light of Herder's enduring influence, I will elaborate on some basic elements of his thought as both a historical and ideal-typical illustration of the doctrine and practice of cultural nationalism.

According to Herder, humanity, with its distinct capacity for culture, is naturally divided into cultural groups referred to as nations (volk), each of which has a unique character (geist). Nations have a quasi-sacred status, for it is only through their languages, traditions and practices that individual creativity can be fully realized. Yet, here Herder betrays the paradox common to nationalists everywhere. On the one hand, nations have naturally existed since time immemorial, yet, on the other hand, they also need constant cultivation lest they fade away. Thus, even as he suggests that nations are a natural component of human existence, Herder suggests that they can decline. Given the importance of the nation for human expression, it therefore behoves intellectuals to revive or 'awaken' nations from their 'slumber', as Herder beseeched of the various Slavic nations (see Barnard, 2003: 14).

While Herder wrote extensively on folk song and dance, he accords to language primacy of place as the chief expression of the nation. In Treatise on the Origin of Language, Herder writes, 'no greater harm can befall a nation than to be robbed of its character by being deprived of its language, for without its language it loses its own mode of thinking' (cited in Barnard, 2003: 12). Territory is also emphasized as the crucible for the emergence of nations. For Herder, nations are historically constituted through interaction with territory and environment. In Reflections on the Philosophy and History of Mankind, Herder remarks,

> it is obvious why all sensual people, fashioned to their country, are so much attached to the soil, and so inseparable from it. The constitution of their body, their way of life, the pleasures and occupations to which they have become accustomed from their infancy, and the whole circle of their ideas, are climatic. Deprive them of their country, you deprive them of everything. (cited in Penrose, 2002: 286)

Herder's writings often reflect a kind of national egalitarianism, suggesting that all nations are equally endowed with a unique character which should therefore be allowed to flourish in the 'garden of humanity'. As Barnard (2003: 11)

writes, 'even though Herder's own conception of nationhood as the essential foundation for the complex fabric of social and political entities was the alpha and omega of his nationalism, this nationalism by no means ruled out international fellowship, for it was not tantamount to an exclusionary chauvinism …'. It is this genre of national thinking that Barnard suggests provides inspiration for the cosmopolitan nationalists of the 19th century, such as Giuseppe Mazzini. And yet, against Barnard's assertion, I would suggest that just as Herder endorses a degree of relativism, he also frequently betrays a degree of ethnic chauvinism. When Herder writes on behalf of the nation with which he identifies, it is often to lament the status of the Germans vis-à-vis the more dominant French. And when Herder enjoins Germans to replace the use of the French language with their mother tongue, and to rediscover their national myths, traditions and practices, he descends into xenophobia. In Treatise, Herder infamously writes,

> look at other nationalities. Do they wander about
> So that nowhere in the whole world they are strangers
> Except to themselves?
> They regard foreign countries with proud disdain.
> And you German alone, returning from abroad,
> Wouldst thou greet your mother in French?
> O spew it out before your door
> Spew out the ugly slime of the Seine. Speak
> German, O You German
> (cited in Kedourie, 1961: 52)

In this stanza, not only do we find the links between Herder and the more ethnocentric philosophy of his disciple Johann Gotlieb Fichte, but more generally we also see an early expression of the widespread obsession with national and ethnic authenticity that now afflicts much of the modern world.

RESEARCH THEMES

Cultural and Political Nationalism

Much ink has been spilled debating the character of cultural nationalism and its relationship to political nationalism. The most influential author in these debates is Hans Kohn. In his magisterial history of the idea of nationalism, Kohn (1960 [1944]) distinguishes between the political forms of nationalism that are ostensibly associated with the United States, France, the Netherlands and Britain, and the cultural nationalisms that he suggests are representative of central and eastern Europe and the former European colonies. Kohn's dichotomy is similar to the distinction that Friedrich Meinecke made in 1907 between the Staatsnation and the Kulturnation, but it is Kohn's writings that have had the most enduring influence. In sum, in Kohn's view, 'western nationalism' derives its solidarity from adherence to Rousseau's notion of a social contract between rulers and ruled. Membership in the national community is voluntary, and hence potentially open to all individuals, irrespective of their cultural background. By contrast, 'eastern nationalism', which derives its solidarity from an organic view of the national community based on shared origins and culture, has a closed membership (Kohn, 1960 [1944]: 391).

Kohn's dichotomy is the most enduring heuristic device in the study of nationalism, informing a number of related dichotomies, most notably the civic–ethnic dichotomy. Yet, if the dichotomy has endured, it has not been without criticism. Several prominent critics claim that it should be abandoned on the basis that all national movements, whether originating in the West or elsewhere, tend to contain political and cultural elements (e.g. Kuzio, 2002; Yack, 1996). As an alternative to the dichotomy, Oliver Zimmer (2003: 178) proposes a process-oriented approach that distinguishes between 'the mechanisms which social actors use as they reconstruct the boundaries of national identity at a particular point in time; and, on the other hand, the symbolic resources upon which they draw when they reconstruct these boundaries'. While Zimmer's model seeks to move away from the essentialist tendencies in Kohn's and others' work, the fact that he distinguishes between resources that are 'voluntary' or 'organic', suggests that he still sees some value in Kohn's dichotomy.

Kohn's suggestion that there are western and eastern forms of nationalism is not the only source of debate. His valuation of these two types of nationalism has also had great impact. While Meinecke previously deplored the ostensible vacuity of the French Staatsnation in favour of the poetry of the German Kulturnation, Kohn takes the opposite view. Kohn approvingly characterizes the political nationalism of the West as a liberal ideology deeply marked by the enlightenment and particularly by Rousseau's idea that political communities are actively willed into being. In contrast, he characterizes the cultural nationalism of central and eastern Europe as a reactionary ideology, fatally influenced by Herder's obsession with a nation's unique character. While he stresses that Herder himself was a committed liberal, Kohn nonetheless traces how his ideas planted the seed leading to the growth of the racist nationalism of the 20th century. This assessment of 'cultural' nationalism as the 'bad' form of nationalism has coloured much academic and popular thinking about the phenomenon ever since.

There have recently been efforts to rehabilitate cultural nationalism. In the realm of political theory,

writers have questioned Kohn's characterization of cultural nationalism as a specifically ethnic ideology, arguing, to the contrary, that it is defensible from a liberal perspective (e.g. Gans, 2000). Indeed, some analysts have taken to distinguishing cultural nationalism from both ethnic and civic nationalism, suggesting that a focus on language and culture is distinct from adherence to citizenship rights, as well as a belief in common ancestry (e.g. Nielsen, 1996). Several historical sociologists, whose work on cultural nationalism I will discuss in greater depth in the succeeding section, have also taken issue with the view of cultural nationalism as anti-modern (e.g. Chatterjee, 1993; Hutchinson, 2013; Jusdanis, 2001; Smith, 1995). The suggestion here is that when cultural nationalists turn to the past in their search for nationality, it is above all to find ways of accommodating their purported national communities with modernity.

Ethno-Symbolism
Notwithstanding the long-running theoretical debates on the concept and character of cultural nationalism, it has proven to be a fruitful concept among researchers who employ it as ideal type, while acknowledging that in reality it can take many forms. The most heavily trodden of the various themes in cultural nationalism is associated with the ethno-symbolist school of inquiry devised by doyen of nationalism studies Anthony D. Smith. The research in this area is most often concerned with the historicity of cultural nationalism and the relationship between cultural nationalism and the wider society, especially the process by which it is institutionalized and disseminated, and also its relationship to political nationalism.

An early exemplar is provided by Miroslav Hroch (2000 [1985]). Of course, at the time of the publication of Hroch's book, Smith had not yet fully elaborated the elements of ethno-symbolism. And even if Smith had already done so, it is not clear that Hroch would have aligned his work with Smith, writing as he did from a Marxist perspective. Nevertheless, I discuss Hroch's landmark study here because of the influence that it has had on subsequent iterations of ethno-symbolism. Indeed, in subsequent years, Hroch himself also implies a degree of complementarity between his approach and that of ethno-symbolism, contributing to a special issue on ethno-symbolism in the journal *Nations and Nationalism* in 2004. Hroch embeds cultural nationalism within a processual model describing the route by which national movements among several 'small nations' of Europe became institutionalized. The concept of small nations refers to non-dominant nations that are not already in possession of a state – now more commonly referred to as stateless nations. According to Hroch, cultural nationalism typifies the first phase (Phase A) of the process of nation formation, when the ideas and practices associated with the national community are conceived and disseminated by artists and intellectuals. Although Hroch concentrates much of his analysis on the second phase (Phase B), when the national idea becomes political, his analysis is nevertheless notable for putting cultural nationalism at the very heart of nation-formation. In Hroch's analysis, it is the artists and intellectuals who lay the foundation for those with political ambitions.

If not specifically interested in the cultural nationalism, at least in his earlier work, Smith has had great influence on scholarship in this area. For Smith, all nationalism has a cultural dimension; hence his insistence that it is and ideological movement rather than merely a political movement, as John Breuilly and others would have it. In Smith's hands, nationalism appears as a Durkheimian political religion aimed at ensuring the solidarity of national community, rather than as a secular ideology seeking to bind it to the state (e.g. Smith, 2000). Across his lengthy career, Smith (e.g. 1986; 1991; 2003) has sought to demonstrate the trans-generational 'stickiness' of the culture of nations. According to Smith, this pattern of myths, symbols, memories and values often extends backwards into the pre-modern era, as well as structuring a nation's particular path towards modernization.

While Smith stresses the capacity for cultural patterns to endure in the face of social change, he also acknowledges that they can undergo rapid change. Here Smith attempts to carve out a middle ground between those who view nationalism as a Herderian expression of an innate collective spirit stretching back into time immemorial, and those who view it as a wholly modern ideology conjured up by enterprising elites and imposed upon the masses. For Smith (1995), national cultures take shape through a process of reinterpretation and rediscovery rather than mere invention – a process that is aimed at the regeneration of communities. Smith's interpretation of nationalism as having a progressive thrust provides the inspiration for a line of scholarship on cultural nationalism that stands in stark contrast to Kohn's characterization of cultural nationalism as a regressive force.

Smith has lately begun to focus more explicitly on cultural nationalism. In doing so, he has made a welcome foray into the visual arts. His most recent book seeks to uncover the significance of visual art in the making of national identity in France and Britain, which presents an original typology of the different kinds of national art, including: didactic, evocative, and commemorative (Smith, 2013b). The book is presented as an implied critique of the line of scholarship inspired by Anderson's (1983) *Imagined Communities*, in which written texts take centre stage in the construction of national identity. By contrast, Smith's study explores how the abstract ideas associated with nationalism and national identity are rendered as visual objects. This book provides an exemplar of how the analysis of non-written texts can contribute to the traditional concerns associated with the sociology of cultural nationalism.

John Hutchinson has done much to enrich understanding of cultural nationalism. He was Smith's first PhD student

and his work remains aligned with his approach. Hutchinson's (1987) lauded case-study of Gaelic revivalism and the establishment of the Irish national state greatly extends Hroch's approach to cultural nationalism. While Hroch's linear model suggests that the importance of cultural nationalism will diminish once the political movement takes off, Hutchinson presents cultural nationalism as an episodic phenomenon, which can recur even after a national state is established. Observing that the Irish national movement was often split amongst protagonists favouring cultural or political aims, Hutchinson's study implies that cultural nationalism proceeds dialectically with political nationalism, with the former periodically reinforcing the latter, and vice versa. To bring to light how cultural nationalism is institutionalized and disseminated, the book distinguishes between two kinds of cultural nationalists: intellectuals and artists on the one hand, and the intelligentsia on the other hand. The intellectuals and artists furnish the symbols and vision of the nation. The intelligentsia, a vocational and occupational group including the professions and tertiary education instructors, communicate this vision to the 'masses'.

Over the course of his career, Hutchinson has continued to refine understanding of cultural nationalism. In a wide-ranging comparative book, he includes an extended theoretical chapter on the history of cultural nationalism and its relationship to pre-modern ethnic revivals. Emphasizing the modernity of cultural nationalism, Hutchinson nevertheless stresses its many similarities with earlier ethnic revivals, observing that pre-modern myths, symbols and practices are often incorporated into modern national movements (1994). As such, cultural nationalism appears to have a much longer genealogy than has been conventionally presented. In a more recent analysis, Hutchinson (2005) focuses on the role of contestation in the endurance of national communities. Here he suggests that the often intense struggles among cultural nationalists over national identity can paradoxically serve to reify the nation. By drawing on a common pool of symbols and orienting themselves to a common referent, Hutchinson finds that competing nationalists actually have the effect of bolstering national solidarity.

Hutchinson (2013) has also recently disavowed the commonly-held view that cultural nationalists will invariably turn to organic myths and symbols of common descent. By contrast, he suggests that in their struggle to define the nation, cultural nationalists may be just as predisposed to characterize the nation as a voluntary community grounded in civic principles. This important revision of cultural nationalism aligns well with recent conceptual debates on the phenomenon, particularly Zimmer's (2003) processual model. As a result of Hutchinson's work, it is now possible to analyse cultural nationalism as an ongoing struggle over the definition and character of the nation, with the proponents seeking to convey competing visions to the wider community. In Hutchinson's various analyses, this struggle is expressed as a series of binary visions of the 'true' character of the nation, whether it is progressive or regressive, organic or voluntary, religious or secular, monocultural or multi-cultural, etc.

Kosaku Yoshino's (1992) highly cited study of cultural nationalism in Japan not only takes Hutchinson and Smith beyond Europe, but also takes their work in a new research direction. Yoshino applies the distinction between intellectuals and intelligentsia put forward by Hutchinson and Smith to investigate how the ideas of intellectuals are diffused among two separate groups of 'intelligentsia' – businessmen and educators. Interestingly, Yoshino finds that it is the businessmen who are the more committed carriers of the ideas of the intellectuals. This finding provides a further rationale for the recent turn towards corporate nationalism (e.g. Olins, 2002).

More recently, Yingjie Guo (2004) has applied the ethno-symbolist approach to cultural nationalism in a fascinating study of China, where he suggests that a group of intellectuals have become increasingly emboldened to assert an ethnic vision of a Chinese national community against the longstanding rationalist and Marxist representations of China. Taken together, both the studies by Yoshino and Guo serve to confirm Hutchinson's argument that the occurrence of cultural nationalism is as much a feature of long-established national states as it is of national movements that seek to establish a state. As such, they pave the way for closer analysis of when and why the members of 'dominant nations' find it necessary to turn to symbols of the communities rather than the state. This would conjoin nicely with Eric Kaufmann's (2004; Kaufmann and Haklai, 2008) research agenda on 'dominant ethnicity', in which he suggests that a perception that state elites are not adequately representing the interests of the dominant group can provoke the rise of national sentiment against 'their' state.

Postcolonialism
The study of nationalism in Asia and Africa has contributed much to the understanding of cultural nationalism. Against the tendency to read the spread of nationalism among indigenous elites as wholly imitative of existing patterns in the Americas and Europe, several scholars have uncovered long-standing efforts to define the character and destiny of the colonized communities. As with the national movements of Europe, these efforts have notably tended to precede the emergence of their political counterparts. Also, the progressive element to cultural nationalism that Smith, Hutchinson and others have found to have been so central to the European movements is re-confirmed in the literature on Asia and Africa. Time and again, the finding is that the turn to indigenous culture and history arises as an attempt to find ways of authentically embarking on a path of modernization.

An earlier study uncovering this phenomenon, which presages the body of literature that might generally be labelled postcolonial studies, was conducted by David Kopf (1969). Kopf's history of the intellectual ferment of the College of

Fort William of Bengal sheds light on the challenge of fusing (foreign) modernity with (indigenous) culture. With the emergence of postcolonial studies proper, this dynamic has taken on particular importance. Homi Bhabha's (2013 [1990]) suggestion that what emerges is an unstable 'hybrid' identity that is neither European nor Indigenous has triggered a massive outpouring of research. This research has even impacted the study of nationalism in the former metropole, where several scholars associated with 'British cultural studies' have focused on the cultural politics of the formerly colonized who now make their home in Britain (e.g. Gilroy, 2013; Hall, 1993).

A central figure in the study of postcolonial nationalism is Partha Chatterjee. In his first major study, Chatterjee (1986) takes aim at Elie Kedourie's assertion that the rise of postcolonial nationalism in Asia and Africa is merely a derivative discourse imported from Europe. By contrast, Chatterjee suggests that nationalism arises out of a dialogue between European and Indigenous ideas and practices. The agents of these novel ideologies are the educated indigenous elite. Much like the cultural nationalists in Hutchinson's work, who concern themselves above all with the moral dimensions of the national community, Chatterjee suggests that these elites are concerned with its 'spiritual realm'. While the colonial administrations may have dominated the 'material realm', in Chatterjee's view, they never really fully penetrated the spiritual realm, where indigenous intellectuals were involved in the elaboration of the moral community from the middle of the 19th century onwards. In a subsequent book, Chatterjee (1993) applies his approach to a study of the emergence of a national ideology in Bengal through attention to a wide variety of cultural practices, from drama to art and from education to religion, among others. In the process, Chatterjee focuses on efforts by marginalized groups within India to draw on the emergent national discourse to make claims for their inclusion. John Peel (2003 [1989]) makes comparable findings in an interesting study of the emergence of Yoruban identity in south-western Nigeria. Focusing on the impact of 19th-century Christian missionaries, Peel, like Chatterjee in the case of India, finds a modern identity emerging out of a dialogue of western and Indigenous ideas and practices.

The challenge of constructing novel national identities is also a key characteristic of settler nationalism. Setter societies are faced with the peculiar challenge of distinguishing themselves from a metropole that shares a similar culture, while also not being able to lay claim to an authentic culture rooted in a particular territory 'from time immemorial'. In this context, Bhabha's notion of 'hybridity' has again been put to good effect (e.g. McDonald, 2013; Proudfoot and Roche, 2005). As Christopher McDonald puts it, 'the concept of hybridity includes not just Bhabha's "third space" between European and "Native", but also the cultural "ambivalence" experienced by Europeans in a colonial setting' (2013: 174). To overcome this ambivalence, settler nationalists in Mexico, for example, sought to construct a 'mestizo' national identity, which through the mixing of settler and indigenous, can claim rootedness in the territory and also embrace the prestige of European modernity (Doremus, 2001). Others have sought a solution by turning to the future. In the former British settler societies, cultural nationalists proclaim their national communities to be at the vanguard in the construction a new kind of 'rainbow' or 'multicultural' community whose strength is its diversity (Hutchinson, 1994: Chapter 6).

Globalization

An important area of research asks questions about the persistence of cultural nationalism in an era characterized by the increasing globalization of culture and the rise of new forms of cultural expression. For many scholars, globalization undermines nationalism. In the decades following the Second World War, the view that American cultural dominance was leading to the cultural homogenization of the world was widespread. More recently, others, such as Anthony Giddens (1991) have suggested that globalization produces a paradoxical simultaneous movement away from the nation towards large-scale continental identities and much smaller, local identities. Pointing to the proliferation of new imagined worlds that don't readily fit within a national schema, Arjun Appadurai (1990) provides a fascinating analysis suggesting that global flows of 'ethnoscapes', 'mediascapes', 'financescapes' and technoscapes' are leading to new forms of identification in the era of globalization. In all these readings of the impact of globalization, cultural nationalism appears as a throwback to another era, enduring as a quaint anachronism, or as a mere reaction to its inevitable decline, like Katsushika Hokusai's famous woodcut of the Great Wave of Kanagawa crashing down upon the fishing boats below.

Against the arguments that globalization and nationalism are inimical, ethno-symbolists Smith (1995) and Hutchinson (1994: Chapter 5; 2013) have mounted an impressive alternative reading of the impact of globalization. Finding that most analyses of the impact of globalization are too short-sighted, Hutchinson (2005) suggests that the long-range historical perspective associated with 'world history' provides a better approach. For Hutchinson (2005: 160), globalization is not the recent phenomenon associated with global capitalism and new developments in information technology that it is often supposed to be, but rather it is a 'recurring and evolutionary process' whose story begins in central Asia in the 13th century. It is in adopting such a perspective that Hutchinson argues that the causal relationship between globalization, ethnicity and nationalism should be reconsidered, and suggests the possibility that nationalism is actually engendered by globalization. Here we find agreement with Anne-Marie Thiesse (2001: 11), who writes that 'there is nothing more international than the formation of national identities' ('Rien de plus international que la formation des identités nationales' [my translation]).

For his part, Smith (2010: 149) also suggests that the global era could arguably be considered a period of 'internationalising nationalism'. According to Smith, nationalism can be seen to have a 'demonstration effect',

whereby 'wave after wave of nationalisms have engulfed successive regions, engendering new claims and making equivalent demands'. In this view, ongoing developments in information technology, capitalism and politics can only serve to 'amplify the nationalist message'. Turning more specifically to the realm of culture, Smith (2010: 50) suggests that we are now witnessing an increasing role for cultural nationalism. For if the criteria for entry into the global community of national states were initially political sovereignty and territorial jurisdiction, they now also include a demonstration of 'cultural unity and solidarity, and preferably some degree of cultural "uniqueness"'. To bring these debates out of the world of grand theory towards a more concrete expression of culture, we can see similar lines of argumentation being drawn in the study of film and cinema. As relatively new forms of culture that are highly mobile, television and film are inevitably a key area of concern in debates over the impact of globalization and the future of cultural nationalism. Large-scale Hollywood feature films and American television programmes, for example, are ubiquitous throughout the world, except in those places where there is a concerted effort to prevent their dissemination. In response, in almost all regions there have arisen efforts to produce a 'national cinema', often with the support of the state. Yet does this indicate the ongoing vitality of the nation as a source of inspiration, or is it a last gasp indication of its decline – a lament rather than a celebration?

In a highly cited essay, Andrew Higson (1989) raises doubts about the possibility of a 'national' cinema, observing that the production teams and the audiences of even the seemingly most nationalist of films are often transnational. Yet, the fact that films continue to draw heavily on national narratives and imagery seems to suggest nationalism's ongoing grip on our imaginations. For example, in an analysis of the film Braveheart, Tim Edensor (2002: Chapter 5) shows how a film made in Hollywood, whose largest audience was American, nevertheless had significant impact on Scottish nationalism. Edensor's analysis points to the possibility of an international 'normalization' of national myths and symbols through Hollywood. However, we should also be aware that there is nothing new in this process. Even in 19th-century Europe, Leerssen (2014: 15) suggests that national art had wide appeal among international audiences, 'owing to their reliance on an established, transnational and European-wide repertoire of forms and expression'. Of course, the overwhelming dominance of Hollywood in the case of cinema also suggests the possibility of conflict, as audiences see themselves refracted through American stereotypes. Indeed, in the case of *Braveheart*, which depicts the English in an unsavoury light, Edensor observes that cinemagoers in England largely chose to stay home on this occasion.

Gender

The significance of gender for cultural nationalism has begun to attract increasing attention from scholars. According to Glenda Sluga (1998), the rise of nationalism in Europe coincided with the widespread acceptance of the patriarchal family. As such, nationalism came to be seen as a masculine project. Sluga writes: 'Mazzini, like Michelet and Fichte, drew on the image of the patriarchal family (with the father at its head) as a natural unit to shore up the legitimacy of the fraternal nation state and determine its preference for the male citizen as the active and military patriot' (cited in Smith, 1998: 209).

From the metaphor of the nation as a family flow specific symbolic roles for men and women. Masculinity is associated with the public sphere, and above all with the nation's relations with other nations. Men are thereby given an 'active' status, as the defenders of the national community, periodically called upon to the sacrifice themselves for the 'motherland.' In 19th-century central Europe, George Mosse (1985) shows how men were therefore expected to embody the best of the bourgeois ideals of heterosexual masculinity (see also Parker et al., 1992). As Smith (1998: 208) writes, 'such neo-classic images as David's painting of the Oath of the Horatii (1784), West's The Death of Wolfe (1770) and Fuseli's Oath of the Rutli (1779) focus explicitly on the traditional masculine attributes of energy, force and duty'. Sculptors also took up the cause, depicting the national community as a neoclassical muscular, male body (see Leoussi, 1997).

The nation's private sphere, its ostensibly 'untainted' inner essence, tends to be represented by femininity. Nira Yuval-Davis writes, 'A figure of a woman, often a mother, symbolises in many cultures the spirit of the collectivity, whether it is Mother Russia, Mother Ireland or Mother India' (Yuval-Davis, 1997: 45). In defending the nation, men are therefore by definition defending the women. In this sense, although women have a role as reproducers, they are subordinate to the men. Eley and Suny (1996: 26) observe wryly that 'woman is at least a positive term of the national good, albeit in some disempowering and subordinating sense'. The 'active' role that is assigned to women is above all as reproducers, by giving birth to the next generation and by transferring to it the community's core cultural characteristics and values (Yuval-Davis, 1997: 43).

A woman's body, and how she adorns it, is of particular symbolic importance, given the status that women occupy as the essence and reproducer of the national community. In the confrontation with modernity, women's bodies frequently become the object of a cultural struggle; whether they are enjoined to maintain the link with tradition by wearing ethnic and religious adornments or whether they are exhorted to lead to the nation into modernity by adopting new kinds of fashions. For example, women's fashion has been a key site of struggle in postcolonial India, where nationalists sought to reform the treatment of women in line with western expectations, but also sought to retain authenticity (Chatterjee, 1989). Of course, this dynamic also lies at the heart of struggles over the wearing of

the veil in Turkey and, indeed, throughout much of the Muslim world (Kandiyoti, 1991; Timmerman, 2000).

The symbolic status occupied by women as the 'pure' essence of the nation means that they have also been the target of horrific sexual violence in times of war and crisis. These crimes tend to be represented as an attack on the whole nation, which ultimately ostensibly calls into question its masculinity. Hence, Wendy Bracewell (2000: 563) shows how reports in Serbia of the rape of women by Albanians were linked to 'perceptions of national victimisation and a crisis of masculinity'. Rape can also lead to national anxieties over the potential birth of 'mongrel' children, who bear the 'blood' of the enemy. The rape of French women by German soldiers, for example, triggered a debate over what to do about the potential enfants du barbare, and the threat that they posed (Harris, 1993).

Cultural History
It is true that all the themes I have covered so far in this review could be defined as studies in cultural history. Peter Burke (2008) suggests that the relationship of culture and society has long been integral to cultural history. And as we have seen, this relationship is a core concern of research on cultural nationalism. However, in this section I'm more concerned with the genre of cultural history that primarily addresses developments within culture, rather than its relationship to society. But even with this slightly more circumscribed approach, the number of studies is truly enormous, and it would be performing a disservice to even begin to pretend to summarize the field here. Instead, I will take the opposite approach by discussing the work of one scholar in particular, whose work in cultural history I believe shows particular promise in deepening our understanding of cultural nationalism.

Joep Leerssen (2006a; 2006b; 2014) has recently sought to carve out a unique approach to the study of cultural nationalism. Leerssen enjoins his fellow researchers to move away from a concern with the significance of cultural nationalism in the progression of particular national movements towards uncovering how the ideas and practices of cultural nationalists are shared across transnational networks. As such, Leerssen advocates greater attention to intellectual and artistic developments, whereby new practices and cultural forms emerge and are disseminated among its practitioners in a process of creation and sharing. Leerssen is now spearheading a large-scale research project that seeks to shed light on the dissemination of cultural nationalism through time and space in 19th-century Europe. The preliminary results of this project have been mapped on to the project's interactive website (see http://www.spinnet.eu).

Leerssen's approach to cultural nationalism sheds light on the two sides of cultural nationalism, whereby a concern for authenticity ensures that the content is national, but the sharing of ideas and practices among a transnational body of practitioners ensures that the form is international. For example, Leerssen (2006b) details how Sir Walter Scott's approach to the historical novel, as exemplified by Ivanhoe, was adapted by authors working in other social settings, to become an important mechanism in the construction of national myths and symbols throughout 19th-century Europe. Thus, the historical novel as a cultural form becomes associated with several different national movements, but the content of each novel is unique to that particular movement. Leerssen's approach also holds much promise in shedding light on the dynamics of cultural nationalism from a transnational perspective, as new modes of nationalist expression sweep across the globe, whether it is, for example, a renewed focus on blood and belonging or the celebration of hybridity. Such a research direction might take a leaf from the quantitative approach to literature associated with Franco Moretti (2007). Rather than focus on the particularities of the literary canon, Moretti charts the rise and fall of whole genres. The combination of Moretti and Leerssen could surely add to our understanding of the rise and fall of various forms of cultural nationalism.

CONCLUSION
Recent research has done much to refine of our understanding of the concept and character of cultural nationalism, uncovering a practice that is distinct from political nationalism and which is now a recurring phenomenon throughout the modern world. The significance of cultural nationalism is in the construction and dissemination of the ideas, myths and symbols of national communities. Not only does this cultural repertoire help to construct a sense of shared subjectivity, but it also provides the symbolic content which political nationalists draw upon in their struggles for political and territorial autonomy. In this short conclusion, I return to several lines of research that I believe show particular promise. Several of the most promising lines of research ask processual questions related to cultural nationalism's contestation, dissemination and recurrence. Research on the transnational interactions of cultural producers is also a highly innovative area of research.

We have seen that John Hutchinson (2005) has been critical in moving the study of cultural nationalism towards processual questions. His view of cultural nationalism as a field of contestation in particular helps to ensure that its study remains at the vanguard of the study of culture, in which other fields have long foregrounded the role of contestation. What is needed now is for scholars of cultural nationalism to reach across to developments in these other fields. From example, the increasing use of a dramaturgical metaphor in the study of cultural politics could do much to uncover the process related to why certain visions of the nation become established over others. For example, in a recent special issue of *Nations and Nationalism* several colleagues explored the ways in which Jeffrey Alexander's 'strong program' in cultural sociology, which has recently undergone a 'performative turn', might be used in the study

of cultural nationalism (Woods and Debs, 2013).

Yoshino's (1992) study of cultural nationalism in Japan was a major intervention in the field for focusing on the process of how the ideas, symbols and practices of intellectuals and artists are disseminated among the intelligentsia. There is much work that remains to be done in this area. In particular, there needs to be more research on how cultural nationalism is received by ordinary members of the national community, not only the intelligentsia. How do the ideas and symbols of our national communities enter into our everyday lives, to become, in Michael Billig's (1995) terms, a part of our 'banal' social ecology, in our homes, places of work and leisure, and in our behaviours and hopes and dreams? Here a fascinating recent book by Kristin Surak (2013) points in a promising direction. Surak's study draws on research on 'everyday nationalism' to uncover the role of the tea ceremony in constructing 'ideal' Japanese citizens. Surak shows how teachers of the popular practice are involved in continually reiterating a particular vision of the national community. Gender plays an especially important role in the ceremony, as students learn how to perform ideals of Japanese masculinity and femininity.

In addition to uncovering how cultural nationalism enters our collective consciousness to become a part of our everyday ideas and practices, there is scope for uncovering how and when it returns to the fore as a reflexive struggle among artists and intellectuals. In Hutchinson's (2006) terms, how does cultural nationalism move from 'hot' to 'banal', and back again? Here again, work in the area of performance studies might be useful. In particular, the revival of Victor Turner's (1986) dramaturgical model of the process of symbolic conflicts could be of particular use here. Turner's model seeks to uncover the phases related to how a cultural struggle is triggered, how it is transformed into a full blown societal contest, and how it is concluded. The model is especially useful for shedding light on why these kinds of struggles tend to align with familiar axes of tension within a particular group, even if those axes have been long-submerged. This could lead to important insights in the study of cultural nationalism, where its historicity is a key point of debate among scholars.

Perhaps the most innovative area of research on cultural nationalism focuses on the creation, dissemination and transformation of culture among its producers. Joep Leerssen, who I discussed in depth, is a key scholar pushing this agenda. Leerssen reminds scholars that cultural nationalists are not merely agents of nationalism, but they are also agents of culture, whose ideas and practices reflect developments within their respective disciplines. This element of cultural nationalism has for too long been ignored. While Leerssen shows how the construction of the culture of nations was a European-wide phenomenon involving the sharing of ideas and practices, it would be fascinating to connect this processes outside of Europe. Focusing more explicitly on processes related to developments within culture should also greatly add to debates on nationalism's future. If we are to take cultural nationalism seriously, then it should be in the field of culture where we look for clues as to its future.

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