

TO STUDY ABOUT THE CULTURAL NATIONALISM IN INDIA

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ABSTRACT

Cultural nationalism is a form of nationalism in which the nation is defined by a shared culture and language rather than shared ancestry or ethnicity. Cultural nationalism is typically a moderate viewpoint within a larger spectrum of nationalist ideology, rather than a separate movement. Thus, "culture nationalism" could refer to moderate viewpoints in Flemish or Hindu nationalisms, but ethnic nationalism and national mysticism are also part of these movements. The nation's membership is neither wholly voluntary (one cannot acquire a culture overnight) nor hereditary (children of members may be considered foreigners if they grew up in another culture). As a result, if a person is from one nation but their child grew up in another, their child is considered to be from the nationality of the culture they grew up in and must learn their parent's culture in order to be a member of that parent's nationality (even if that parent's child is a citizen of that nation). As a result, unlike civic nationalism, cultural nationalism is not achieved by citizenship.

KEY WORDS: Nationalism, sovereignty, cultural nationalism, colonised globe, language.

INTRODUCTION

Nationalism is tied to the concept of sovereignty, and as a result, it must be linked to the principle of self-determination. John Stuart Mill believed in the nineteenth century that nationalist movements were based on ethnicity, language, and culture. The aspiration for statehood was founded on these principles. While this was true for most nationalist organisations, Hurst Hanum of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy observed that throughout this period, groups utilised the concept of self-determination to divide rather than unite land [2]. The Ottoman Empire's disintegration might be used as an example.

The colonised globe witnessed a rise in nationalistic feelings during the pinnacle of colonialism in the mid-19th century, with an emphasis on the idea of a common language, religion, ethnicity, and so on. In a multi-national, pluralist setting, nationalism operates on different principles than the western concept of nationalism, which tries to establish a uni-nation, uni-culture dictate (for the purpose of this paper, the term pluralist and multi-nationalist will be used interchangeably). Through the multiple nationalistic revolutions that led to the decolonization of most of Latin America, Africa, and Asia in the last century, nationalism played a dual role. Nationalism was viewed as anti-colonial on a macro level, with the goal of liberating the country from oppressive rule and establishing a sovereign state, while on a more local level, nationalism was viewed as a form of cultural consciousness aimed at protecting different cultural communities within their homeland [3].

Nationalism in third-world countries was and continues to be a reaction to colonialism, and it should be noted that most pluralist nations arose on the Asian, African, and Latin American continents, where colonialism played a significant role in the formation of these states in recent history but failed to take into account the colonies' multi-cultural makeup. While the process of state formation during the process of independence (from the colonial power) ignored and even curtailed the multiculturalist set up to create a single identity, the colonial power played an important role in creating or fostering identities to ensure control by using the policy of divide and rule. The colonisers established provincial boundaries that hardly corresponded to community cultural boundaries. This structure resulted in a cultural-territorial conflict, which finally led to one subnationality creating a pan-national identity and conquering the others, as will be explored in the following paragraphs.

NATIONALISM AS A CONCEPT

The study of nationalism is vital for understanding today's world politics, but first one must grasp the concept of a nation. The Peace of Westphalia, signed in 1648, established the concept of a nation. It's important to remember that political boundaries were being redrawn all over Europe prior to the Treaty. When Protestantism was legally recognised as a separate religion from Catholicism after the treaty, the concept of sovereignty was introduced [4]. In most cases, a "nation" is defined as "a group of people organised around the notion of self-determination" [5]. With this definition in mind, nationalism can be defined as either political or emotional attachment to one's homeland or a programme of

national independence [6]. As a result, a nation or the concept of a nation must exist before a national identity can be established.

To better understand ality, consider Anderson's concept of a nation as a "imagined political community" [7]. As a result, if a nation is viewed as something imaginative, the ingredients that are required for it to exist can be deemed myths. A nation is developed on the basis of a strong formed identity, even if a community does not share a common language, religion, or race. Members of even the smallest nations will not know everyone, but they will be conscious of their picture of the complete communion, as Anderson put it.

Max Weber, an anthropologist, talks about ethnic groups that are created on the basis of shared ancestry. He claims that there is a sense of belonging to a specific nation that is based on communal life [8]. It is crucial to explore Michael Hechter's theory of nationalism in order to connect the concept of community life to the concepts of state creation and nationalism. According to him, nationalism is a collection of political acts aimed at establishing culturally "distinctive collectivity striving to self-governance" [9] political limits of the nation. It is critical to distinguish between civic and ethnic bonds of nations when analysing nationalism. The most fundamental difference between Western and Eastern European countries, according to Stephan Shulman, is that the former formed as civic nations while the latter developed as ethnic nations [10]. While ethnic nations can be defined by the extension of the kinship concept to the imagined community of the country, the former can be defined by the inhabitants of a sovereign area sharing common political beliefs and loyalties [11]. To elucidate, Hans Kohn, a well-known Czech scholar, maintained in his book that nationalism in the West, particularly in countries such as France and England, was largely political. He emphasised how enlightenment concepts of liberty and equality fostered these ideas of nation and nationalism. In the western world, nationalism fought dynastic control and linked citizenship with belonging to the country. As a result, in this model, the state frequently comes before the nation's formation and development [12].

In the Eastern European and colonial contexts, on the other hand, when these countries were comparatively underdeveloped, nationalism arose with little or no cultural and racial barriers. (Take, for example, the Ottoman Empire.) Kohn claims that nationalism had to "redraw political boundaries in accordance with anthropological needs" [12]. With this phrase in mind, one may argue that nations in the East were founded on the concept of volk

(people) rather than citizenship. This idea can be reinforced in the Indian context with the idea of constructing a "Akhand Bharat," which literally translates to "Undivided India." This idea revolved around defeating the British in order to reunite the ancient Indian civilisation. In today's world, numerous right-wing organisations, including parts of the ruling Bhartiya Janata Party (Indian People's Party), are ardent supporters of this concept, which promotes the unity of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Bhutan, Nepal, and Sri Lanka. After briefly discussing the concepts of nation and nationalism, it is important to realise that nationalism can present itself in a variety of ways. With the use of two case studies, this essay will examine cultural nationalism in India. Before moving on, it's crucial to understand the concept of sub-nationalism, which will be explained in the following section.

THE SUB-NATIONALIST NATION

It is necessary to discuss the concept of sub-nationality before moving on to a more detailed discussion. The main difference, according to Prerna Singh, is that the dimension of the desire for political control of a territorial homeland must manifest itself in the desire for sovereign statehood in the case of nationalism, whereas in the case of sub nationalism, it could imply an aspiration for an independent country or the pursuit of greater autonomy within the existing politico-legal framework. Keeping the preceding discussion in mind, our experiences with the recent rise in self-determination politics reveal that the concept of nationalism is vastly different in the post-colonial world, where nationalistic sentiment is invoked (today and in the past) to preserve a more specific 'sub-national identity' [14] within the framework of a larger 'national identity' [15]. 'Cultural nationalism,' according to my understanding, is a type of nationalism that acts to demand provincial autonomy and statehood.

This study will attempt to examine the historical trajectory of India's cultural nationalist manifestations. The first half of the study addresses post-colonial India's language nationalism and secessionist movements. The second half aims to examine globalisation and the development of a pan-Indian identity. The essay will conclude by examining how religious identification is used to create a particular Indian identity defined by a 'culture definition' of its people, as well as the current repercussions. Citizens of a multi-national country must frequently differentiate between their pan-national and individualistic identities. People under such situations, according to Edward Shills, hang on to both civil-

political and primal relationships at the same time [16]. When this structure of multiple relationships is disrupted, it causes a socio-political and cultural struggle, as well as a sense of oppression among its residents, as the singular national identity is questioned and criticised.

WHAT IS CULTURAL NATIONALISM

The current prevalent perception is that nationalism, which can be an idea or a full-fledged movement, is inextricably tied to the concept of sovereignty. In this light, nationalism is nothing more than a means of achieving self-determination with the goal of establishing an independent sovereign state. The demand for a common language, culture, and identity among the people arose only when colonialism had achieved its pinnacle in the late nineteenth century [17]. Since then, there has been a significant rise in nationalistic sentiment around the world.

The characteristics of collective character and mind are also a significant part of nationalism, according to psychologists and anthropologists. Margaret Mead, a renowned anthropologist, was researching the 'national character' of Americans and English when she came to the conclusion that cultural values have a crucial influence in the integration of people belonging to a specific nation [18]. As a result, one may argue that each country employs distinct cultural strategies. "Cultural theories embrace the position that a nation is produced through cultural continuity, and so the issue of national identity is almost inseparable from the issue of cultural identity of a people," according to Jelena Petkovic [19]. This indicates that a cultural national identity manifests itself as a commitment to one's own culture. As a result, as the concept of individual awareness has grown, as has the development and enhancement of communication channels, human civilisation has become more aware of the disparities that exist between people. Once upon a time, one could argue that while culture brings people together, it also has the power to divide them.

This is why a proper definition of any nation's cultural politics is necessary. In the context of current international challenges, this might contribute to a sense of urgency about preserving a community's cultural identities. People's cultural and social implications may result if this is not done. With this in mind, the issue of cultural nationalism must be addressed. As stated in the introduction, nationalism displays itself in pluralistic nation states in numerous ways. People in these countries use nationalism to seek provincial

autonomy, which they believe is necessary for the preservation of their local values within the nation's meta-identity. This specific form of nationalism can be dubbed cultural nationalism based on the above talks about the storey of nationalism.

It's worth noting that the majority of pluralist countries are found on the African, Asian, and Latin American continents. Colonialism had a significant impact on their history. The European colonialists established a sense of misunderstanding between two groups by using the divide and rule strategy. Despite living side by side for millennia before invasion, Hindus and Muslims in India became increasingly polarised during imperialism. This resulted in a continual sense of abandonment in both groups. Nationalism was considered as anti-colonial on a macro or pan-India scale, with the dual goals of removing repressive colonisers and establishing a sovereign republic. On the other hand, one could conclude that nationalism was a sort of cultural consciousness focused at protecting distinct cultural communities in their country at a more provincial level [20].

LINGUISTIC NATIONALISM IN INDIA AND THE 1956 ACT STATES REORGANIZATION

Following independence, India was confronted with the tough challenge of integrating the princely nations that surrounded it. After the accession process was completed, India's political map now included various multilingual presidencies such as Bombay, Punjab, and the United Provinces, among others. It's worth noting that the British intended India to be divided into autonomous provinces. This was inherited after independence, and as a result, cultural nationalism aiming at forming provincial groups within the Indian union grew in popularity.

A parliamentary form of democracy was implemented when the Indian Republic was created in 1950, and a new constitution was drafted for the country. By naming fourteen regional languages as official languages of the republic, the constitution legitimised the country's pluralistic nature (Eight Schedule of the Constitution). Later, the number was raised to twenty-two [21]. The call for a separate province for Telugu speakers was the first instance of cultural nationalism in independent India. While the movement began during the colonial period, it grew in popularity as the Telugu community became dissatisfied with the Tamils' economic and political dominance in the Madras region. The establishment of the Andhra state in 1953 [22] was the culmination of this battle. Many

additional sub-national aspirations in the country arose as a result of the foundation of this new state. The federal government was forced to rebuild India's political map based on linguistic homogeneity as a result of the demand. Finally, in 1956, the parliament passed the States Re-organisation Act, which divided states based on language. B.R. Ambedkar, India's first law minister and widely regarded as the father of the Indian Constitution, expressed his thoughts on the measure when it was being debated. He writes that democracy would be stabilised, administration would be simplified, and a sense of "fellow feeling" among the people would be developed in his assessment of the benefits of such an organisation. "A linguistic state will help alleviate cultural tensions among communities by providing equal chance to all [23]," Ambedkar says.

HINDUTVAANDGLOBALISATION

Multicultural societies inspire nationalism in numerous ways in today's society. Any such nation-state will have a community that is larger than the other ethnic groups that make up the minority. State institutions, whether intentionally or unintentionally, enacted populist measures, causing minority communities to feel dissatisfied. As a result, cultural tensions arise.

Minorities, on the other hand, are protected by law in most liberal democratic systems, and the state must consider them when creating federal policy. The establishment of strict immigration rules is a typical outcome of this tension. Globalisation has aided the rise of Hindi Cultural Nationalism, which is promoted by right-wing nationalists in India. Hindu nationalism, according to Appadurai, is a middle-class, high-caste cultural homogenization endeavour [29]. The goal is to create a Hindu political entity that is unified and homogeneous. Hindu nationalists believe that in a modern democratic state, the majority community's word should take precedence over all others. To further on this, colonial theorists such as Savarkar and members of right-wing organisations such as the RSS7 argue that Hinduism is a religion of tolerance that permits minority groups to thrive and thus is an intrinsic element of Indian national culture [30]. Indeed, India's right-wing political party, the BJP, alludes to the country's "unique cultural and social variety" in its election agenda, which it feels is vital to weave into a broader fabric through thousands of years of common life [31].

Hindu majoritarianism is based on two essential assumptions, according to Gurpreet Mahajan [32].

1. They are guided by the concept that nation-states can only be formed successfully if people share a common cultural identity.
2. Hinduism is a way of life as much as a religion.

As a result, by secularising Hinduism, nationalists assert that it is the shared identity of the entire population, regardless of religious affiliation. Not surprisingly, India's integration into global production and consumption networks coincided with the rise of a radical strain of Hindu nationalism. The historic Babri Masjid was demolished, erasing a key emblem of India's cultural diversity. This diversity, according to Hindu nationalists, is a major impediment to India's development as a strong nation in the modern world. Most people today associate modernity with ideals of power, economic prosperity, and, not to mention, "complete and unmistakable cultural and national identities" [33].

Hindu nationalism can be traced back to revivalist activities that took place during the colonial period. To name a few, The Arya Samaj and The Brahmo Samaj made a concerted effort to redefine Hinduism as a religious tradition in order to fight the rising number of backward-class conversions to Christianity.

The concept of Hindutva, which was diametrically opposed to the Indian National Congress' secular ideals, was at the heart of the Hindu Nationalist movement's aim. After Veer Savarkar's book, *Who is a Hindu?*, was released, the term acquired prominence. Every person born in India and who believes India to be his fatherland (Pitrubhumi) and holy land (Patrubhumi), according to Savarkar, is a Hindu. Christians and Muslims, on the other hand, were regarded aliens by Savarkar because their holy country was abroad. As a result of this strategy, minorities have become increasingly hostile, as evidenced by the rise in violence against Christians and Muslims. These attacks also reveal the existence of upper-caste hegemony.

Despite the BJP's best efforts to soften its hardline Hindutva ideology, some factions inside the party continue to promote the Hinduism that Savarkar previously advocated. As previously said, the most renowned and notorious example would be the 1992 mosque destruction, which was led by a senior party leader. The mosque's destruction fueled other

attacks against Muslims across the country, particularly in Mumbai. The Shiv Sena, a BJP ally at the time, methodically organised and executed mob attacks against Muslims individuals and businesses in the country's financial centre. With the horrific anti-Muslim riots in Gujarat in 2002, this kind of nationalism grew even more.

In India, economic liberalisation resulted in extreme wealth and poverty coexisting. This probably contributed to the escalation of communal tensions by reinforcing the religious gap. Despite the fact that Hindus make up the vast majority of India's population, the country also has one of the world's largest Muslim populations.

Muslims are viewed as alien invaders in Hindu Nationalism discourse, despite the fact that historically, the vast majority of Muslims are converts from lower-caste Hindu backgrounds. Minority communities remain underrepresented in both the political and social sectors, despite five decades of state-sponsored secularism. Only 22 Muslims were elected to the lower house in the 2014 National Parliamentary Elections, for example (India Today, 2014). In fact, in terms of illiteracy, unemployment, and poverty, they form a sizable portion of the population. Although it is true that inequitable wealth has always been a source of concern in India, the situation did not improve as expected after the country's economic liberalisation. Although the increase in the country's GDP reflected the creation of jobs, particularly in the IT sector, it did not prove to be sufficient in terms of bringing the populace out of poverty. The fact that only a small portion of the Indian population contributed to the entire revenue proves this. According to NDTV profit (2013), a famous business channel, just 3% of the country's population (about 36 million) pays taxes. As a result, dissatisfaction among the general public began to rise. Hindutva ideology tapped into these feelings in order to promote India's unification of culture.

Traditional nationalistic feelings have shifted as a result of globalisation. The increase in mobility has resulted in a rise in migration rates. There are numerous reasons to relocate. Globalisation has produced an unequal world in terms of resources, and the most common motive for migrating today is to seek better economic prospects in a country that is more developed than one's own. As a result of the dramatic surge in migration rates following globalisation, xenophobic sentiments have risen. The local populace is unable to acclimatise to and accommodate the massive influx of migrants into their area. Today's civilization, according to Gerard Delanty, is a "age of anxiety" [28]. People of various cultures and races are becoming increasingly fearful in this age merely because they are

unfamiliar with or unable to understand them. This generation of nationalist thinkers is concerned about the erosion of their culture due to the influence of other civilizations. This idea appears to be supported by Samuel Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations."

CONCLUSION

To sum up, nationalistic impulses, particularly in pluralist cultures like India, are a result of economic disparities among the populace. Cultural or ethnolinguistic identity is merely a front for demanding improved economic and political representation. Because the majority upper class Tamils were supposedly oppressing the 'Non-Brahmin Tamils,' the Tamil separatist movement began. After the gap between rich and poor widened after 1991, and the entire world witnessed an outburst of violence against specific groups, right-wing communities began to seek a distinct identity rather than a multicultural one.

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