

INTRODUCTION

I

This dissertation seeks to explore the notions of nationalism as they emerged and transformed from the primordial to the modern times and how it is viewed in the postmodern times by the women writers of the Indian diaspora. Nationalism can be seen as a dynamic ongoing process in its various manifestations. The theories and subsequent types of nationalism too kept changing with times. During the primordial times, the primitive men lived in tribes, in conglomerations, with a sense of internationalism and solidarity.

The primitive men lived in groups called tribes which were relatively small and homogeneous with a lot of unity. Each tribe had its distinctive culture, language, dialect, religious beliefs, laws, ceremonies and social and political organization. Each member of the tribe was indoctrinated with extreme loyalty towards the tribe and therefore each tribe worked and warred as a unit. Hayes calls primitive tribalism ‘a small-scale nationalism’. The nationalist feeling is not peculiar to the modern nation-state and according to Hayes “The member of a primitive tribe usually combines with deep devotion to his own “nation” a curious interest in, and even admiration of, other tribes, other “nations”, so that with his “nationalism” he joins perhaps paradoxically, a regard for foreigners which may be termed “internationalism”” (2). There was a concerted effort for peace and progress not only of one’s own ‘nation’ but also for other tribes. Inventions and discoveries by a tribe of a particular region soon spread to the numerous other tribes over wider areas thus providing common cultural practices.

However, the advent of modern age gave rise to the modern nation state. With the rise of Protestantism, at the dawn of the modern age, the traditional internationalism of civilized Europe was destroyed. From the roubles of the Empire and the Church arose the modern state system of Europe. As compared to the primitive tribes the new modern states are ‘much larger and much looser’. “They were more in the nature of

agglomerations of peoples with diverse languages and dialects and with divergent traditions and institutions. . . They were referred to . . . as “nations” or “national states”, and popular loyalty to their sovereigns has sometimes been described as “nationalism” (4). These “nations”, however, cannot be mistaken to be the nations in the primitive tribal sense as their nationalism had a different foundation from the primitive tribes.

With the change in the character of nation and nationalism a new type of internationalism also came into existence. Internationalism in the sixteenth century came to mean ‘a fixed formal relationship’. Early in the Seventeenth century Hugo Grotius gave the principles of the new ‘internationalism’ which gave rise to a peculiar international law in the modern times. However, it was only in the eighteenth century, Jeremy Bentham who actually invented the terms ‘international law’ and ‘internationalism’. The principles governing them existed in the earlier centuries but the terms were invented later. It was only during the modern times that patriotism fused with national consciousness to give rise to genuine nationalism.

The Eighteenth century was revolutionary and critical as it had both constructive and destructive impulses. Two concepts of the constructive impulse are important as Hayes points out, “One was the stressing of the idea that man is a social animal not only within a relatively small group but also in respect of his whole kind and species, that all men are brothers, and that the welfare of each is or should be the responsibility of all” (9), and the second concept was nationalism. Most of the Eighteenth century critics were not only nationalists but also humanitarians. These nationalists were especially interested not only in humanity at large but in special “primitive” manifestations of it. They were convinced that nationalities were the ‘fundamental units of human society’ which served as agencies to carry out essential reforms and to promote human progress. The new nationalism was varied in character. Some of them were cultural without political implications while some, which grew rapidly in proportion, were political. This new nationalism with political implications was revolutionary, according to Hayes, which recognized the right of national self-

determination and the 'right of individuals to determine the sovereign state to which they would belong and the form of government under which they would live' (10).

The new philosophy of nationalism emerged suddenly in the Eighteenth century. It emerged in the midst of new intellectual developments and dynastic and colonial wars in the century. Enlightenment as the 'common goal of all human effort' was born in this century. Enlightenment gave prominence to science over theology. It exalted reason, which could be utilized to discover natural law and make human life better. The most important concept of enlightenment was that it included a 'tender regard for the natural rights of the individual and a predilection for the social blessings of an enlightened *humanitarianism*' (Hayes 14). Enlightenment touched on every aspect of the society. Every aspect was tested on the anvil of reason. Changes and reforms were made in social, religious and political arenas according to the diktat of enlightenment. "A new individualism, based on natural law and natural rights, was to be established. The individual was to be free to do anything and everything which did not directly impair the like freedom of his fellows; he should be free to speak, to write, to publish, to worship, to attend meetings, and to join associations" (Hayes 16).

The first systematic doctrines of nationalism were expounded in this milieu. They were based on natural law, infused with the spirit of enlightenment, evolved by pure reason and thus strictly humanitarian. They were considered to be inevitable and desirable for human progress. "They were urged, in truth, with motives so obviously humanitarian – with so kindly an eye to the well being of the whole human race, with so touching a regard for the rights of other nationalities, and with so resentful an attitude toward jingoism and intolerance – that they may justly be described as variant specimens of a single humanitarian nationalism" (Hayes 17). Humanitarian nationalism was the earliest formal kind of nationalism which arose and flourished in the eighteenth century. An Englishman Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke; a Frenchman, Jean Jacques Rousseau; and a German, Johann Gottfried von Herder were the three prominent philosophers who advocated Humanitarian nationalism in their nationalist discourses.

Of the three philosophers, Herder, the German, was more interested in culture. He essayed numerous roles as a preacher, educator, scientist, poet, teacher, and essayist. His writings, which spanned four decades, depict his 'devotion to the laws and rights of nature', his faith in the progress of humanity and above all his deep affection for humanity. He had an eye of a good Eighteenth century critic that wandered far in time and space and saw nationality in all places and all times, not only in Europe but also in other continents, not only in contemporary modern times but also in the middle and primitive ages, as Hayes points out:

Specifically according to Herder, an aggregate of human beings is first differentiated from another by peculiarities of geography and climate; then it develops distinctive historical traditions – an appropriate language, literature, education, manners, and customs; thereby it becomes a full-fledged nationality possessed of a “folk-character”, a kind of “national soul”, and a truly national culture. Thenceforth, individuals are marked by the “character” of their nationality, and so abiding is it that it remains with them for several generations after they have removed from one country to another” (30).

Herder advocated labouring for the full realization of the ‘national character’ which was prized, natural and reasonable. He insisted on applying the scientific spirit of his age to be applied to the comparative study of nationality, “. . . he implored intellectuals to utilize the results of such scientific study to re-establish in their pristine beauty and grandeur the several national languages, literatures, religions, customs, costumes, and all other precious attributes of cultural nationalism” (Hayes 31). Herder had a worldview and his philosophy was intended to be applicable universally. His preaching and strivings were for humanity.

He dwelt upon and amplified his picture of the dignity of its own heritage, reverencing its past, labouring with informed ability toward the future consummation of the promise of the past, respecting the similar-dissimilar activities of other peoples, reaching out toward the

object of a fulfilled humanity – the common end toward which each nationality came struggling up in its own way (Hayes 32).

Herder denounced imperialism as a criminal effort of a nation to subjugate any nation and interfere in its development and progress. He considered it as a manifestation of ‘irrational despotism’ to demean or destroy the culture of the subject nation.

Nationalism, whether clear or implied in the teachings of Bolingbroke and Rousseau was primarily political; while the earlier advocated the aristocratic form, the later favoured the democratic. The nationalism set forth by Herder in his teachings and writings were completely cultural; where he insisted that the national culture – its language, literature, history and traditions should be prized by each nation as it would strengthen the national character. For each of the philosophers of the Eighteenth century nationalism and humanitarianism were compatible to each other.

Moreover, the humanitarian impulses of eighteenth – century nationalists led them to believe most staunchly that individuals of one nationality should have a high regard for the interests and sentiments of individuals of other nationalities, and that the supreme purpose of international diplomacy as well as of nationalism was the assurance of orderly, reasonable, pacific progress to the whole world. (Hayes 11)

As the eighteenth century came to an end, new thoughts and ideas came into vogue and gave rise to new types of nationalism. The democratic nationalism of the previous period became “Jacobin” while the aristocratic became “Traditional” nationalism in the wake of these new ideas and thoughts. The nationalism which was neither democratic nor aristocratic became “Liberal”.

Jacobin nationalism derives its name from a Parisian monastery of the same name. The Jacobin club was formed by a group who propounded the philosophy underlying this type of nationalism. Jacobinism was ascendant in France. It was based on the democratic nationalism of Rousseau and followers with the aim of safeguarding and

propagating equality, liberty and fraternity, which had been asserted under the humanitarian auspices during the French Revolution. The Jacobins professed to admire the “common people” and believe in “popular sovereignty” and “natural law”. And in tandem with this they accepted as “natural” individual liberty, social equality and national fraternity. Each of them was a democrat, egalitarian and nationalist who in their own estimation believed that they were Rousseau-like humanitarians. The Jacobins introduced a number of new policies supplementary to Rousseau’s Humanitarianism. Rousseau stressed on liberty and invoked patriotism as its servant; while the Jacobins, though started with Rousseau’s ideal, ended by ‘making national patriotism the master of liberty.’

The fall of Jacobin nationalism began due to suspicions and intolerance which led to internal dissent. It was hard-hitting and worked hard to destroy any faction which was not loyal to France in general and particularly to the France of Jacobin dreams, which was indivisible, democratic and republican, egalitarian and secular. In order to attain its ends, Jacobin nationalism relied on force and militarism. As a result, it ended up by bringing to the nations of the world, not peace that the humanitarians proposed but ‘a sword’. The Jacobin nationalism was also fanatically religious so much so that “Into the pure reason of the “Enlightenment” it infused the thrilling emotion of a novel and romantic religious experience” (Hayes 54). It was characterized by the missionary zeal, which the earlier humanitarians hardly displayed. The “nation in arms” was one of the most important concepts of significance in Jacobin nationalist propaganda. As a result of this, the armies of the French republic were infused with Jacobin nationalism which made them missionaries, both at home and abroad. At home they would suppress any insurrection and dissent and abroad, they caused the kings and aristocrats to tremble with fear. For years these armies swept everything before them. This led to the evolution of Jacobin militarism which became associated with imperialism and led to the rise of military dictators, Napoleon Bonaparte was one of them. The Jacobin club was closed down with the fall and execution of Robespierre in August 1794.

During the eighteenth century not every thoughtful person was sympathetic with the dominant intellectual tendencies of the 'Enlightenment'. Even before the French Revolution took place there were some voices heard and pens employed criticizing the 'rationalism' of the age and the depreciating faith in natural law and rights, and the perfectibility of mankind. With the beginning of French Revolution this criticism became caustic. The false philosophy of enlightenment was held responsible for the Revolution and the horrors that followed the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. They advocated the return to the thought and institutions of earlier times as the only recourse for the happiness of mankind. These "reactionaries" also declaimed the Jacobins, who in their pursuit of natural law violated the fundamental historic rights and trampled on the higher supernatural law, which were responsible for cementing the human society solidly (Hayes 84). According to the reactionaries, it was the Jacobins who had behaved most unreasonably in the name of reason and had revealed the depravity of man in an attempt to demonstrate perfectibility of man. Napoleon Bonaparte was the fruit of the growth of Jacobinism.

The 'reactionaries' considered the aristocrats as the best people. Traditional nationalism, like Jacobin nationalism claimed to be humanitarian, but their clothing was not reason or revolution but history and tradition. The traditionalists made a significant place in their system for aristocracy and a far more significant place for tradition. The exponents of this type of nationalism were Edmund Burke, the Vicomte de Bonald, and Friedrich von Schlegel. Traditionalism had numerous disciples, all eminent gentlemen who feared and detested the French Revolution and almost everything Jacobinism stood for viz. liberty and equality, individualism, popular sovereignty, etc. The Jacobin and Traditional nationalisms had real doctrinal differences. Jacobin nationalism was based on national patriotism on natural rights, whereas traditional based it on historic rights. Jacobin nationalism was democratic and revolutionary, which stressed on the absolute sovereignty of the national state and strove for developing about it a paramount popular religion of nationalism. In contradiction, Traditional nationalism was evolutionary and not reactionary which considered sovereignty as plural and sought to reconcile loyalty to the national state while continuing loyalty to traditional Christianity along with preaching national patriotism.

The traditionalists like Burke, Bonald and Schlegel, denigrated the inhumanity, intolerance and cruelty, atrocities, the savage guillotine that the Jacobinists set in motion and the bloody wars which it provoked. The Traditionalists insisted on looking upon Christendom as a unit and wanted some sort of international federation or coalition or league of states or a confederacy to be formed under the Pope. They did not repudiate imperialism but stressed on its moral responsibilities rather than its financial profits. They insisted that it was the moral responsibility of the imperial nations to regard themselves as the trustees of civilization and seek to foster native national culture instead of suppressing them. According to the Traditionalists, the Aristocrats should lead the advanced nations and the advanced nations should in turn be patrons to the backward nations, in short, ‘everywhere and in all relationships, the governing principle should be that of *noblesse oblige*’ (Hayes 112).

The Traditional nationalism however proved to be as violent and bellicose as Jacobin nationalism. The battle of Waterloo was the climax to the bloody tragedy which went for twenty-three years on the European stage between the Jacobinists and Traditionalists. Eventually, as Jacobinism became a French tradition, a mild form of it was incorporated in the rising Liberal nationalism which thereby overwhelmed the older Traditionalism.

The rise of Liberal nationalism in the nineteenth century history of not only France but of Great Britain and other European countries was noteworthy. The intellectuals in England and France perceived in its tenets ‘the promise of a happy escape from the “excesses” of Jacobinism and from “the reaction” of Traditionalism’ (Hayes 116). Traditional nationalism exerted a considerable influence on the development of Liberal nationalism. From 1815 onwards the predominant type of nationalism was Liberal.

Liberal nationalism originated in the eighteenth century England in the mind of Jeremy Bentham, a grave prodigy and a great reformer. Bentham was also the founder of the philosophy of utilitarianism. He was not only a philosopher but a reformer and first of the liberal nationalists. He criticized governments and laws, and social behaviours which did not promote 'the greatest good of the greatest number and demand their reformation' (Hayes 122). He admired the American constitution and spent many years drafting constitutions not only for England but for the benefit of the entire world. Bentham promoted a government which was useful and promoted the 'greatest good of the greatest number', which could be achieved by assuring security, the protection of property, and the guarantee of equality of individual opportunity for happiness. He also rejected the doctrine of natural rights of the Jacobins. According to him, rights were formed by laws, and laws were established by governments. Bentham preferred limiting the scope and functions of government rather than extending them. Bentham introduced the *laissez-faire* economy, which had a few important implications like, - minimum laws should be enacted by the state, such as are generally applicable to the defence of public order, private property, and individual equality, thus giving wide freedom to its citizens. The state should accord economic liberty, religious liberty, educational liberty and individual freedom. He advocated the pursuit of a pacifist policy by the state. Bentham's philosophy of utilitarianism was the base of the policy of liberalism.

Bentham coined the word 'international' in 1789 in his *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* and his *Principles of International Law*. By international he meant 'a relationship between national states and peoples which should supplant cosmopolitanism and yet mitigate nationalism'. For him the new internationalist should be a good nationalist, who does to the other nations what s/he would have them to do to their nation. He was against imperialism and preferred to help find happiness through the establishment of nation states of their own on liberal policies. He suggested means to prevent wars which included, - "the use of reason, the establishment of free-trade, the perfecting of international law, the confederation of nations for mutual defence, international arbitration, and limitation of armaments, thus laying the foundation for new internationalism grounded in Liberal nationalism" (Hayes 130).

Liberal nationalism had become an intellectual movement throughout western and central Europe by 1815. It was chiefly evolutionary and tended to ignore historic and natural rights. It focused on the absolute sovereignty of the national state, however also stressing on individual liberties, - political, religious and economic. Under Liberal nationalism the national states were made responsible for the establishment and maintenance of international peace. It looked forward to redraw the political map of the world, where each nation would have an independent state of its own. This was to involve the dissolution of imperial domains into respective constituent national elements and along with it to unify the disjointed parts of a nationality into a new commonwealth. This also included that the citizens of each nation state must be given personal liberties and economic liberties. However, after 1815 Liberal nationalism was influenced and partially transformed by Traditional nationalism. Its liberalism gradually waned and later it had to vie with a newer and most drastic type of nationalism, - “Integral” nationalism, to which Liberal nationalism has certainly contributed in its evolution though quite unwittingly.

Liberal nationalism which arose in the Nineteenth century through the fusion of the teachings of Jeremy Bentham with the Jacobin’s democratic dogma and with the historical tendency of romanticism did not perish with the First World War. It aroused the “oppressed” nations of Africa and Asia. According to Hayes it still looks forward to a world of independent nation states optimistically, which would be democratic and liberal and would co-operate in a universal league of nations.

In the Twentieth century a new type of nationalism took birth which came to be known as ‘Integral Nationalism’. Charles Maurras was the rigid doctrinaire of Integral nationalism and defined it as “the exclusive pursuit of national policies, the absolute maintenance of national integrity and the steady increase of national power – for a nation declines when it loses military might” (Hayes 165). However, Maurras also points out that it has nothing to do with the colonized/oppressed nations of Asia and Africa, but is applicable to the contemporary nations of Europe and America. He

further states that Integral nationalism is hostile to internationalism preached by the humanitarians and liberals. Integral nationalism is not a means to humanity or a stepping stone to a new world order; rather it is an end in itself. It puts national interests above the individual and humanity. It is jingoistic, distrusts other nations, refuses to co-operate with other nations and relies on physical force. It is militaristic and therefore tends to be imperialist. As a result of this, a league of nations or any sense of peace and security is threatened. Even in domestic affairs it is highly restrictive and tyrannical. It commands the citizens to conform to a common standard of manners and morals and shows unswaying enthusiasm for it. In national interest it would subordinate all personal liberties for its own purpose and if the common people complained it would take strict repressive steps. Maurras went on to define a 'true nationalist' as one who 'places his country above everything'; and therefore conceives, treats and resolves questions and problems in relation to the national interest (Hayes 204). A cardinal principle of the new Integral nationalism, which distinguishes it sharply from other types of nationalism, is its reliance on brute force. Apart from Charles Maurras, Hippolyte Adolphe Taine, Auguste Comte and Maurice Barres also contributed to its growth.

Three factors led to the conversion of Liberalism, which was so popular during the middle of the nineteenth century, into Integral nationalism, which became widespread and menacing later. The first factor was the militarist, engendered by the wars undertaken by the liberalists to free and unite oppressed/colonized nationalities, which contradicted with the pacifism of the Liberals. The feeling of superiority engendered by success in these wars became the second factor for this transformation. The third factor that led to the transformation from Liberal to Integral nationalism was "the accrual operation of certain propagandist instruments which Jacobin and the nationalists had devised and employed within unified national states" (Hayes 225).

According to Maurras, Mussolini and a number of other Europeans and Americans, Integral nationalism involves 'a policy of national selfishness and aggrandizement, a "sacred egoism" (Hayes 230). Through the machinery of public education, compulsory military service and insistence on not surrendering these ideas

in later life, the citizens were instilled with political and social ideas appropriate for the new nationalism. This could be achieved easily through state supervision on the press, encouragement for cooperating patriotic societies, controlling appointments in some of the main professions, especially teaching profession and awarding leaders of favourable public opinion. Such a policy, which according to Hayes is now largely followed, is complete antithesis of Liberalism and encourages imperialism for its own economic benefits.

Nationalist doctrines became one of the mental exercises in the Eighteenth century. Numerous economic factors also gave rise to the modern theories of nationalism. The advent of Industrial revolution was a major one which quickened its hold on masses of mankind. Industrial revolution gave rise to inventions of various labour-saving machinery, speedier means of transport and advanced communication networks world-wide. With these developments there was a hope for the realization of eighteenth century humanitarian ideals. It was believed that Industrial revolution was fundamentally anti-nationalist and that its economic and material forces can bring peoples into vital interdependence and thereby ‘supplant nationalism with internationalism and cosmopolitanism’ (Hayes 234). The scope of production and consumption, sources of raw materials and markets for manufactured commodities have become world-wide. The demand and supply of labour is international and instances of emigration and immigration proceed on a scale unprecedented in human history. According to Hayes, just as with the advent of Industrial revolution, ‘local self-sufficiency gave way to nationalism’, similarly with the advent of Industrial revolution even national self-sufficiency and nationalism must decline quickly and be submerged in internationalism.

It is known that with the Industrial revolution there has been rapid growth of a kind of economic internationalism – a huge expansion of trade in persons, ideas, goods across national political frontiers. However, it is also noticeable that along with economic internationalism there has been ‘a parallel diffusion and intensification of nationalism’ (Hayes 236). As a result, the more trade and commerce has expanded between the nations, the more it has led to the intensification of various sorts of

nationalisms in these nations. The rise of these various types of nationalism recently, has given rise to the most intolerant sort, - Integral nationalism. It is a paradoxical situation that with increase in economic internationalism, political nationalism grew stronger and virulent. When industrial revolution began, nationalism was becoming a significant intellectual movement, more significant than internationalism. If only the entire world could be industrialized simultaneously and uniformly, 'national differences might not have been emphasized', laments Hayes (Hayes 238). However, as is known that no two countries were at a given time at the same stage of industrialization. Each nation sought to assure its own industrial development according to the measure it had or obtained a national government. According to the new industrial system, economic production is primarily national and only secondarily international. The home countries and its colonies become the chief markets for the sale of commodities manufactured by an industrialized nation.

The industrial revolution, moreover, rendered certain novel agencies to popular propaganda. All these made no mean contribution to contemporary strength and ardour of Integral nationalism. Industrial revolution helped raise funds to establish and maintain free universal schooling. It took away all the able-bodied young men from productive employment and put them in army for two or three years, feeding, clothing and housing them and providing them with transport, arms and hospitals. The media and the huge quantities of journals would not have come into existence without industrial revolution. It would have been impossible for the propagandist society to flood a huge country with appeals both written and oral. Industrial revolution made feasible the large-scale employment of schools, journals, societies for international and broadly humanitarian purposes by the technological advance affected by it. However, on the flip-side it has also rendered possible to employ the same agencies for nationalist purposes. Thus, economic development seems to have become a readymade tool for nationalist development rather than reverse, complains Hayes.

The rise of Industrialism saw the rise of new economic nationalism. Major economic changes took place during the middle of the 19th century. Under its impact liberalism and nationalism underwent great transformation. British classical

liberalism, as pointed out by Snyder, declined as industrialization spread to other nations. “Adam Smith’s free economy was no longer able to satisfy the needs of an expanding commerce. Nations competing for world markets encouraged a neo-mercantilism, calling for high tariffs to protect national industries, for subsidization of exports, for bounties to encourage local production, and for accent on a favourable balance of trade. Revived in an era of change in human behaviour to irrationalism, violence, and aggression, this trend was to have serious consequences early in the next century (35-36). Earlier, liberalism and nationalism were in partnership, but later they came in conflict. Earlier liberalism advocated that an increase in the wealth of one nation meant advantage for all nations, profiting all peoples. Increased world trade led to peace as it meant the interdependence of the nations on one another. However this changed. The nationalist ideology took on the quality of domination through force. Domination began to be considered as essential to maintaining the strength and prestige of the nation and economic activity was its vehicle. “Nationalists accepted the neo-mercantilist doctrine that one nation could grow wealthy only at the expense of another; there was a set amount of trade available, and what one nation appropriated of that commerce was lost to others. They rejected the liberal idea that trade and industry could prosper only in the presence of elementary morality. They were in favour of excluding morality as a necessary condition of economic prosperity”. This led to an atmosphere of hatred and animosity and paved way for imperialism. And by the end of the nineteenth century the advanced countries of west had divided the earth amongst themselves. As a result, Snyder points out, “This kind of economic nationalism, dedicated to domination, monopoly, and exploitation, became a force for war” (36). The thirst for power and wealth led to colonization. Discrimination and subjugation led to anti-colonial struggles as a result of which the idea of nationalism was viewed as anti-colonial struggle.

Towards the close of the Nineteenth century, the ‘progressive’ nations were in a far better position than they were earlier, due to the improved means of warfare and communication placed at their disposal as a result of industrial revolution. The advocates of nationalist imperialism did not restrict their arguments to only the economic domain. They talked about the necessity and inevitability of the process as ‘manifest destiny’. They also talked about the solemn duty of the civilized nation to

‘clean up’ the ‘backward’ countries, also described as ‘the white man’s burden’. The new imperialism, along with other aspects of economic nationalism tended to promote the feelings of superiority among the imperialist nations, and scorn for the ‘backward’ peoples. They were boastful and felt a lot of pride in their own forceful expansion of their dominion and about their own strength and size. This attitude was accompanied by bitter rivalries amongst the Great Powers and thus promoted wars or threats of war of even greater magnitude between them. The world wars were a result of this nationalist imperialism, to conquer and administer distant ‘backward’ areas. The prime object of imperial nationalism as defined by Charles Maurras was – ‘the steady increase of national power – for a nation declines when it loses military might’. And the new imperialism contributed palpably to this object. Thus, each nation state that possessed colonies employed military might ‘to acquire, rule and defend them’ and the successful employment of military might for these purposes, had come to be regarded as the mark of increase in a nation’s power and therefore praiseworthy by the nationalist citizen; “The more imperialist a nation becomes or feels, the more it commits itself to integral nationalism” (Hayes 287). In the future, with the nations of Asia and Africa, economic nationalism is likely to prove a powerful aid to nationalism, as with those of Europe and America today, predicted Hayes.

Transnationalism is an outcome of industrial revolution. Transnationalism can be referred to as the increase in trans-border relations, exchanges, interactions and practices between people and institutions of different nation states. Nationalism, which is the cement of the nation-state, and the nation-state are undergoing changes in this new era of advanced technology and world-wide inter-communication. Also on a positive note there is a rise in internationalism due to the increased interdependence of the countries for trade and commerce. Talking about nationalism as an outdated paradigm, Snyder quotes Lewis Mumford, who proclaimed for the future, in a hopeful note that:

To reach human stature, at the present stage of development, each of us must be ready, as opportunity offers, to assimilate the contributions of other cultures. Those who belong exclusively to a single nation without any touch from the world beyond are not yet ‘full men’. “Archaic man,

civilized man, axial man, mechanized man, achieved only a partial development of human potentialities; and though much of their work is still viable and useful as a basis for man's future development, no more quarrying of stones from their now-dilapidated structures will provide material for building the fabric of world culture. (269)

Transnationalism or 'multinational network of business and industrial enterprises' are fast overtaking nationalism. According to Snyder, the advocates of major changes suggest that, "Government throughout the world, are losing their traditional influence over the transnational flow of people, money and ideas. At the same time, great corporations, already quasi-governmental, have stepped in to allocate resources and privileges across the old national boundaries. Nationalism, they are certain, is being undermined by the new transnationalism" (269).

Though transnationalism is creating a new interdependence world-wide based on economic expansion; law of probability acts equally on its effectiveness and destructiveness. It may ring in peace and justice or may lead to increased economic conflict on a global scale. However, there is no denying that nationalism still continues to be the 'psychological binding force of contemporary peoples' (Snyder 271). Nationalism, which was earlier a dominant European phenomenon, became global. Similarly, rather than weakening, nationalism has become a driving force in accelerating the efforts of new and developing nations to catch up with the older and more industrialized countries. The negative effect of this persistent nationalism is also the rise of chauvinism and jingoism.

II

This dissertation focuses on Nationalism which arose as a result of the anti-colonial struggles. Nationalism was the force that brought together the people of a nation and inspired them to fight against the imperial rule. The feeling of nationalism and brotherhood was existent in India even before nationalism as a term came into existence. Nationalism is a protean and highly contested term. Though the nationalist discourse is a Western concept, it has as many narratives as there are nations in the

world. Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner are considered to be two of the foremost nationalist theorists. The definitions and theories of nationalism by these two theorists give an insight into the beginnings and growth of nationalism in the West.

Benedict Anderson defined it as, “an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (6). Gellner suggested two definitions; “Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating; and nations maketh man; nations are the artefacts of men’s convictions and loyalties and solidarities. A mere category of persons (say, occupants of a given territory, or speakers of a given language for example) become a nation if and when the members of the category firmly recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership of it. It is their recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation, and not the other shared attributes, whatever they might be, which separates that category from non-members” (7).

According to Benedict Anderson one of the defining features of nation is the standardization of *one unitary language* understood by all the people constituting it. There may be regional variations of the language used by the people, yet they learn a standard language to communicate freely with others. However, Anderson does recognize the problem of the concept of a ‘standard language’ in the countries with a history of colonialism. In addition to the standard language, Anderson points out two forms of writing, namely the realist novel and the newspapers which exemplify certain specific features in the imagination of the nation. Anderson was of the opinion that “these forms provided the technical means for “re-presenting” the *kind* of imagined community that is the nation” (25). Anderson points out to the assumptions of *time* and *space* which is common in these genres and also gets duplicated in the ways nations are imagined. Nations, like the realist novels, tend to gather together a large variety of people into one collective body. However, there is very little scope of one person ever knowing or meeting his or her fellow nationals. Similarly, in the realist novels too all the multitudes of characters rarely meet together yet are united

by *time* and *space*. In the realist novel diverse characters carry out various activities simultaneously unaware of each other's existence. Thus, it can be said that the diverse activities of the characters take place according to the same temporal scheme of the steady, onward movement to calendrical time characterized by the ticking of the second hand on a clock.

A similar simultaneity of time and space is seen in the form of the daily newspaper, which provides news of diverse events occurring roughly at the same time. These diverse events are further linked to a place of occurrence, which is assumed to be common to the readers, an illustration of this is the division of contents in a newspaper into, - 'national news' and 'foreign affairs'. Anderson contends that the *act of reading* a newspaper helps generate in the reader a sense of national community.

Hence, it can be deduced that nations are narrated like novels and newspapers, and thus the individuals come to consider themselves belonging to "a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history. An American will never meet, or even know the names of more than a handful of his fellow-Americans. He has no idea what they are up to at any one time. But he has complete confidence in their steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity" (Anderson 26). Anderson's jargon, 'steady, anonymous, simultaneous', replicate the robust and systematic foundations on which the myth of the nation rests. This myth promises structure, shelter and sequence for the individuals, reinforcing a 'deep, horizontal comradeship' which unites the individuals into one imagined community through the function of specific forms of narrative.

Gellner attempts to define the conditions that bring nations into existence and also tries to examine various components of nationalism. Like Benedict Anderson, Gellner too gives a Eurocentric view of the formation of nations and rise of nationalism. If Anderson attributes the rise of nationalism to the print media; Gellner credits industrialization for the birth of a nation and the feelings of nationalism. Gellner, throughout in his book *Nations and Nationalism*, makes use of real and imaginary

events and circumstances to illustrate the conditions for nation formation and the various components of nationalism. He attempts to define these terms. Gellner focuses mostly on delineating the differences between the agrarian and industrial societies. He is convinced that nations do not develop in agrarian societies and tries to argue for the same. According to his definitions, agrarian societies are based on 'cultural differentiation rather than on homogeneity'. These divisions, according to Gellner, prevent the culture from achieving "the kind of monochrome homogeneity and political pervasiveness and domination for which later, with the coming of the age of nationalism, they later strive" (13).

An industrial society, according to Gellner, has divisions which arise due to the division of labour. Industrialization has given rise to a wider educational system which takes the responsibility of socialization of all persons, minimizing the distinctions that were highly visible in agrarian society and thus fostering the growth of nationalism. The widespread educational system, says Gellner, is the key to allowing nation formation, as it gives the kind of stability to the state so that it might be able to evolve into a nation. This he seems to attribute to the role that reformation played in industrialization and the consequent change in the public thought process, though he does not develop it fully in his book.

Gellner emphasizes again and again the necessity of standardization of education, which plays an important role along with culture and power in the formation of a solid basis of a nation. The nation not only has the power but also the responsibility for "ensure[ing] that this literate and unified culture is indeed being effectively produced, that the educational product is not shoddy and sub-standard" (38), as education and the state are interdependent. Education depends on the state for its maintenance and which in turn requires education for its maintenance.

Gellner further, equates education with high culture. He defines high culture as "that complex of skills which makes a man competent to occupy most of the ordinary positions in a modern society" (89). Though it is understandable that nearly all nations

have a form of culture – their history, traditions, values, customs, etc. but Gellner does not make it clear why ‘nationalism is about entry to, participation in, identification with, a literate high culture’ (95). However, Gellner continues to emphasize on literacy throughout his discussion as the pre-requisite of a nation.

There is certain incompleteness in Gellner’s explanations and discussions; for instance, his differentiation between the two societies – agrarian and industrial. Though the differentiation is helpful, he does not cover the entirety of why agrarian societies cannot produce nations. Another instance of his incomplete argument is why a pre-industrial state is incapable of supporting a widespread educational system in comparison to an industrial state. What is the crucial aspect of industrialism which allows a multitude of things to exist and help in nation formation, this Gellner does not clarify. Although Gellner’s definitions of the necessary aspects of a nation are helpful, they do not seem to be universal. They can at best be applied to the existing European states and Gellner’s own fictitious models like the Ruritarians.

Anti-colonial struggles gave rise to new theories of nationalism. This study focuses on the discourses of nationalism propounded by the prominent Indian nationalist theorists like Sri Aurobindo and Rabindranath Tagore. There are differences in the Western and Indian theories of nationalism. Indian nationalism has always been essentially a Spiritual and a Cultural one. There have been many circumstances that played a major role in differentiating the European and Indian nationalist theories.

Industrialization in India is not the after effect of economic depression after civil wars or internal conflicts as in Europe. The Britishers destroyed the Indian cottage industries for their selfish purposes. They developed various industries for their own profit, in which the common Indian was made to work under inhuman conditions. The Britishers established the railways for faster transport of goods and raw material, and telecommunications.

The British were unwilling to spend money on indigenous Indian education. Educated and liberal Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy encouraged the introduction of English education and western education in India. This enabled intellectuals like Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Ram Mohan Roy, Sri Aurobindo, Rabindranath Tagore, et al to present the angst of the Indian people against British imperialism and also to warn them through their works. The education of the European masses, as described by Anderson and Gellner, was by the nation state for its people in order to create a certain uniformity of culture and language used in the newly created nation. However, for the Indians, English education was imposed, which was accepted by a few to advantage, to create awareness amongst the general public and arouse a sense of nationalism to fight against British imperialism. Hence, the western theories of nationalism do not apply to the Indian situation.

The freedom struggle of India gave rise to a new type of nationalism which was confined to India only, based on its thousands of years of historical heritage and spirituality. The latter day freedom fighters too evolved their theories of nationalist sentiments based on the age-old spiritual teachings. These nationalists include Sri Aurobindo, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. Following the same footing Raja Rao, one of the earliest male writers of the Indian diaspora, wrote his novels celebrating the essence of spirituality in Indian nationalism. Spiritual nationalism is a term brought into significance by Sri Aurobindo in his philosophical writings.

As Benedict Anderson credits the print media for arousing the European Nationalism; in India too, during the freedom struggle, the print media in the form of pamphlets and newspapers in various regional languages, as well as novels like *Anandmath*, *Gora* and *Kanthapura* not only aroused the feeling of nationalism among the common masses but also helped accelerate the freedom movement. The slogan '*Bande Matram*' invigorated the common Indian and brought him/her closer to the soil.

The spread of nationalism in India was also due to industrialization brought about by the British rule as a part of their economic exploitation policy, in the form of railways, telecommunications and various other industries. Gellner too credits urbanization (Industrialization) and education for the rise of nationalism in Europe. The 1835 Act for the spread of English education in India by Macaulay and his contemporaries, which included Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy changed the entire mindset of the common masses. As the common public got educated, it created a set of Indian elite like Sri Aurobindo, Rabindranath Tagore, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, et al who spread their radical thoughts and ideas through the print media. They started mobilizing the common masses for a larger movement through their writings. Unlike Gellner's belief that the elites had an upper hand over the common masses, the Indian elites not only exhorted the common masses to spring into action for the freedom movement; they set example by participating in the movement and by being imprisoned for such acts.

Chapter - 1, titled **The Myth of the Indian Nation** explores the theories of Indian nationalism, expounded by Sri Aurobindo and Rabindranath Tagore. According to Sri Aurobindo, the motherland is the Goddess *Shakti*, who sprung into action to kill demons. She is 'the living unity' of the three hundred million Indians. According to Sri Aurobindo, Indian nationalism is essentially spiritual, but at the same time cultural too. Rabindranath Tagore condemns the western discourse of nationalism, as its sole purpose is to amass wealth at the cost of general humanity. Tagore favoured humanity over nationalism, an ideal very strongly ingrained in the Indian culture, traditions and history.

There are differences in the perceptions of the male and female diasporic writers regarding the idea of the Indian nation and nationalism. This study focuses on how the diasporic women writers look at the Indian nation and nationalism. Though the present study is not a comparative analysis of the differences in perception, Raja Rao's, one of the earliest male writers of Indian diaspora, *Kanthapura* is taken as a case in point to highlight some of the differences. Raja Rao views the Indian nationalism as an essentially spiritual one. *Kanthapura*, written in 1931, portrays the

Gandhian era of the Indian freedom struggle. During those years religion was considered as ‘the nucleus of regeneration’, when the social reformers too, for instance Sri Aurobindo, were profoundly religious men. Raja Rao draws his inspiration from the *Puranas* and mythological legends of India, to reinforce his belief of the Indian nationalism as an essentially spiritual one. Even Bankim Chandra Chatterjee also portrays the nation as Mother India in *Anandamath*, the mother, who is bound in the chains of foreign rule, someone who needed to be protected and defended. His novel *Anandamath* is an explicit example of this.

Contradictory to the male point of view, the women writers of Indian diaspora view the nation as a cultural entity, which is kept alive and continued ‘by the performance of various *narratives, rituals and symbols*’. According to Nira Yuval-Davis, women are burdened as the carriers of culture and traditions to future generations as pointed out in her book *Women-Nation-State*. Davis concentrates more on the negative connotations attributed to women in relation to their contribution to the national collectivity. However, the dissertation prefers to look at this very iconic representation as a strength that not only mobilized the freedom struggle in India but also continues to be a source of inspiration to the present Indian diaspora. The female protagonists of the novels of the diasporic women writers studied here show similar resilience and dignity like Anandamoyi, in Rabindranath Tagore’s novel *Gora*, who symbolizes India. The dissertation is the study of representation of the nation – India, in the works of Bharati Mukherjee, Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni, Jhumpa Lahiri and Kavita Daswani, all well known writers of the Indian diaspora, settled in the United States of America. The type of nationalism upheld by these women writers focus on the culture and traditions of the nation, which can be termed as Cultural nationalism, similar to Anthony D. Smith’s definition of national identity; - “the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the pattern of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage and its cultural elements” (18).

The dissertation focuses on female protagonists, who play their roles as the carriers of culture and traditions, yet do not submit to the stereotypical roles, and strive to create an identity of their own in an alien culture. They assimilate the new culture, but

not at the cost of their cultural values and traditions as Ashcroft points out – “The interweaving of practices will produce new forms even older forms continue to exist” (138). This leads to the creation of a new hybrid world, ‘a third space’ which gives rise to the possibility of a new internationalism, where conflicts of purity, race, religion, region and language cease to exist. The open-endedness in the formation of one’s identities (sometimes even multiple identities), which also allows assimilation of the good from other cultures, enables adaptability and a feeling of brotherhood in an alien land, glorifying the Indian culture that is essentially plural, adaptive and humanitarian. As Homi K. Bhabha points out, - “...the theoretical recognition of the split-space of enunciation may open the way to conceptualizing an *international* culture, based not on the exoticism or multiculturalism of the *diversity* of culture, but of the inscription and articulation of culture’s *hybridity*....It is in this space that we will find those words with which we can speak of Ourselves and Others. And by exploring this hybridity, this ‘Third Space’, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of our selves” (157).

Chapter - 2 entitled **(Re)Writing (Re)Worlding History in the novels of Bharati Mukherjee**, studies two novels by Bharati Mukherjee, *Desirable Daughters* and its sequel *The Tree Bride*. Bharati Mukherjee is one of the pioneers amongst the women writers of the Indian Diaspora. She has a different perspective of India as a homeland. While Raja Rao, a male writer of Indian Diaspora, portrays the Indian freedom struggle in a realistic manner in his novel *Kanthapura*. Bharati Mukherjee uses the postmodern technique of historiographic metafiction to weave the story of the Indian freedom struggle. This chapter focuses on Tara, the protagonist of the novel *Desirable Daughters* and its sequel *The Tree Bride*, an Indian immigrant living in America, narrates the history of the Indian freedom struggle through the story of the Tree Bride, one of her ancestors, who had been a part of the freedom struggle. Certain events in Tara’s life inspire her to write the story of the Tree Bride. As Tara’s past and present unravel, we find she is trying to ‘impose an order’ on her search for her own identity and roots.

For Tara, who had migrated to America with her husband Bishwapriya Chatterjee, hopes of freedom to find her own identity and her dreams are shattered. Tara had heard the legend of the Tree Bride from her grandmother. Her urge to re-write the history of the Tree Bride surfaces after her house is bombed first time. In her pursuit to discover a family scandal, which was successfully suppressed for many years, she embarks on a journey to a completely new world, which was very different from Calcutta, where she was born and brought up and her present home, America. Mishtigunj, which is Tara's native place as well as the Tree Bride's home, is a mysterious place for Tara. Tara's search for her identity and roots lead her to Mishtigunj, where she also unravels history. The Tree Bride, an ancestor of Tara and a martyr, lived all her life in Mishtigunj, where she carried out all her revolutionary activities against the British before she was killed.

Tara's separation from Bish does give her the freedom to live life on her own terms and explore the world, but at heart she respected the cultural values and traditions with which she grew up. Another bomb blast leads to chaos in her life. Tara must unravel the mystery of the Tree Bride's death in order to solve the puzzle of the bomb blasts and their connection to the Tree Bride and her. In the process of re-writing the History of the Tree Bride and her visits to Mishtigunj, Tara is able to impose an order on the chaos her life had become and realise her dream to be a writer.

Chapter – 3 entitled **The Third Space of Autonomous Self-hood in the works of Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni**, studies the two short story collections *Arranged Marriage* and *The Unknown errors of our Lives*, by Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni and her famous novel *The Mistress of Spices*. Banerjee brings to light the changing identities of her female protagonists in her novel and short stories. Immigration has a diverse effect on each one of these female characters, which helps and leads each one of them to forge an identity of their own. Banerjee has a feministic approach and her works portray the discrimination and suffering the female protagonists undergo in the name of culture and traditions. Banerjee's sensitivity arises from her own experiences as a migrant in the United States of America. She became engrossed in the women's issues and founded *Maitri* – “A hotline for South Asian women who are sufferers of

domestic cruelty and abuse. It was her involvement with *Maitri*, that ultimately led her to write *Arranged Marriage* – a work that includes stories about the abuses and bravery of immigrant women. A good number of stories in this collection are based on the lives of Indian immigrants that she has dealt with. Her other works also namely *The Mistress of Spices*, *Sisters of my Heart*, etc. are set in India and America and features Indian-born women sandwiched between old and new world ethics” (<http://www.philica.com/displayarticle.php?articleid=350>)

The female characters of the novel and the short stories came to America after marriage; some came to study with big American dreams in their eyes and some by destiny, like Tilo, the mistress of spices. Their routes of arrival in America are different but they share the common roots. Tilo does not have secure *roots* which fix her in a place or nation or an ethnic group, she continually plots for herself itinerant cultural *routes*, which take her imaginatively as well as physically to many places and brings her in contact with different peoples (McLeod 215). She constructs a new *route* or narrative every time out of her experiences. The protagonists in the novel and the short story collections succeed in finding a way out of their dilemmas and questions of their identity. As Chakravati and Ghanshyam rightly point out in their essay “Shifting Identities: Re-invention of the Self in Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni’s *The Mistress of Spices*”, in reference to Tilo, - “Her own invisible identity as an immigrant; bound by tradition and aspiring for assimilation into the new is a reflection of all the immigrant identities around her. Haroun and Jaggi face the usual dilemma of an immigrant like problems of adjustment, racism and alienation. The women on the other hand walk on the tight rope between their dual roles of being a preserver and carrier of culture, and their emerging new identity in the host culture” (83). Divakaruni’s short story collections – *Arranged Marriage* and *The Unknown Errors of our Lives* portray the problems faced by the immigrant women in a realistic manner, based on her own experiences as an immigrant settled in the United States of America. According to Divakaruni, all the female characters in the short stories are “women of potency and energy who question the value and tradition of the age that has ended.... [They] are women torn between the two worlds. The visualization of the future may not be clear to them but it is accurate....the women protagonists try to strike a balance between the old conventional beliefs and their new life in America”

(http://www.philica.com/display_article.php?article_id=350). Each of the female characters in Divakaruni's novel as well as short stories is able to create an identity of her own, free from the stereotypical cultural and traditional roles. They create a space of their own where they are able to celebrate their new found freedom and self-hood.

Chapter – 4 titled is as **The Poetics of Hyphenated Identities in the works of Jhumpa Lahiri**. According to Lahiri, answering in an interview, the question of identity is 'a difficult one' for both, - those displaced due to immigration as well as those who grow up in 'two worlds simultaneously'. This chapter studies the experiences of first generation migrants in America, those either born or brought up or who migrated to the United States of America for social or economic reasons. Lahiri's short story collections – *The Interpreter of Maladies* and *Unaccustomed Earth*, and the novel *The Namesake* are based on the experiences of her parents and their friends, and her own experiences as a second generation diaspora. Talking about her two short story collections, Lahiri states that in *The Interpreter of Maladies* the characters move to America for more or less the same reason, which was also the reason for which her parents moved to the United States, - for opportunities or a job. For the diaspora 'home' is left behind and they constantly live with a sense of nostalgia for the homeland. This leads to a feeling of alienation amongst the immigrants in the host country. According to Jhumpa Lahiri, the sense of exile and loneliness, and longing for 'home' is more explicit and distressing among the immigrants than their children, as cited by Das (Nigamananda 177).

According to Prasad, "Home is not simply where one lives. It is one's identity national, cultural, and spiritual. Home is security, exile, - the loss of home, is uprooting. The immigrant faces the dilemma of being unable to return home and yet not finding a home in the adopted land, they must hope that they will be able to merge into the culture of the new land" (221). The migrants try to set up a home in the new country, which also disturbs the concept of 'home' as the migrants tend to arrive in new places with a baggage which consists of both, in the physical sense of possessions or belongings, and also the less tangible like cultural beliefs, traditions, customs, behaviours and values. This sense of nostalgia and alienation is

imperceptible for the second generation diaspora, who are born in the United States of America. Lahiri takes her own experience, as a case in point. Talking about the conflicting relation between the first generation immigrants and their America born children, Lahiri explains that her parents were fearful and suspicious of America and the American culture. They feared that the alien culture would have a bad effect on her as she was growing up. They maintained ties with India and preserved the Indian customs and traditions even in America. After living for many years in America, Lahiri's parents were 'at home' now, yet they have issues with the fact that they will always be treated as foreigners in America. As a child Lahiri finds it difficult to relate to their pain and disappointment. As she points out, - "At times I felt that their expectations from me were in direct opposition to the reality of the world we lived in. Things like dating, living on one's own, having close friendships with Americans, listening to American music and eating American food – all of it was a mystery to them . . . As a young child, I felt that the Indian part of me was unacknowledged, and therefore somehow negated, by my American environment, and vice versa. I felt that I led two very separate lives" (Nigamananda 177-78).

Chapter - 5 is entitled **Restaging the Cultural Past/Present in the works of Kavita Daswani**. According to Jameson's argument all third world texts are 'national allegories' (Jameson: 1984). Kavita Daswani, Bharati Mukherjee, Jhumpa Lahiri and Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni, - these women writers of Indian diaspora substantiate Jameson's claim that their novels are national allegories of the Indian nation as seen through the eyes of their female protagonists. Though Aijaz Ahmad is quite right in vehemently opposing the homogenizing nature of Jameson's statement, but the novels and short story collections of these diasporic women writers prove Jameson's statement right to some extent, as their novels and short stories are resonant of a national allegory of the Indian nation. They prove Jameson's claim that "*the story of the private individual destiny is always an allegory of the embattled situation of the public third-world culture and society*" (69).

To conclude, one of the defining principles of cultural identity in the modern world is the national culture into which an individual is born. National identity is not a

thing that the individual is born with, but something ‘formed and transformed within and in relation to *representation*’ and hence – “It follows that a nation is not only a political entity but something which produces meanings – *a system of cultural representation*” (Hall 292). National cultures are not composed of only cultural institutions but also of symbols and representations. These women writers draw heavily on the various cultural aspects and traditions of the Indian nation in the depiction of the struggles their protagonists undergo at home and in the alien culture of America. The protagonists attempt to adapt and assimilate to the host culture but not at the cost of their cultural values. However, there is an attempt, to break free from some of the rigid stereotypical cultural practices and beliefs, which in turn empower them to forge an identity for themselves. This new identity is not a *mimicry* of the host culture, but one that gives them independence to assert their individuality without losing their touch with the home and its cultural values.

What is this identity in question here? In the post-modern period the identity of a subject is dislocated and decentred. This has happened due to the fragmenting of the ‘cultural landscapes of class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race and nationality’ which root us firmly as social individuals (Hall 275). According to Hall the post-modern subject has ‘no fixed, essential or permanent identity’ and thus – “The fully unified, completed, secure and coherent identity is a fantasy. Instead, as the systems of meaning and cultural representation multiply, we are confronted by a bewildering, fleeting and multiplicity of possible identities, any one of which we could identify with – at least temporarily” (277). However, the character of these social practices is undergoing change across the globe, due to globalization. The transformations ushered in by modernity have, according to Hall ‘tore the individual free from its stable moorings in traditions and structures’ (281). There is a ‘celebration of multiplicities’ which enables adaptation of identities from many sources and not only from the pre-colonial past, as Nayar reiterates – “Assaulted by multiple historical, cultural and political forces, the migrant usually appropriates several identities. Diasporic literature explores identities forged in the crucible of multiple cultures, cities, and races rather than just ‘home’ and ‘alien land’” (201).

The nation is narrated in the novels of these diasporic women writers by the repeated performance of the traditions and cultural customs. This feature of Cultural nationalism is resonant of what Bhabha terms as the 'performative' aspect of nationalist discourse. The culture of a nation should be 'continually rehearsed' and 'endlessly performed' in order to "keep secure the sense of 'deep, horizontal comradeship'" (McLeod 118), as Bhabha points out – "The scraps, patches and rags of daily life must be repeatedly turned into the signs of a coherent national culture" (145). However, this performative aspect of culture and traditions does not keep them fossilized in a stereotypical identity, but 'performativity keeps reminding us that the nation and the people are always generating a non-identical excess over and above what we thought they were' (Huddart 109). And forming such 'in-between' identities sets an example for the formation for a hybrid world where conflicts of purity, race, religion, region, class, language, which encourage the spread of Integral Nationalism can be curbed making way for humanitarianism and internationalism.

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