

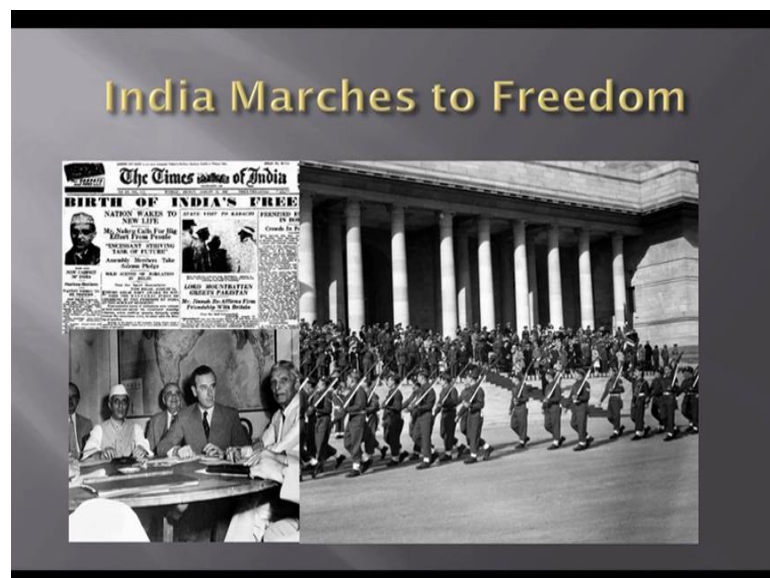
Globalization and Culture
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Lecture – 03
Globalization and Nation

Globalization has been seen as signaling the death of the nation state. People have been talking about the end of the era of the nation state, the demise of the nation state. So, it is time we start looking at what globalization has entailed for the nation state. We did talk about the political aspects of globalization and one of the major impacts of globalization politically has been the future of the nation state. We also saw that the within the new space of post modernity which is the space of boundaries rather than borders and of discontinue spaces the state centric division of space which was seen as natural in the past does not seem to be the norm any more in in view of the reality of frequent, reality or the frequency of the border crossings.

So, let us, explore the question let us try to investigate enquire in to the question what does globalization mean for the nation state and talk about two things before; before going in to what globalization means for the nation state let us begin by defining what the nation state is and then we will proceed to what what has happen to the nation state in the era of globalization.

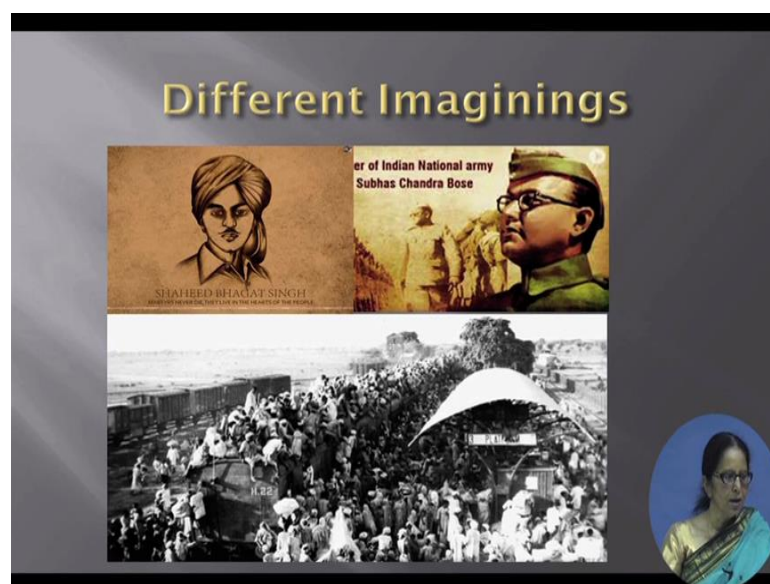
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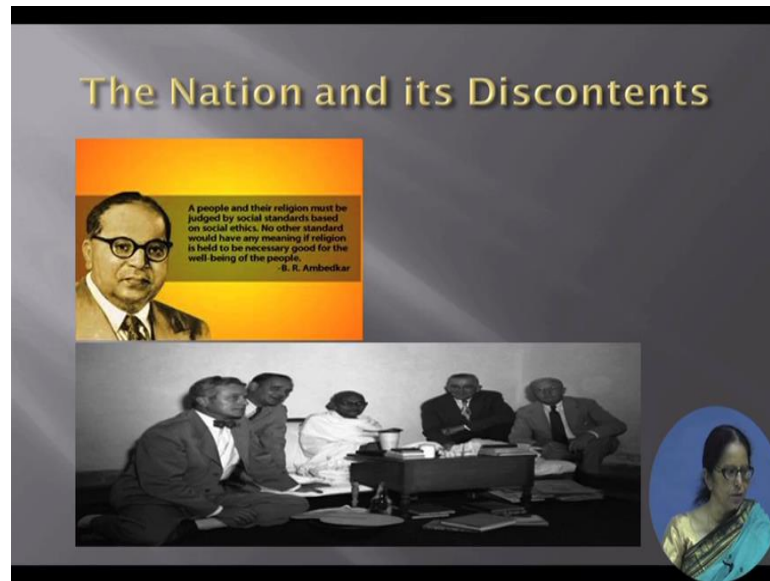
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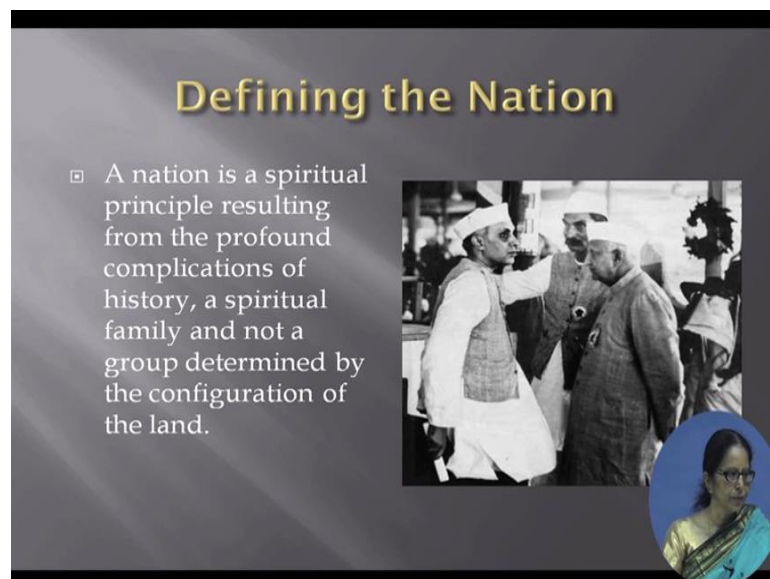


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We look at particularly with the case examples of case study of India we have some quick images of how the nation India nation was imagined and there were different imaginings of the nation and these imaginings of the nation were varied against the master narrative of the nation. And these contents of the nations are now finding the voice in the era of globalization.

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What is a nation? A nation is a spiritual principle resulting from the profound complications of history, a spiritual family and not a group determined by the

configuration of the land.

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Natio and Nation State

- Nation new in history
- *Natio* or “a large body of people united by common descent, history, culture, or language, inhabiting a particular state or territory” derived from *natus* (of) birth.

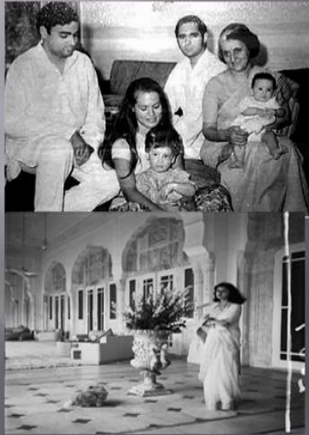


Now, the idea of the nation state, we need to distinguish between the nation state and the nation. Although, we talk to talk about them in the same breath as if they were one and the same; nation state is something new in the history, but the idea of nation is not really new. Because it comes from *Natio*, the idea of is of a large body of people united by common descent history culture language inhabiting a particular state or territory derived from *natus* of birth.

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What is a nation?

- How does the principle of nationality differ from the principle of race or dynasty?




So, although the nation state is new, the nation is not an old is not a new idea. What is a nation? and how does the principle of nationality differ from the principle of race and or dynasty as it was practice in the nations of the past?

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Modern Nation



- A historical result brought about by a series of phenomenon converging in the same direction
- Unity
- Dynasty
- Will
- General Sensibili





Modern nation we would say is a historical result brought about by a series of phenomenon converging in the same direction. It is based on unity, dynasty, will and general sensibility.

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What are the Principles on which a Nation can Exist?

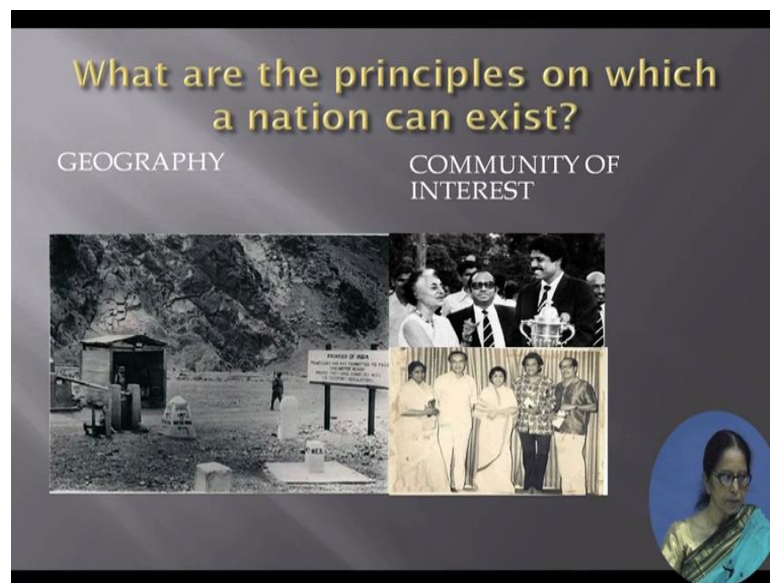
- Primordial Right
- Race
- Language



What are the principles? let us examine the principles along which a nation can exist. So,

the most common the principle along which the nations have been organized in a past is primordial right. If you always lived in a place and you were born there or your ancestors were born there you seem to have a primordial right to a nation. The nations could be based on race, they could be based on language such as the European nationalisms were since they were all linguistic nationalisms and they were based on nation would divided long alliance of language.


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They could be on the basis of geography for instance the territorial boundaries or particular regional location they could be based on communities of interest.

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Defining the Nation



- ❑ A Nation is a soul
- ❑ A spiritual principle
- ❑ Outcome of a long sacrifice and devotion
- ❑ Expression of solidarity
- ❑ Not eternal



So, what we should understand is that nation can be based on any principle. Depend that, the number of or the principles along which the nation can be based can be really infinite, one can base a nation on any principle under the earth. But dif in in order to understand what a nation is we must understand that the nation is a soul, it is a spiritual principle and it is an outcome of a long sacrifice and devotion it entails expression of solidarity, but it is not eternal.

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Two Parts



- ❑ Past memories
- ❑ Actual consent
- ❑ Desire to live together




So, that two parts to the nation to the imagining of the nation; one is the old memories

the past memories and the second is actual consent. What does a nation need to coming to being? First they have to be a common memory and from memory to which the community of the nation can return and the second is the actual consent to be, to form a community the desire to live together.

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Renan

- One great aggregate of men, of sound spirit, and warm heart creates a moral conscience that is a nation



So, Renan defines a nation as one great aggregate of men of sound spirit of and warm heart and creates a moral conscience that is a nation.

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Nation as an Imagined Community

Benedict Anderson

- Imagined Communities

Ernest Gellner

- "nationalisms... invents nations where they do not exist".
- "primarily a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent"

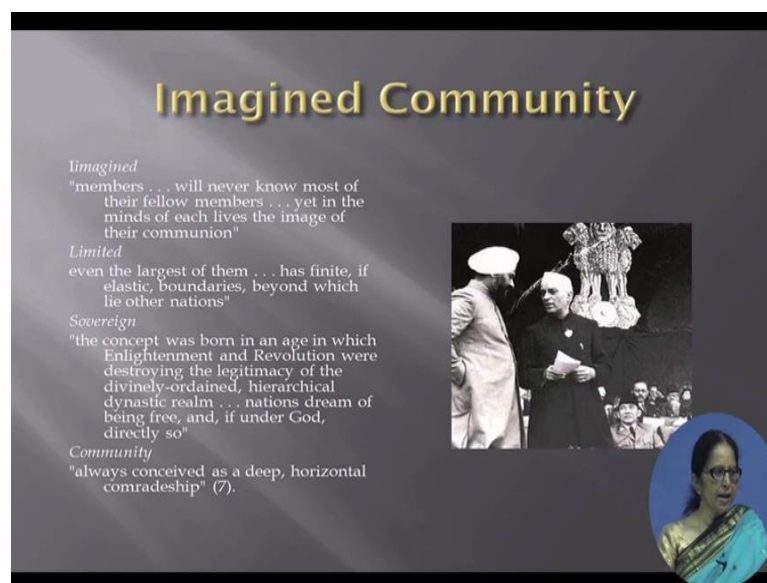


Nation, the most influential idea in the understanding of the nation state is that of

Benedict Anderson in his book *Imagined Communities*. In *Imagined Communities* Benedict Anderson pointed out that any community larger than a face to face village community is essentially imagined, that is what a title signals to that any community is not given organic but it is imagined. And then he proceeds to define the nation. And prior to that we had Ernest Gellner who had also spoke (Refer Time: 7.14) attempted to define that the nation and in his view nationalisms invents nations where they do not exist. Essentially Anderson's is building on Gellnar's idea of nations as imagined nation as myth, nations as nation as invention and something which is imagined which does not exist.

So, primarily it is the principle which holds that the political a nation and the national unit should be congruent and that is what gives birth to the nation state.

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Imagined Community

Imagined
"members . . . will never know most of their fellow members . . . yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion"

Limited
even the largest of them . . . has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations"

Sovereign
"the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm . . . nations dream of being free, and, if under God, directly so"

Community
"always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (7).



So, now this idea that the nation is not organic it is not given, it is not always been there it is not an essence, but it is something which is produced, it is a narrative, it is a myth, it is an invention. This is a mind-boggling discovery in our understanding of the nation. Us many of us believe that nation is always been a nation and the nation state are always been there, everyone must always belong to a nation, we belong to a particular nation. So, those idea's of ours challenge by these new understanding's of the nation no new explanation of the idea of the nation state given by the people like by the theories of the nation like Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson.

Now let us try to understand the key terms in Anderson's definition of the nation. First of all he says the nation is imagining which means as he quote said "members will never know most of their fellow members yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion". So, when we think of ourselves as inhabiting a nation you might not never have met someone who is part of the nation or not likely to meet that person all our lives and yet there is a sense of community. A sense of community which just produced through the public sphere and as Anderson rightly put it, it came into being with the invention of the printing press where a community of people could congregate in the in the space of the newspapers and imagine themselves as a community, community as a group.

The nation according to the Anderson is limited which means even the largest of them has finite if elastic boundaries beyond which lie other nations. So, nation cannot be vague amorphous permeable boundary, in uncertain boundary. It must have a certain limits so it is always finite and it is limited. And finally, the sorry the third aspect of the nation is that sovereign the concept of nation, the concept of nation was born in an age in which enlightenment and revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely ordained hierarchical dynastic realm nation dream of being free under from the god directly. So, so nation is sovereign and finally, the nation is a community, it is always conceived as a deep horizontal comradeship.

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Has the Nation State Become Extinct?

- ▣ Threats from within and without
- ▣ Transnational Formations
- ▣ Micronationalist Movements
- ▣ New Power Structures
- ▣ International Organizations
- ▣ Transnational Corporations

The slide includes a silhouette of the Indian Parliament building on the left and a circular portrait of a woman in a blue sari on the bottom right.

So, these aspects of the nation are very interesting that the nation even though it is a narrative, it is a narrative which is brought in to being through, through imagination it is an imagined community, it is an invented community, it is not given it is produced it is produced by consent and yet it invites such loyalty it sanctified by ties of blood. So, what it needs is a common memory and affirmation of a certain past, a certain holy past around which people the community which defines itself as a nation congregates to produce itself as a new nation state.

Now, having understood the idea of the nation, the idea of the nation itself there is a progression from Gellner to Anderson because in Gellner's idea there is a suggestion that nations are, there is something artificial about the idea of the nation being an invention there is something fabricated; but in Anderson idea in the use of the word imagining instead of inventing makes it more organic kind of imaging and more positive understanding of the invented or the produced aspect of the nation. Now so to summarize what I have said.

So, far I have tried to define the nation and I have tried to show how the nation states or the state centric division of space which we take as natural is not, has not always been there, it is a comparatively recent invention, it is a product of the modern era when the whole world was divided in to a series curved into a series of nation states. And with globalization if you read it together with idea of the space of a nation state as or and of a modernity as discontinuous and the state of and a space of post modernity as continuous (Refer Time: 13.08), we find that the era of the nation state seem to be merely one phase in the history of civilization or the history of the world which seems to be coming to an end in the views of some scholars and in the views of some theorist of globalization. Because it is almost more than quarter of centuries since people have been pretending the death of the nation state and seeing the dodge of the impending demise of the nation state.

And yet the nation state continues to survive it continues to live on. So, let us now examine the question has the nation state become extinct? or does it still have any relevance? So, the idea is that the nation state has the power of the nations nation state has been undermined, severely undermining the era of globalization for two reasons. For the threats to the nation states from without and from within and this threats from without constitute the threats from transnational formations. I am not talking about

transnational corporations alone, but transnational formations which increasingly have a role in the governments of the world as compared to the past and the emergence of macro nationalist movement which threaten the unity of the nation from within. Now the emergence of these new power structure in the global era, the international organization as well as transnational corporations they have severely restricted in sovereignty and reduced, diminished the power of the nation states.

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Transformation of the idea of the Nation state

- Saskia Sassen
- Expansion of the privatization and marketization of the public sector functions in a number of countries has resulted in a global concept of regulation as efficiency
- The ideal of the regulatory state has given way to the competitive state whose new norm is to maximize efficiency

A circular portrait of Saskia Sassen, a woman with glasses wearing a blue and white sari, is located in the bottom right corner of the slide.

But have they really become extinct is the question. In the view of Saskia Sassen, one the nation state has not really ended, but there has been transformation in the idea of the nation state in the sense that expansion of the privatization and marketization of the public-sector functions in a number of countries has resulted in a global concept of regulation as efficiency.

Now, because of this the ideal of the regulatory state has given way to the competitive state whose norm is to maximize efficiency. So, in other words the nation state is not there only the idea of the nation state seems to have been altered through transforming from regulatory state to the competitive state. I have sorry the idea of the nation state has changed in the present era.

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Marginalization of the Nation State

- ▣ Prabhat Patnaik
- ▣ Rise to dominance of financial or rentier interests and the fluidity of finance across national borders
- ▣ Undermined the 'control area' of nation-states and made all agendas of state intervention appear vacuous
- ▣ Integration of the world into a single economic system after globalization has considerably weakened the sovereignty of the nation state


Now, well others feel that the nation state has been largely marginalized in the era of globalization among them we may name Prabhat Patnaik who says that the rise to dominance of financial or rentier interests and the fluidity of finance across national borders which we saw was enabled through the flows of the money across the space of flows in as defined by (Refer Time: 16.42) Castells in Arjun Appadurai's idea of finance scapes and according to the Patnaik, Prabhat Patnaik this the fluidity of finance has undermined, has undermined the control area of nation states and made all agendas of state intervention appear vacuous.

And this has led according to him to the integration of the world into a single economic system after globalization, has considerably weakened the sovereignty of the nation state. So, as I said right at the beginning we cannot really separate the economic from the political or the political from the cultural or the economic from the cultural when we talk about globalization; because each aspect of globalization, the communicational, the political, the economic and the cultural they all seem to be intervene. So, the formation, the globalization of the economy for instance has also had a political impact, very significant political impact in terms of the diminishing power of the nation state.

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Reordering of political hierarchies

- ▣ “Denationalization of statehood” or the transfer of power located at the national territorial level
- ▣ upwards to supra-regional or international bodies or
- ▣ downwards to regional or local states and outwards to autonomous cross national alliances.
- ▣ Process of destatization or the transfer of particular activities to parastatal, nongovernmental, commercial, not-for-profit actors, institutions or regimes.



Now, there has been a reordering of political hierarchies with the emergence of these new powers in the global era. The first is that what he Patnaik, Prabhat Patnaik was denationalization of statehood or the transfer of power located at the national territorial level in two ways. How does this denationalization of statehood takes place? It takes place first because there is a transfer of power upwards to supra-regional or international bodies and on the other hand it is also downwards to regional or local states and outwards to autonomous cross national alliances.

So, we can see in case of India the increasing power of the region in the era of the nation state and not just the increasing power of the region and this power of the region comes from the transnational alliances that regions are able to form a cross nation borders, let us say the consolidation of the Sikh national of the Sikh nationalism which is which is transnational rather than national; which is both regional and transnational; similarly, the idea of the Tamil Eelam, the new idea of trans nation or a new nation which are emerging because of the transfer of power downwards.

The second aspect of this reordering of political hierarchies the process of destatization or the transfer of particular activities to parastatal nongovernmental, commercial, not for profit actors and institutions or regimes.

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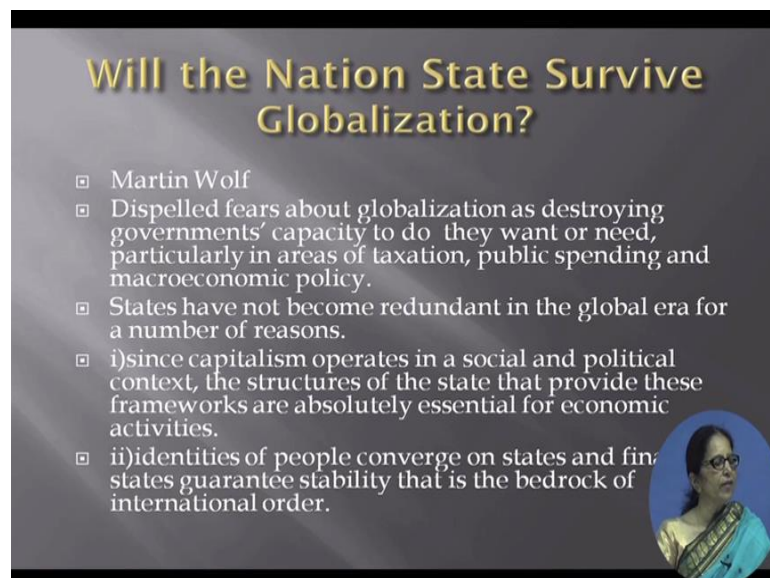
Ellen Wood

- The world today is more than ever a world of nation states
- Global capitalism is nationally organized and irreducibly dependent on national states




So, according to Ellen Wood the world today is more than ever a world of nation states. It is not a nation states do not seem to have just appeared from the world because capital powers is still the idea of the free market global capitalism which is presumed under the notion of noninterference of the state is really made because global capitalism is nationally still nationally organized and irreducibly dependent on national states. So, the nation state is far from dead.

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Will the Nation State Survive Globalization?

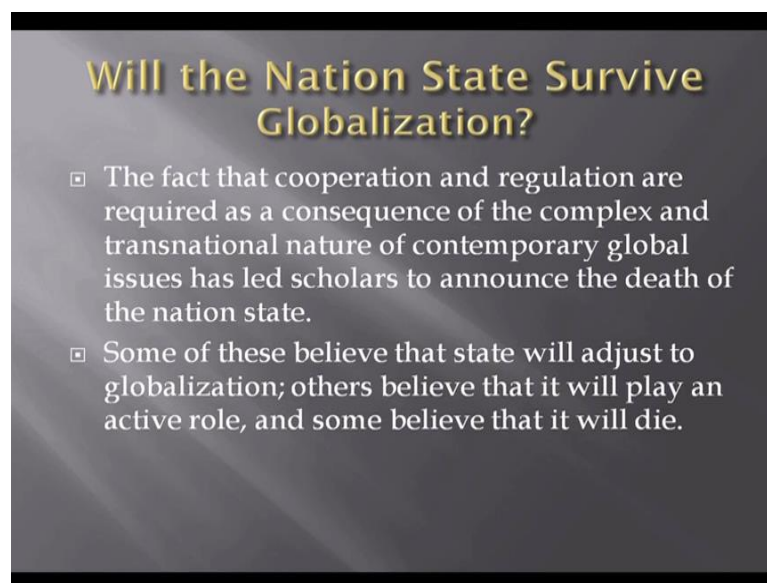
- Martin Wolf
- Dispelled fears about globalization as destroying governments' capacity to do they want or need, particularly in areas of taxation, public spending and macroeconomic policy.
- States have not become redundant in the global era for a number of reasons.
- i) since capitalism operates in a social and political context, the structures of the state that provide these frameworks are absolutely essential for economic activities.
- ii) identities of people converge on states and financial states guarantee stability that is the bedrock of international order.



So, we conclude with posing the final question; will the nation state survive

globalization? And Martin Wolf has the answer. Martin Wolf dispelled fears about globalization as destroying government's capacity to do what they want or need, particularly in areas of taxation, public spending and macroeconomics policy. He says that the state have not really becoming become redundant in the global era for a number of reasons; one is since capitalism operates in a social and political context the structures of the state that provide these frameworks are absolutely essential for economic activities and two identities of people converge on states and finally states guarantee stability that is the bedrock of international order.

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So, we must safely conclude that the fact that cooperation and regulation are required as a consequence of the complex and transnational nature of contemporary global issues has led scholars to announce the death of the nation state. Some of these believe that the state will adjust to globalization while others believe that it will play an active role and some believe that it will die.

Let us look at some concrete examples to enquire what has happened to the nation state. One of the most conspicuous examples about impending death of the nation is the is that is the example of the idea of Khalistan which Arjun Appadurai said that offers new kind of post westphalian formation. It as an example of the micro nationalist movement which which has a history before, which dates back, whose history dates back to the era before independence in the beginning of the twentieth century. But which really, an idea which

really emerged in the diaspora because the renewed Khalistan was made in the diaspora rather than the nation, and it was events in the nation such as the storming of the golden temple operation in the in operation Bluestar and the Anti-Sikh riots after the assassination of the Prime Minister.

The former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi that created, that alienated the Sikhs not only within India, but most of in the diaspora who and this elimination of Sikhs particularly in the diaspora who had no real insight into events at to the to the ground realities were highly influenced by images of torched Sikhs on Sikh websites, since images of torched Sikh circulated on newly form Sikh websites on the internet and these internet images of atrocity against the Sikh along with the virtual communities and the possibilities of communication between Sikhs across the world enabled the formation you know the renewal of this the desire for Khalistan; a desire which dates back to in an year era. But which was consolidated which was mobilized through internet and technologies through new media technologies consolidated in the virtual space and it become a reality.

So, when the demand for Khalistan was renewed it was it was the diaspora which led this movement for the formation of Khalistan. And it also offers an example of a nation without a territory, because it is geography without territory as Appadurai said. Because the reality, it is only an idea and an idea which unites Sikhs across the world. But it does not really, it has not been given a material shape up to now because all those who are talking about Khalistan what exactly will be the boundaries of Khalistan, what areas it would comprise of those ideas are still very airy fairy; this do not seem to have been formalized formulated clearly and yet the idea.

So, this example of a nation of Khalistan seems to point to new communities of of the future. Whether they become a reality or not, but they offer the possibilities of new communities which are regional at the same time they are transnational and they are communities which were which can really bypass national boundaries because the connectedness between Sikhs in Punjab and the Punjabi Sikh diaspora overseas seem to bypass the national boundaries. And the imagination of a Sikh nation which is based not on territory or physically space of specialty, but on every day practices, on certain gurus, on the idea the, on religion, on religious identities, on certain holy places, on certain everyday practices rather than physical space. So, all these point to the new idea of the shape of the nation state, even if we think that it dies might take in the future were it is

disengaged from territory, is disengaged from it is physical specialty and it is just transnational in the sense it is virtual, it may not exist in reality at all and it is transnational that it may be formed across existing national boundaries.

And similarly, we have other example for instance that the idea of Tamil Eelam which brought which was again transnational and regional in the sense that it united Tamils within India and Tamils within Sri Lanka with Tamils across the world. So, the idea of Tamil Eelam and as the idea of Khalistan offers similar ideas of that transnational, the trans nation or the post nation which is which is possibly an idea of the shape that nation might assume it at some future day.

Similar the other aspect of other than macro national is the trans nationalist idea of nation. The nation state is a is best example define by the power of the transnational corporation, the transnational corporation which Barber has memorably named Mac the world formed by the transnational corporation which Barber has memorably named McWorld again shows how the economic clout of the transnational the economic power of the transnational corporation undermines the sovereignty of the nation state and how the transnational corporation does not really see the nation state the world in terms of nation states. But only in terms of localities or sites disregarding the boundaries of nation state except when it abstracts its own movement other than that it seems to look at nation states as mere obstacles in it is worldwide spread.

So, the world created, mean the nation created according to the transnational corporation the McWorld is again another alternative to the nation which undermines the authority or the sovereignty of the nation state due to the increasing power of the transnational corporation economically because of the globalization of the economy.

And we one talk about how the Coco-Cola and company for instance or McDonald and company are not national company, multinational company, but they are a local company with many offices. So, this kind of rhetoric which transnational corporations use to conquer and to conquer new territories, new markets creates a dystopic nation, commodified nation in which people get disengage from the special the specialty of the nation states to see themselves belonging to a particular organization, particular corporation to a new world commodified world created by the transnational corporation rather than the, rather than the political nation state when people say oh they when they

talk about the culture of the Google culture or the Microsoft culture or Yahoo culture; they seem to distance themselves from the material space or the material identities or material realities of the nation spaces or nation states within which they actually live.

So, with this we conclude the section on nation state and how the nation states power has been increasingly diminished by the, by two factors; one through the emergence of transnational organizations not just transnational corporations. Because it these transnational organization which seem to have increasingly increasing power in the governments of the planet. They seem to have (Refer Time: 32.26) powers and the nation states are governed not by any particular transnational corporation, but juridical procedures which masquerade as objective procedures which are really created by transnational corporation to which nation state expected to bow down to (Refer Time: 32.53) and which really govern the economies and the control the sovereign, undermine or diminish the authority of nation states even in their own internal matters.

And secondly, the emergence of the macro nationalist movement which seem to have receive a new fill up with the, through the suppose they have received from transnational of corporation to support they have untrue the, their ability to mobilized themselves globally through new and improved communication technologies makes us rethink the idea of the nation state if not answer the death of the nation state.

Thank you.