

TRANSFORMATION AND IMAGE: FORMATION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY WITHIN THE PROCESSES OF MASS MOBILIZATION

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ABSTRACT

The rising ethnic consciousness in the last quarter of the twentieth century can be seen as a reaction against of the crises of values brought by the processes of modernization and industrialization. A significant aspect of these processes is the mobilization of the masses for the aim of national development as a common and generalized goal without considering cultural differences among local ways of life. Increasing rationalization and disenchantment of the life styles have given way to the reconstruction of the traditional values of life as ethnic identity in the new conditions of life. Nation-state's requirement of a new and homogeneous structure of mind and action for its developmentalist goal and its policies in this direction function for ethno-linguistic communities to feed emphasizing their differences from the others and to reproduce their image of specificity through historical myths and symbols. Indeed, this emphasis and image of specificity are mostly a part of intellectual discourse based on a claim of representing these communities.

Key Words: Ethnicity, Mass Mobilization, Reconstruction of Identity, Ethnic Nationalism, Historical Myths and Symbols, Conflict of Images.

DÖNÜŞÜM VE HAYAL: KİTLESEL SEFERBERLİK SÜREÇLERİNDE ETNİK KİMLİĞİN OLUŞUMU

ÖZET

20. yüzyılın son çeyreğinde yükselen etnik bilinç çağdaşlaşma ve endüstrileşme süreçlerinin yol açtığı değer krizine karşı bir tepki olarak görülebilir. Bu süreçlerin önemli bir yönü yerel yaşam biçimleri arasındaki kültürel farklılıkları gözetmeksizin ortak ve genelleşmiş bir amaç olarak ulusal kalkınma doğrultusunda kitlelerin seferberliğine dayanmasıdır. Yaşam biçimlerinin artan aklileşmesi ve büyübozumu geleneksel yaşam değerlerinin yeni yaşam koşullarında etnik kimlik olarak yeniden inşasına yol açmıştır. Ulus-devletin kalkınmacı amacına hizmet edecek yeni ve türdeş bir zihin yapısına ve eylem biçimine gereksinim duyması ve bu doğrultudaki politikaları, etno-dilsel toplulukların tarihsel mitler ve semboller vasıtasıyla diğerlerinden farklılıklarını vurgulamayı ve özgünlük hayallerini yeniden üretmeyi sağlayıcı bir işlev görmektedir. Bu vurgu ve özgünlük hayali aslında daha çok bu toplulukları temsil iddiasına dayalı entelektüel söylemin bir parçası olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Etniklik, KitleSEL Seferberlik, Kimliğin Yeniden İnşası, Etnik Ulusalçılık, Tarihsel Mitler ve Semboller, Hayallerin Çatışması.

INTRODUCTION

How can we develop a comprehensive view about the increasing relevance of the ethnic assertions within the last decades? What is the importance of claims based on ethnic specificity? How can we relate the rising ethnic consciousness to the global processes of industrialization and modernization? In order to give some answers to these questions, a review of the studies in ethnic issues shows that, especially in the multi-ethnic and multi-lingual societies of South Asia, Africa and Middle East, ethnic

conflicts seem to be connected with the character of relations between state and culture in the process of nation building. The degree of autonomy and legitimacy of the nation-state is dependent on the character of culture. Since nation building reflects the formation of state on the basis of the values of ethnic majority, we see a disintegration of ethnic minorities. Ethnic nationalism of the nation-state is the main reason behind the counter-nationalistic assertions, because it means that state policies are oriented toward the assimilation of minorities into the values of dominant community. This gives rise

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to increasing dissatisfaction among the subject population and politization along ethnic lines. Mobilization of the masses on the basis of ethnicity brings forth the main impediment for national integration and economic development. In the ethnically plural societies state can be seen as creating and maintaining ethnic divisions and conflict. Ethnicalization of state institutions leads it to play a partisan role in the ongoing conflicts. It means diminishing capacity of state in conflict-management, and deterioration of political institutions. The demand of minorities on cultural and language rights is being rejected in the name of development. But since national identity is equated with the norms of majority, nation-state can not achieve an important step in reconstructing a new identity. Subordination of cultural groups can lead them to secure more rights, autonomy and independence. It can be said that repression does not bring a transformation in the ethnic values but in the long run it contributes to the consolidation of ethnic sentiments.

Common historical myths and cultural symbols may strengthen the feeling of communality. But, external threat increases the ethnic sentiments since it is seen as a threat to the security. The share of a common language can be considered as the most important distinguishing element of an ethnic group from the others. If the importance of other cultural elements diminish in a world of global processes it constitutes an adequate base for the appraisal of nationalistic sentiments.

THE RELEVANCE OF ETHNIC PROBLEM

Ethnic conflicts on the basis of ethnic nationalistic assertions are evident mostly in the multi-ethnic societies of the Third World, and in the societies of the former socialist block. The widespread ethnic revival of the last decades indicates that ethnicity is a form of expressing the distinctive aspects of an 'imagined community' from the other segments of a given society. Ethnicism as an ideological reaction to the existing political economy of the nation-states in the multi-ethnic societies requires a reconsideration of the process of industrialization and accompanying change and/or transformation in consciousness. In this sense ethnic assertions can be seen as the outcome of the tensions between techno-economic development processes

and traditional values of life. Therefore, he rise of ethnic assertions is a reflection of a broader conflict between action and consciousness within the massive processes of transformation.

Modernization theories assumed that ethnicity as a traditional feature could be dissolved within the processes of economic development and national integration. Economic and political development as the spread of free market relations and civil rights institutions could transform such structures in the direction of modernization. Likewise dependency theories emphasizing the politics of international capitalism and neo-Marxist theories stressing the impact of class structure have given ethnicity a dependent role (Brown: 1989). Dependency theories were useful to explain economic dependence, political instability and authoritarian rule that prevail in the Third World countries. But the escape dependency while maintaining political stability by such countries as south Korea and Taiwan has led to a concentration on the role of culture and the character of state. Ethnicity is being analyzed in terms of the relation between culture and state (ibid: 4). The increasing significance of nationalistic identity and its consequences for the established order of the nation-state has indicated the weaknesses of not only liberal views but also Marxist ones (Özkırımlı 1999: 101). Ethnic conflicts occur out of the interactions among ethnic groups within the process of profound changes in cultural elements in the society. Members of an ethnic community come to realize that they are in danger of losing their traditional patterns of life. If there does not seem enough opportunity for the maintenance of their lifestyle and ethnic institutions the conflict is mostly expressed in the form of ethnic nationalism, that is both the ideology of state and separatist ideology.

If ethnicity is itself a cause for ethnic conflict how can we determine certain features that constitute it? Ethnic claims are based on the view that there are some particular characteristics of an ethnic group that distinguish it from the others. In this sense ethnic conflict can be seen as related to the conservation of those characteristics. What are the basic constituents of an ethnic identity? Are there certain shared features among the members of a social category that give way to the development of ethnic consciousness? Specific traits of an ethnic group can give rise to ethnic consciousness the

strength or weakness of which can be linked with environmental factors such as state policies and interethnic relations.

The basic features of an ethnic community can be seen as 'ethnic self-name, language, territory, specific features of psychic make-up, culture and every-day life' (Bromley and Kolov 1989: 427). Ethnic conflict is related to the ethnic consciousness that develops when these features are suppressed, threatened or aimed to be assimilated into the larger society. In the multiethnic societies it is the culture and language policies of the state that constitute the main reasons behind ethnic conflicts. Subordination of minorities gives rise to ethnic claims on more rights, autonomy or independence. The explanation of ethnic consciousness on the basis of objective cultural traits does not seem to be adequate for every ethnic group. This is because of the fact that every ethnic group does not develop a strong ethnic consciousness. The influence of ethnicity over its members tends to increase when ethnic affiliation offers emotional security and when the ethnic myths and symbols are widely and easily accessible to the members of ethnic community. In such circumstances ethnic feeling is consolidated by the external threats (Brown: 8). That's why a specification of the condition in which ethnic consciousness is an influential factor to understand ethnic reaction and interethnic conflict is necessary.

Ethnic conflict is based on an ethnic assertion. Historical myths and cultural symbols may provide a group for ethnic self-image. Even in the developed West the importance of ethnicity is not diminished. The case of Mexicanos in the United States indicate that ethnicity provide a world view and a distinctive attitude (Lampe 1992). In the West European societies, ethnic differences are considered as constituting a threat to social stability so that public authorities deal with the formation of ethnic minorities (Entzinger 1987: 7). But ethnicity, in most of the multi-ethnic societies of the Third World, is expressed in the form of ethnic nationalism the study of which requires a different perspective than the study of it in the developed West (Mead-Well 1989). What is the matter for the Third World societies are the nation-building strategies and modernization programs. The relation between culture and state has a specific significance for each one of the

state systems in Western, former socialist block and Third World countries. It can also be argued that the collapse of Soviet system and subsequent developments in the socialist states indicate the artificiality in the incorporation of different ethnic groups into a single nation, as well as the collapse of an ideology aiming to equalize the ethnic differences. The separation of East European states into national states, for instance the split of Czechoslovakia into its Czech and Slovak units, is related with the struggles in order to 'secure a more substantial share in political power, for equal language, or cultural rights' (Dokulil 1992: 77). And also the separation of Pakistan and Bangladesh after the separation of India and Pakistan shows that ethnic differences could not be hold together even in the name of religion, that is supported by the prevailing conflicts in South Asia, Middle East and Africa. It can be argued that each of the socialist, religious and majority nationalistic assertions to hold the ethnic differences together within a single political unite have not been validated in reality, since ethnicism is a stronger ideology than the ideology of the nation-state within the processes of the application of industrialization and modernization programs. However, nation-state is a techno-economic and techno-political structure that state nationalistic and ethnic nationalistic evaluation that attributes it an ideological character is self defeating. Departing from Giddens' view, that one of the main characteristics of modern state is a vast expansion of the capability of state administrations to influence even the most intimate features of daily activity as contrasted with the traditional states (Giddens 1985: 10), we can argue that state's penetration into the ethnic way of life leads to the awakening of the ethnic sentiments. The traditional way of life is disturbed in the name of national integration which is a prerequisite for economic development. In most of the multi-ethnic societies, state ideology is constituted on the basis of the values of ethnic majority. For Clay 'there does not now appear to be any state ideology that protects nations and promotes pluralism. Nations are seen as threats to 'national security'. It is the 'villagisation and resettlement programs' that 'have moved nation people around the landscape like pawns on a chess board'. 'Such programs are often undertaken in the name of progress and development.' It is 'the state-run development' that often makes dependent of the formerly self-sufficient nation

populations that means aiming 'to assimilate nations into their social, economic and political structure, states destroy nation institutions that have provided a social net for those groups in the past.' He insists that programs aimed at controlling nations have been undertaken by many states including USA (Clay 1989: 230-232). The character of state as a majority instrument indicates the handicaps behind economic and political development. Since development can be secured through the mobilization of masses to incorporate them into modern institutions, the rule of the majority makes minorities disintegrated in such a process. Dissatisfaction with state policies prepares the conditions for politization along ethnic lines. So ethnic assertiveness based on historical myths that glorify the ethnic group became a vehicle against state intervention. The sharing of a common language might consolidate the feeling of communality, even if the global means of mass communication and international economic corporations give way to weakening of the other common features.

THE STATE IN MULTI-ETHNIC SOCIETIES

Ethnic plurality of Asian and African societies prevents state from gaining an autonomous status over the ethnic groups. In Europe, after the collapse of imperial state system, 'modern state became a sole and legitimate authority', acquired a political primacy over all other formations within the society. It was 'grafted on the culturally fairly coherent ethno-religious and ethno-linguistic political entities called nations'(Sheth 1989: 379-380). But in the non-Western world, state formation has been dependent on the West and there were not coherent entities but many ethnic groups competing and conflicting. That's why the concept of nation-building has been useful to explain the situation in the Third World. As indicated by Hobsbawm (1993: 199-200), 'although the independence movements in the Third World had, theoretically, accepted Western nationalism as model for themselves, the states they tried to build in practice was diametrically opposed to the ethnically and linguistically homogeneous units that were started to be seen as the standard 'nation-state' in the West'. But, their similarities with the Western nationalism were more than the differences and in both cases nationalism was a way to freedom as well

as its being a unifying factor. For him, separatist ethnic group assertions of the recent decades have devoid of such a positive program and perspective. Although the power of ethno-linguistic sentiments can not be denied, they have nothing to contribute to the solutions of the problems of the last periods of the twentieth century, rather than making them more complex.

In the states with 'mono-ethnic national ideologies' the identity of nation is associated with the values and attributes of dominant cultural group in the society. As Jimeno argued the legitimate bearer of national identity is single nation (Jimeno 1989). The state itself does not promote a new identity but maintains the majority symbolism and ethnic minorities began to be politicized along their ethnic lines. This is contrasted with the objective of nation building that is to weaken the traditional identities and to establish a new national identity. But the increase of ethnic conflicts as a result of ethnic nationalism of majority indicates that industrial development and incorporation more and more people into the market do not weaken traditional identity (Rupesinghe 1988: 337). Political cohesion is thought to contribute to economic growth and development. Nation-building through political and social mobilization become the central issue. But since mobilization could only be realized along the 'existing lines of ethnicity national identity is equated with the majority ethnicism.' In the ethnically plural societies of the Third world, politization of minorities has given way to the demand for autonomy, independence or 'cultural' rights, although the content of culture is devoid of the meaning what the term of ethnicity designates. It is devoid of a content of particularity implied in the concept of ethnic culture.

The distortion of civil order follows ethnic conflicts and state tends to be more authoritative to deal with such problems, and to realize economic growth. But neither economic growth nor the conflict management is successful. The greater centralization of state power can not solve the ethnic problem. It brings violation of human rights and liberties. In Sheth's view, 'such a centralized state have to increasingly depend for its legitimacy on associating itself with the manifest passions and interests of the ethnic majority and in the process assume an authoritarian form of governance'. For him, the

Indian experience shows that the aim of building a nation-state in a plural society have to fail. That's why a genuine federalism and decentralization is necessary to achieve economic growth and political development. Even the sharing a common religion can not remove the ethnicity problems. The experiences of Pakistan, Bangladesh and Iran indicates that 'religion is not a powerful solvent of ethnic minorities'. Moreover in Afghanistan the unification against the soviet forces was dissolved and turned into conflict on the basis of ethnic and tribal divisions. (Sheth 1989: 387). Also in Turkey and Iraq ethnic conflicts have been predominant even against the common religion. For the conflict between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, Dragadze argued that ethnic pride and territorial sovereignty are the themes dominant in the conflict and religion is not an important issue. (Dragadze 1989: 69-70). Although Shia Kurds in Iran supported Islamic regime as opposed to Sunni Kurd who maintained the demand for independence, the non-Bengali Muslims in Bangladesh constituted an important problem for the integration of society. As Entessar argued 'Islam has not acted as a countervailing force against the increasing Kurdish ethnic demands for self determination in the middle East (Entessar 1989: 85).

In the post-colonial societies of Africa such as south Africa, Zaire and Angola the state is considered as having a role in creating and maintaining ethnic distinctions and using ethnicity as the basis of nationalism (Heywood 1989). In countries like India, Sri Lanka and Pakistan the state has been captured by the dominant community and reinforced by sectarianism and fundamentalism. The state institutions play partisan role. The state, in Sri Lanka involving 70 percent Sinhalese and 20 percent Tamils, become a vehicle for Sinhalese chauvinism and an instrument of repression against the minority people. As a result of the Sinhalization of the state Tamils have not been recruited to the armed forces since 1970 and also in Pakistan recruitment to the armed forces have been on ethnic criteria. That's why such armies are called 'ethnic armies' (Rupesinghe 1988: 339). Subordination of the ethnic minorities is also prevailing in those spheres as language, education and employment.

In the post-colonial period anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist ideologies were replaced by

ethnic hegemonic assertions. Ethnic groups struggle for control over the state, as well as for more ethnic rights. Majority rule and ethnicization of the state can be considered as the two main characteristics of the post-colonial state. Deterioration of the political institutions contributes to the intensification of ethnic conflicts and conflict management is almost impossible. The search for militaristic solutions for ethnic problems leads to the militarization of entire society. That means state terrorism is responded with guerilla terrorism. The rule of law is substituted for the decay of the political institutions. Rupesinghe contends that in South Asia ethnic conflict must be considered within the process of transition to capitalism. Not all the groups have been incorporated into the capitalist project. Shared symbols, shared language and shared economic life preserve their importance in the changing situation of the society. They give ethnicity a chance for being a form of mobilization and an assertion of identity. In such a situation political mobilization refers to ethnic mobilization. Through ethnic conflicts groups, define themselves in ethnic terms rather than class terms, and demand autonomy or secession (Rupesinghe 1988: 343). There is a mono-ethnic tendency of the state. Ethnic nationalism of the dominant group is carried into the state nationalism.

'The ethnic attachment of the majority group is strengthened and transformed by its translation into state nationalism. The ethnic consciousness of the subordinate groups' are constrained either to assimilate into the dominant group or to identify themselves as cultural inferiors (Brown 1989: 11). But it is the hegemony or autonomy of the state that tends to weaken if the groups react against its policies. If the state is more radical in social restructuring, its administrative capabilities become less effective. The attempt 'to modify ethnic consciousness will have the effect merely of disturbing the cohesion of target communities and thence stimulating a defensive assertion of ethnic solidarity directed specifically against the state interventions' (Brown 1989: 15). The diversity of cultures in Asian and African countries is the main impediment behind national integration. For Giddens, in most post-colonial states there is no sense in which a 'nation' precedes the emergence of the state that's why 'such states have been called 'state-nations''. Nationalism has played an important role in mobilizing pe-

ople for independence, but it also has the 'schismatic consequences for internal political organization'. 'For nationalist sentiments relate to a myth of origins supplying a psychological focus for the unity of political community, but any interpretation of origins that has concrete reference to the past is like to stimulate as much tension as harmony, because of the diversity of cultural differences characteristically involved' (Giddens 1985: 272,273).

ETHNICITY AS AN IMAGINED SOURCE OF IDENTITY

Since the state is established on the basis of the nationalistic sentiments, myths and symbols, those people having a different trajectory of ethnicity come to see it as a potential threat to their existence. The increase of ethnic consciousness can be related to the state policies to assimilate the minorities into the values of majority. The development of ethnic consciousness can be linked with the struggle against western powers in the war of liberation or in the period of colonization, as well as it is related with the prevailing contacts with the state and between ethnic groups. According to Hobsbawm (1993: 210-211), the end of colonialism had meant the establishment of independent states within the existing borders under the colonial rule. Such borders had no national or pro-national significance since they were drawn without considering or even without the knowledge of the people living there. As a general trend, after the achievement of independence we see the emergence of conflicts between the different parts of population constituting independent movement, between those who actively participated in the independence movement and those who did not participate in it or between non localist free laicism of the leaders and the moods of the masses. However, the multi-ethnic or multi-communal states having broken into parts are very few and can be seen as specific cases in a world where most of the states are multi-ethnic or multi-communal. Moreover, different countries having a common language, as it is the case for the Arab world, have not achieved unification.

In Angola, the development of Ovimbundu ethnic consciousness is connected with the struggle of people having Ovimbundu background against the Portuguese rule. Independence has been seen as an Ovimbundu achievement,

that leads to a strong assertiveness of Ovimbundu ethnicity (Heywood 1989). We can argue that the unity in the struggle against a common enemy breaks down since now there appear an internal conflict to hold the state institution. Moreover an ethnic community may be divided into smaller units. Linguistic, sectarian or provincial differences within an ethnic group may result in the politization around these lines. As we argued earlier Shia and Sunni distinctions among Kurds have given way to the different political attitudes in Iran. But internal conflicts tend to diminish when the threat comes from outside. When threat result in the insecurity among the minorities they begin to assert identity-struggle against it. That consolidates ethnic feeling among its members.

An ethnic community has something particular that distinguish it from the wider society, when the member of that groups has a feeling of an external threat, the idea of communality becomes more stronger. In the Basque region different interest groups come together to stand against a common the external threat (Gürses 1998: 138). Ethnic community is defensive of its particularity against the state intervention in the process of modernization. Whatever the definition of ethnicity is there seems to be certain attitudes that are oriented on the corpus of ethnic feeling. Ethnic and linguistic characters of people lead to the ethnic nationalistic behavior. In Spain's Basque provinces votes for ethnic nationalist parties are incomparably more in the region where majority is Euskadi speaking people than the other regions (Clark 1987). Industrial development may not diminish the importance of ethnic identity and feeling when there is an asymmetrical relation between the segments of society and when the state is identified with the dominant values. In the process of the expansion of state into its peripheries nationalism as an ideological shelter can only widen already existing divisions in the society without the establishment of the civil institutions, actually there seems no criteria for the solution of ethnic problem. Not suppression but the support of the ethnic features can contribute to economic and political development.

Nation-state is an administrative and juridical system having control over a determined territory on which there are more than one ethnic groups. In most of the Third world countries, state is held by a single ethnic group. Ethnic

groups are defined in terms of their distinctive languages, particular historical experiences and specific life patterns. Among them the most important distinguishing element seems to be the language. That's why ethnic policy of a state can be evaluated and judged from the point of view of its language policies. However in a world of mass communication and mass mobilization there appears a need for a common literary and possibly official, language. Other ethnic characters than language may be important in relation to the circumstances but the definitions of them are somewhat subjective and that's why more disputable aspects of the ethnic problem. The ethnic groups we consider in the papers. Such as Kurds in Turkey, Iran and Iraq, Basques in Spain, Tamils in Sri Lanka, Czechs and Slovaks, are all distinguished on the basis of having a specific language. Language can be accompanied with a particular life pattern and historical experience that differentiate a community from the larger society as it is the case for Indian Muslims. Yet, the separation of Pakistan and Bangladesh was realized on the condition that their cultural life pattern was similar. Language as a common medium may contribute to the development of a common world view. Since religion is also defined as a component of ethnic way of life in the societies where there is a common religion among ethnic groups it is the language that makes differentiation among them. It gives way to a feeling of distance from the other groups and a feeling of communality among the members of a community. It secures a common world on the basis of the common principles of signification. Historical myths and symbols are the central elements contributing this common experience. Language is a fictive medium as well as a real one. Ideal and material exchanges are realized through it. Historical myths and symbols are transmitted from generation to generation that consolidates the feeling of a common historical experience.

Present constitution of ethnic life and ethnic conflict can be analyzed through ethno-historical studies. But in order to escape some superficial considerations we should question whether we can conceptualize such a distinctive entity as ethnic community in the prevailing life of the people. Are there ethnic communities that have features distinctively enough for scientific analysis? Does an ethnic group have a particular life pattern that is distinguished from

the particular life patterns of other ethnic groups? is there actually a community life that is formed by certain features rooted in the particular history of a people?

Whatever the claim of specificity in the past and present life style of a community is, we can not avoid from seeing, the effects of global processes over the day-today practices of any people. Global processes are carried by actors and institutions in the local levels. 'That is, a complex of economic, technological, ecological and cultural structures and processes display their effects on the scale of the planet, or at any rate have a radius of action that ignores, or denies relevance to, any given state's territory' (Poggi 1990: 177). Not only political units as state but also any group of people that is thought to have specific traits can not escape market and mass communication relations. Where does particularity remain if individuals and institutions are connected to the worldwide processes? Even language does not provide a solid, distinctive ground for its speakers in a world of global communication (Dokulil 1992). So how can we understand the nature of ethnic conflict that leads to the violation of human right if not on the basis of an ethnic distinctivity? Ethnic group can be considered as a fictive or imagined category, since it is 'larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact' (Anderson 1983: 6). For Anderson, (ibid: 46) 'convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community'. The print technology, leads to the predominance of a print language as the unified form of communication over vernaculars and linguistic diversity. Specifically, newspapers and books in print language as a common medium have consolidated the feeling of being a member of a community among the readers of them.

The conception of ethnic particularity should be seen as a distinctive ficting, that is common both to the members of ethnic community and to the members of scientific community. How can we differentiate an Armenian from an Azerbaijani on the basis of certain objective cultural traits, other than language, that prevail in their daily practices, keeping in mind that religion does not play an important role in their conflict? Even the common language is created by the fixing of print language and it indicates

'the fellow-readers' who can be seen as 'the embryo of the nationally imagined community' (ibid: 44). It is so difficult to gather such criteria that even in so doing we introduce some superficial and general categories that have not an actual significance in their life. Such an abstraction as ethnic group contributes to the feeling of security and to waging a war among the members of that fictive category against the imagined enemy. 'All images of enemy are based on specific fantasies' as argued by Salecl. For example, in Serbian mythology legitimizing Serbian authoritarian populism in its struggle against internal and external enemies, 'the Albanians are understood as poor Evil, the unimaginable: that which can not be subjectivized beings who can not be made into people because they are so radically Other' (Salecl 1994: 212). Social scientists need such imagined categories which are indeed a part of mythologization of reality, because the tradition of the scientific treatment of social world is more akin to imagination and reconstruction than to the objective criteria. Group members need them because even in a fictive ground they feel security and secure pride. Historical myth and symbols do give them an identity feeling that may consolidate the sentiments in the conflict and that have not an impact in the organization of their actual life. That feeling is not encompassive of the daily activities. Daily interactions among the persons are not organized around certain values or principles that have roots in their historical experiences. In this sense, it can be argued that capitalism and print technology have given way to the massive and homogenized conflicts between different images of identities. Within the global processes, we see the conflict of images rather than the conflict of values. Individual in his daily life carries this conflict as an inseparable aspect of his/her life on the basis of a consciousness that conceives such an identity as a natural part of him/herself differentiating him/herself from the others.

National and even communal identity can be seen as 'a discursive production' and the national entity indicates 'the presence of a thing which is never actually evidenced in full' by the persons in their everyday experiences. 'The hegemonic discourse of a nation, like any mythology, makes the cultural-that is the arbitrary and fashioned-appear natural and fixed in the order of things' (Bowman 1994: 141-143).

Ethnic identity can be considered as such an imagined category among the speakers of a certain language. The image of common ancestry and past experience facilitate the formation of an ethnic consciousness. In the development of national or communal identity, as a creation of the print capitalism and as a discursive production, intellectuals have a central role in leading people to conceive the things in a determinate way.

Language as a means of communication and as a source for identity is an important factor for the maintenance of ethnic assertions. The rise of a Europeans-style nation-state system in the Middle East emphasized the development of a common language as an important vehicle for modernization and nation building in the multi-ethnic and multi-lingual societies of the region (Entessar 1989: 86). But if the language of the minority could not be assimilated in a short time into the official language, the cost of its prohibition would be in an unpredictable amount in the long run. Increasing grievances among the minority subjects can be approached with heavy measures that would contribute to increasing dissatisfaction with the state policies.

If ethnicity still has a pervasive influence over the members of an ethnic group, it can not be undervalued on the basis of the view that it would diminish with political and economic development in the near future. Seeing human beings as in need for an identity and for a communal shelter it can be stressed that progress does not decrease its importance. Unification of the Germans and increasing incidence of xenophobia in the Western countries stress the rising value of ethnic features in human life. As it is experienced in the totalitarian and authoritarian states political and economic measures can hide its importance for a period. Since the socio-political change is an inescapable feature of the modern times such measures can not live very long. This is not contradictory with the view that although language, religion and culture lack their essential significance in the world of global communication, spreading universal values and international and interethnic relations, they seem to remain as important shelters for the human life. In the existing condition of the crises of values of life such communal features can contribute to the consolidation of emotional security against the fact that economic and

political development of our age is far away from facilitating the satisfaction of human needs and contributing to the realization of human will, rather than determining them. The relation between state and ethnicity is analyzed in term of elite composition, national ideology and instrumental structure of the state. And it is argued that without reconstructing the state on the basis of genuine federalism and decentralization ethnic contention will continue to erode the legitimacy of the nation-state. For the survival and functioning effectively in the modern world the state and society should be arranged by a relation unmediated by the idea of nation. A state within and in command of civil society that is a civil state and not a nation-state seems to be an appropriate satiate form for multi-ethnic societies of the Third World (Sheth 1989: 388). Exclusion of minorities is both the cause of underdevelopment and the rise of separatist movements. This is ironically a consequence of the developmentalist approach: on the one hand, state nationalism is a vehicle for industrial and economic development, on the other hand, it can not overcome the challenge of ethnic claims that are, in turn, impediments for the development programs.

REMARKS AND CONSEQUENCES

Ethnic nationalism both as a state ideology and as a sportiest ideology constitutes an impediment to nation-building strategies. Mobilization that is necessary for economic and political development seems to be realized along ethnic lines, when the traditional values are transformed and reinvented by the people who were accustomed to live with them. This produces problems for the role of the state in proceeding its development programs and in the management of the conflicts that are the result of these programs. Ethnic plurality of the society prevents the integration of society. It is not civil institutions but ethnic ones that are effective in the politization of the masses. In most of the Third World societies prevailing conflicts among ethnic groups can be analyzed by considering colonial experience and post-colonial state formations. Under the rule of colonial powers ethnicity could not emerge as an important factor giving way to conflicts among the parts of population, since the common problem was the domination by a common enemy. In a similar way liberation wars mobilized masses along a common goal without the considerati-

on of the ethno-linguistic origin. But once there has emerged independent states it has become a controversial issue who control the state, state has not been formed on the basis of the characteristics of different ethnic groups. The dominance of the majority in the state institutions has led to the subordination of the minorities. Majority rule and nationalistic state give birth to the increasing ethnic assertiveness among them.

A nation-state could not reach widespread mobilization among its populations for the development programs, since the leadership in the process remained for majority. So development programs contribute to the improvement of the situation of the dominant community in the society having a control over the state institutions. In South Asia and Africa post-colonial state is an ethnically nationalist state that denies cultural and language rights to its minority citizens. By creating and increasing ethnic divisions it causes low rate of economic growth and political underdevelopment. Its partisan role in the prevailing conflicts leads ethnic groups to organize to secure language and cultural rights. The demand for more or equal rights, autonomy or independence express the increasing ethnic assertiveness among the members of the minority communities in confrontation with the state policies.

Economic development, as an inevitable aim of any state in the modern age, necessities mobilization of the masses around common goals. On this ground, there are two different kinds of interpreting this situation. On the one hand, from the point of the ethnic assertions it seems that in the multi-ethnic societies development programs favors, in general, majority ethnicity and exclude the minorities. The new identity of the nation is based on the cultural values of the dominant group. Mobilization of the majority by preserving its identity leads to the disintegration of the ethnically differentiated population. So economic and political polices contributes to the assimilation of the ethnic characteristics but in most of the cases this causes to the awakening of the ethnic feeling. People want to adopt to the new conditions by conserving their traditional way of life. So state intervention encounters ethnic resistance since it does not seem an impartial authority to the members of an ethnic community. Ethnic assertiveness against the state increases when the state aims at res-

structuring the local life patterns around the values of majority.

On the other hand, by considering the imagined or invented nature of the claims for cultural specificity in our techno-scientific and global world, we can conclude that industrialization and modernization as a process of the massive mobilization has given way to the development of an imagined identity for the people losing their local way of life in this process. Then, in the countries in Asian and African countries it is the goal of economic development and modernization that constitutes a challenge not only for 'the ethnic groups', but also for the traditional life pattern as a whole. Nation-state, in many cases as a post-colonial political formation, is only the effective apparatus in mobilizing the masses along the lines of development programs, and not an apparatus of a specific people representing their specific cultural values. In a world of global communication, the conflicts between different identities are mostly conflicts between images rather than between the values present in the daily experiences and state intitution as a techno-economic apparatus is not immune to such conflicts as well as it has an active role in the dissemination of these images against its techno-economic mission.

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