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*The Routledge Handbook of Nationalism in East and Southeast Asia* is important reading for those interested in and studying Asian history, Social and Cultural history, and modern history.

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# CONTENTS

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>xii</i>
<i>List of Contributors</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xxiii</i>
<i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>xxiv</i>

Introduction: The arrival of the age of nationalism and nation states <i>Lu Zhouxiang</i>	1
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## **PART I**

### **Theoretical considerations 15**

1 Applying classic and contemporary nationalism theories to East and Southeast Asia today <i>Tina Burrett</i>	19
2 Decolonialising Southeast Asian nationalism <i>Claire Sutherland</i>	35
3 An alternative origin of nationalism in the East: The emergence of political subjectivity under the non-Western-centric world order <i>Atsuko Ichijo</i>	48
4 The clash of empires, the rise of nationalism, and the vicissitude of Pan-Asianism in East Asia and Southeast Asia <i>Yongle Zhang</i>	60



5	Post-colonialism, nationalism and internationalism in East and Southeast Asia <i>Peter Herrmann</i>	74
6	Traditional colonialism, modern hegemonism, and the construction of Asian nations <i>Feilong Tian</i>	89
<b>PART II</b>		
	<b>East Asia: The roots, growth, ingredients, expressions, and contestation of national discourses</b>	<b>101</b>
7	Chinese nationalism in late Qing times: How to (not) change a multi-ethnic empire into a homogenous nation-state <i>Julia C. Schneider</i>	108
8	Nationalism in China towards a non-Western-centric history of ideas <i>Zhiguang Yin</i>	122
9	Nationalism, national salvation and the development of female hygiene in the Republic of China era <i>Meishan Zhang</i>	138
10	Between a rock and a hard place: The changing Taiwanese identity and rising Chinese nationalism <i>Yitan Li</i>	151
11	China's digital nationalism <i>Florian Schneider</i>	167
12	The dream of a strong country: Nationalism and China's Olympic journey <i>Lu Zhouxiang</i>	181
13	Conflict in Xinjiang: Nationalism, identity, and violence <i>Arabinda Acharya and Rohan Gunaratna</i>	196
14	'Dear Asian friends, we want to build peace'; Rightwing nationalism, internationalism, and Honda Koei's teaching about the Asia-Pacific War, 1965–1973 <i>Yoshiko Nozaki</i>	213
15	Nationalism, history, and collective narcissism: Historical revisionism in twenty-first-century Japan <i>Sven Saaler</i>	234

16	Abe's feckless nationalism <i>Jeff Kingston</i>	250
17	Commercial nationalism and cosmopolitanism: Advertising production and consumption of (trans)national identity in Japan <i>Koji Kobayashi</i>	267
18	Nation, nationalism and identity discourses in North Korean popular culture <i>Udo Merkel</i>	280
19	Taekwondo: A symbol of South Korean nationalism <i>Udo Moenig</i>	295
20	South Korea's postdevelopmental nationalism <i>Charles R. Kim</i>	308
21	The emergence of calculated nationalism in South Korea in the twenty-first century <i>Gil-Soo Han and David Hundt</i>	325
22	The birth and transformation of Japanese-Korean nationalism <i>Masaki Tōsa</i>	337
<b>PART III</b>		
<b>Southeast Asia: Ethnic and religious diversity, local rivalries, and political resistance</b>		<b>353</b>
23	Nationalism, colonialism and decolonisation in Southeast Asia: The rise of emancipatory nationalism <i>Stefan Eklöf Amirell</i>	361
24	Comparative nation-building in the borderlands between China, Myanmar, and Thailand <i>Enze Han</i>	375
25	Nationalism, ethnicity, and regional conflict in twenty-first-century Southeast Asia <i>Arabinda Acharya</i>	388
26	The making of Hoa identity: Migrants, nationalism and nation-building in post-colonial Vietnam <i>Zhifang Song</i>	404

## Contents

27	Writing nationalism in post-reform Vietnam: Portrayals of national enemies in contemporary Vietnamese fiction <i>Chi P. Pham</i>	416
28	Populist nationalism in Philippine historiography <i>Rommel A. Curaming</i>	429
29	Buddhist nationalism in Burma/Myanmar: Collective victimhood and resentment <i>Niklas Foxeus</i>	441
30	Nationalism in colonial and postcolonial Myanmar: Solidarities, discordance, and the crisis of community <i>Maitrii Aung-Thwin</i>	459
31	Competing nationalisms: Shifting conceptions of nation in the construction of Indonesia in the twentieth century <i>Joshua Kueh</i>	473
32	A journey through Cambodian nationalism: Political, elite and popular <i>Kimly Ngoun</i>	488
33	Xāt Lao: Imagining the Lao nation through race, history and language <i>Ryan Wolfson-Ford</i>	504
34	Different streams of Malay nationalism from the late colonial to contemporary eras <i>Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid and Azmi Arifin</i>	519
35	Singapore's national narrative: Ripe for renewal <i>Michael D. Barr</i>	534
36	Exclusion and inclusion: Melayu Islam Beraja and the construction of Bruneian nationalism and national identity <i>Asiyah Kumpoh and Nani Suryani Abu Bakar</i>	549
37	Nationalism in transition: Construction and transformation of Rai Timor <i>Takahiro Kamisuna</i>	561
38	The routinization of charisma in Thai nation construction: A Weberian reading of Thai royalism, nationalism, and democracy <i>Jack Fong</i>	576
	<i>Index</i>	595

# FIGURES

5.1	Formational development between inclusion and exclusion	80
5.2	Purpose enhancement	80
10.1	Taiwanese/Chinese identity (1992/1906~2020/2012)	155
10.2	Taiwan independence vs. unification with the Mainland (1992/1906~2020/2012)	155
19.1	Park Chung Hee (centre) during the military coup, 1961	297
19.2	The victorious ROK Army Taekwondo Team, 1973: Taekwondo became part of South Korean military training	300
22.1	<i>Garasu no kamen</i> ( <i>Glass Mask</i> ) by Suzue Miuchi	343
22.2	Pirated version of <i>Garasu no kamen</i>	343
38.1	Prince Narisara Nuwattiwong's 1887 painting "Queen Suriyothai Elephant Combat" depicting the queen (center with weapon) defending King Maha Chakkraphat (right with weapon) from the Burma's Viceroy of Prome (left with weapon) before she was slain (public domain)	579
38.2	The 1593 elephant combat between Mingyi Swa (left with weapon) and Naresuan (right with weapon). In Thai accounts, the former is slain by the latter in the duel. Based on a Siamese painting from the seventeenth– eighteenth century (Collection of Maurice Collis, public domain)	580
38.3	The "Ruling Monarchs" postcard printed by Rotary Photographic Co Ltd. in 1908. Chulalongkorn is first at the top left (public domain)	585
38.4	Khrong Chandawong (right) and Thongphan Suthimat (left) being led to their execution by firing squad (Baker and Phongpaichit 2005, 174)	590

# TABLES

10.1	Main economic indicators	160
10.2	US-China-Taiwan military expenditure as a percentage of government spending, 2000–2017	161
15.1	Main triggers for historical revisionists and their reactions	241
29.1	Changes of Christian, Buddhist, and Islam communities between 1973 and 2014	453

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# ABBREVIATIONS

AASC	Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference
ABIM	Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia
ABIM	Angkatan Belia Islam sa-Malaysia
ACC	Asian Cultural Council
ACC	Asian Culture Center
AFPFL	Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League
AI	Artificial Intelligence
AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
AIRF	Arakan Rohingya Islamic Front
AMANAH	Parti Amanah Negara/National Trust Party
AMCJA	All-Malayan Council of Joint Action
API	Angkatan Pemuda Insaf/Aware Youth Corps
ARNO	Arakan Rohingya National Organization
ASDT	Timorese Social-Democratic Association
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASG	Abu Sayyaf Group
AWAS	Angkatan Wanita Sedar/Aware Women Corps
BA	Barisan Alternatif/Alternative Front
BNBCC	British North Borneo Chartered Company
BPP	Border Patrol Police
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CGP	Center for Global Partnership
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CPP	Cambodian People's Party
CPP	Communist Party of the Philippines
CSD	Collective Self-defense
DAP	Democratic Action Party
DI	Darul Islam
DK	Democratic Kampuchea

## *Abbreviations*

DMZ	Demilitarized Zone
DPJ	Democratic Party of Japan
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
DPW	Department of Public Welfare
DRV	Democratic Republic of Vietnam
ETIM	East Turkistan Islamic Movement
EU	European Union
GAHT	Global Alliance for Historical Truth
GAISF	General Assembly of International Sports Federation
GAM	Gerakan Aceh Merdeka/Free Aceh Movement
GANEFO	Games of the Newly Emerging Forces
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCBA	The General Council of Buddhist Associations
GCSS	The General Council of Sangha Sammeggi
GE	General Election
GEACPS	Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere
GERAKAN	Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia/Malaysian People's Movement Party
GLCs	Government-linked Companies
HM	Hizbul Muslimin
HM	Hizb-ul-Mujahideen
ICAPP	International Conference of Asian Political Parties
ICC	International Coordinating Committee
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMU	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IRK	Islamic Religious Knowledge
ISA	Internal Security Act
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
ITF	International Taekwondo Federation
IV	Indische Vereeniging/Indies Association
IVS	Indonesisch Verbond van Studeerenden
JI	Jemaah Islamiyah
JIM	Jemaah Islah Malaysia
JOC	Japan Olympic Committee
KCIA	Korean Central Intelligence Agency
KMM	Kesatuan Melayu Muda/Young Malays Union
KMT	Nationalist/Kuomintang
KOSTRAD	Army Strategic Reserve
KPA	Korean People's Army
KRIS	Kesatuan Ra'ayat Indonesia Semenanjung/Union of Peninsular Indonesians
KSSM	Kurikulum Standard Sekolah Menengah/Secondary School Standard Curriculum
KTA	Korea Taesudo Association
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
LPDR	Lao People's Democratic Republic's
LRA	Law on Regional Autonomy

## *Abbreviations*

MCA	Malayan Chinese Association
MCD	Modernity-Coloniality-Decoloniality
MCP	Malayan Communist Party
MIB	Melayu Islam Beraja/Malay Islam Monarchy
MIC	Malayan Indian Congress
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MN	Muafakat Nasional/National Concord
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
MNP	Malay Nationalist Party
MOE	The Ministry of Education
MTA	Mong Tai Army
MTMIB	Majlis Tertinggi Melayu Islam Beraja
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NDF	National Democratic Front
NLD	National League for Democracy
NPA	New People's Army
OECD	Economic Co-operation and Development
OPM	Organisasi Papua Merdeka/Free Papua Organization
PAP	Peoples' Action Party
PAPF	People's Armed Police Force
PAS	Islamic Party of Malaysia
PASPAM	Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena/Brotherhood of Pen Friends
PH	Pakatan Harapan/Pact of Hope
PIJAR	Centre for Information and Action Network for Democratic Reforms
PKI	Indonesian Communist Party
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia/Indonesian Communist Party
PKM	Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas/Communist Party of the Philippines
PKMM	Parti Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya
PKMS	Singapore Malay National Organisation
PKR	Parti Keadilan Rakyat/People's Justice Party
PMIP	The Pan-Malayan Islamic Party
PN	Perikatan Nasional/National Alliance
PP	Pantayong Pananaw
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PR	Pakatan Rakyat/People's Pact
PRB	Partai Rakyat Brunei/People's Party of Brunei
PRC	People's Republic of China
PRD	Partai Rakyat Demokratik
PRM	Parti Rakyat Malaysia/ Malaysian People's Party
PRRI	Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia/Pemerintah Revolutioner Republik Indonesia
PSI	Partai Sarekat Islam
PSP	Progress Singapore Party
PTA	Parent-Teacher Association
PUTERA	Pusat Tenaga Ra'ayat
RCEP	Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement
RH Law	Reproductive Health Law
RLG	Royal Lao Government

## *Abbreviations*

ROC	Republic of China
ROK	Republic of Korea
ROV	Republic of Vietnam
RPF	Rohingya Patriotic Front
RSO	Rohingya Solidarity Organization
SBKRI	Surat Bukti Kewarganegaraan Republik Indonesia/Indonesian Citizenship
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SIRD	Strategic Information and Research Development Centre
SLOOC	The Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee
SMID	Indonesian Student Solidarity for Democracy
SOAS III	Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddien III
SPN21	21st Century National Education System
SPRIM	Solidaritas Perjuangan Rakyat Indonesia untuk Maubere
SSRC	Social Science Research Council
TIP	Turkistan Islamic Party
TITP	Technical Intern Training Program
TTA	Taiwan Travel Act
UBD	Universiti Brunei Darussalam
UDT	Timorese Democratic Union
UMNO	United Malays National Organisation
UN	United Nations
UNPKO	UN Peacekeeping Operations
USDP	Union Solidarity and Development Party
UWSA	United Wa State Army
VOC	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie
WPK	Workers' Party of Korea
WTF	World Taekwondo Federation
WUC	World Uighur Congress
WUKO	World United Karate Organization
XUAR	Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region



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# INTRODUCTION

## The arrival of the age of nationalism and nation states

*Lu Zhouxiang*

Nationalism emerged in the late eighteenth century and became a powerful political force that spread around the globe and shaped the modern world. Nationalism is a concept with multiple meanings and can be analyzed as ‘an ideology, a movement, the process of “nation” and “nation-state” building, and an individual’s political orientation’ (Dekker and Malova 2003, 345). Most scholars see nationalism as a global political movement and have developed different theories to explain the phenomenon from a wide range of perspectives and levels (Weiss 2003). For example, Eugen Lemberg defined nationalism from a sociological perspective as ‘a system of ideas, values and norms, an image of the world and society which makes a large social group aware of where it belongs and invests this sense of belonging with a particular value’ (cited in Alter 1994, 8). He emphasized that shared origins, character, language and culture, or common subordination to a given state power nourished national consciousness; the philosopher and social anthropologist Ernest Gellner suggested that nationalism was ‘a theory of political legitimacy.’ It was a product of modern societies’ need for cultural homogeneity and was ‘the consequence of a new form of social organization, based on deeply internalized, education-dependent high cultures, each protected by its own state’ (Gellner 1983, 48); the political scientist Benedict Anderson (1983) advances the theory that a nation is a socially constructed community, imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that group. The convergence of capitalism and print media in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries contributed significantly to the development of a nationalism that was able to unite people from different classes to fight and sacrifice for such a limited imagining; the historian Elie Kedourie (1960) saw nationalism as a doctrine invented in Europe which ‘holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government.’ In the past century, nationalism became a major political driving force and has made national self-determination the foundation of the modern international order (Kedourie 1960, 9).

This wide range of definitions, approaches, and analytical focuses from different disciplines and perspectives clearly reflect the diversity and complexity of nationalism. In a nutshell, nationalism is a thought and ideology based on the concept of nation. As historian Peter Alter (1994, 5) noted, ‘in nationalism, the nation is placed upon the highest pedestal; its value resides in its capacity as the sole, binding agency of meaning and justification.’ Karl

W. Deutsch (1979, 301), a political scientist, also observed that ‘nationalism is a state of mind which gives “national” messages, memories, and images a preferred status in social communication and a greater weight in the making of decisions.’ In short, a nation can be regarded as the building block of nationalism, and nationalism is a doctrine and discourse about the character, interests, rights, and duties of nations. To individuals, national consciousness and nationalism emerge ‘whenever they felt that they belong primarily to the nation, and whenever affective attachment and loyalty to that nation override all other attachments and loyalties’ (Alter 1994, 9). For communities and societies, nationalism frequently leads to organized social movements and political parties, economic practices, revolutions, and wars that are aimed at furthering the alleged aims, ideology, and interests of nations.

### **The formation of sovereign states and embryonic national consciousness**

From a historical perspective, the term ‘nation’ is considerably more archaic than ‘nationalism.’ According to Greenfeld (1992), the Latin word *natio* is the origin of the modern word nation. It means someone born and carried derogatory connotations. In Rome, the title *natio* was often given to a group of foreigners who came from the same geographical region. In the Middle Ages, the feeling of ‘the same origin’ evoked a sense of national consciousness in university students who came from geographically or linguistically related regions. Furthermore, the word nation was endowed with a new meaning which referred to their country of origin. By the late thirteenth century, the meaning of nation had transformed into a ‘community of option’ and ‘a political, cultural and then social elite’ (Greenfeld 1992, 5). In the following centuries, alongside the rise of sovereign states and nation states, particularly in Europe, the term ‘nation’ continued to experience a steady semantic transformation and eventually evolved into the sense in which it is understood today. Accompanying ‘nation,’ the term ‘nationalism’ first appeared in a work by the German philosopher and theologian Johann Gottfried Herder in 1774. Herder’s understanding and interpretation of nation were profoundly cultural instead of political. He believed that nations were organically formed entities with a unique and shared language and distinct cultural properties, and each national culture should thrive for peaceful coexistence with others (Miller 1998; van den Bergh 2018). However, in contrast to Herder’s observations, when ‘nationalism’ entered into general linguistic usage in the mid-nineteenth century, it developed into a concept dominated by politics (Shafer 1972).

The historian Ernest Renan (1882, 9) has argued that nations, in the modern sense of the term, ‘are something fairly new in history.’ ‘Classical antiquity had republics, municipal kingdoms, confederations of local republics and empires, yet it can hardly be said to have had nations in our understanding of the term.’ Generally speaking, nations, nationalism, nationalist ideologies, and the system of nation states are recent in date and novel in character (Smith 2000). Their formation advanced with the rise of early centralized sovereign states in Western Europe from the fifteenth century onward. There are four complex set of reasons, i.e. changing contexts, that explain this significant development. Religion, social structure, language and military reforms all played an important role in this process.

First, transformations in religious identity contributed to the formation of the sovereign state and national consciousness. Medieval civilization in Europe was governed by the all-pervasive concept of the Christian God. Christianity dominated the region and the Vatican claimed authority over the whole Christian world. During this period, ‘God’s will was sufficient to explain all phenomena. The service of God was seen as the sole legitimate purpose of all human enterprise’ (Davies 1996, 430). Individual identity, popular culture, philosophy, way of life, and the political system were all based on, and framed by, Christian ideas, norms, and values.

To all loyal Christians, the Pope was the supreme spiritual leader of the Christian world. They identified themselves as subjects of God rather than subjects of kings. As Stavrianos (1975, 201) noted, 'mass allegiance to a nation was, during those centuries, unknown. Instead, most men (sic) considered themselves to be first of all Christians, second, residents of a certain region such as Burgundy or Cornwall, and only last, if at all, Frenchmen or Englishmen (sic).'

The late Middle Ages saw a crisis in Christendom. With the fall of the Christian Byzantine Empire and the Holy Roman Empire, the Vatican could no longer maintain its supreme authority over its dependencies (Davies 1996, 383). The transformation of the power structure between kings and the Papacy resulted in the consolidation of royal authority and changed the spiritual image to which people had allegiance. Consequently, the notions of 'subject to the king' and 'subject to the kingdom' began to prevail.

The power struggle between royalty and the Papacy can be dated back to the thirteenth century when a fundamental conflict broke out between Edward I (King of England) and the church over Pope Boniface VIII's bull, *Clericis laicos* (1296). The latter prevented the secular states of Europe from appropriating church revenues without the permission of the Vatican. France and England were the only two countries that resisted these Papal claims, while other secular authorities generally accepted the bill. Subsequently, the rivalry between Philip IV of France and the Papacy ended with the death of Pope Boniface VIII and resulted in the proscription of the Knights Templar at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The new Pope, Clement V, was a weak spiritual leader, while Philip IV established a centralized royal power to rule France. The transformation in religious identity made Christianity a vehicle for the construction of centralized royal power and contributed to the formation of a sovereign France. As Greenfeld (1993, 95) observed:

the election of France and the immediate relationship between the kingdom and God, was manifested first and foremost in the king. From an exemplary son of the universal church, the king became the focus of a new Christian cult, and France – a church in its own town.

In England, King Henry VIII was the driving force for separating the English Church from the Vatican. He introduced the first Act of Annates in 1532 to cut the financial payment to Rome. One year later, the Act of Appeals 1533 curtailed Rome's ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This was followed by the Act of Supremacy in 1534 which abolished Papal authority in England. Thereafter, the king became the Supreme Head of the Church of England, and the religious image and the political image were combined into one (Davies 1996). With the rise of the king's power, England began transforming into a sovereign state. A collective identity based on the Kingdom of England started to emerge among the growing numbers of English Protestants.

Second, the transformation of social structures stimulated the emergence of sovereign states and national consciousness. Medieval Europe was based on feudalism. People were under the rule of feudal lords and kings. The Pope and the Emperor claimed the authority over all feudal kingdoms. Religion functioned as a vehicle for uniting all the smaller kingdoms, principalities, duchies, counties, and cities into a united political entity. In this political entity, rulers of kingdoms and feudalities distributed their land to nobilities, who distributed their land among their vassals. The existence of countless self-governing manors led to a decentralization of state power. Feudal lords owned everything on their land, including their peasants, crops, and village(s), taxed the people, had their own military forces, and became the ever-present leaders for those cultivating their fields. In this period, the Emperor,



the Pope, and the kings were spiritual leaders far away from everyday life of the ordinary people. People gave allegiance to the feudal lords who had the real power. Therefore, the sense of nation remained vague and obscure, while localism and other forms of territorialism were dominant. As Davies (1996, 382) states, 'medieval Europeans were conscious of belonging to their native village or town...They were aware of belonging to a body of men and women who acknowledged the same feudal lord; to a social estate, which share the same privileges.'

Hugh Seton-Watson (1977, 18) has argued that the essence of the social order of Medieval Europe was linked to the mutual obligations between social groups, guaranteed by law and by institutions. The rulers endowed certain rights to the upper class and formed the feudal system. People were connected vertically in hierarchical subordination. Davies (1996, 516) describes how 'social groups were defined by their function, by the legal restrictions and privileges which were imposed in order to facilitate that function, and by their corporations.' In such social systems, nobility and landowners obtained their wealth from serfs and farmers. Power struggles occurred between the central power (the monarchy) and the social elites, such as churches, nobles, feudal lords, and land owners, indicating that there was not always a balance between these forces.

The emergence of organized merchants and manufacturers in developing urban centers formed a new socio-economic force which undermined existing power relations and structures. Urban capitalism, which coexisted with a landowner-directed agriculture based on serfdom or tenantry, began to change the social and economic structures of Europe. The rising petty bourgeoisie, city burghers, and small landowners boosted the eclipse of the older feudal system and strengthened centralized royal power. Alliances between the two social groups benefited each other. On the one hand, the king gained support from the bourgeoisie, which led to a weakening of the church and the territorial feudal lords, and consolidated and strengthened centralized power structures. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie benefited from the newly established social order and laws which allowed them to profit from the booming free market and industry. Consequently, the claims and interests of new social groups began to form the basis for the legitimacy of the monarchy. The transformation of social structures, accompanied by the emergence of new norms and values, slowly changed people's views, norms and values, and gave rise to new concepts such as individualism, competition, the achievement principle, division of labor, and others. The new social groups were 'bound together by horizontal ties of solidarity and no longer linked only vertically in hierarchical subordination' (Seton-Watson 1977, 18). Political consciousness began to emerge among these rising social groups which, in turn, gave birth to an embryonic form of national consciousness.

Third, the rise of the vernacular languages of nations in Western Europe aided the construction of national consciousness, distinctiveness, and identity. In the era of the Roman Empire, Latin functioned as the vehicle for the promotion of Christianity and the building of the empire. Following the collapse of the Roman Empire, Charlemagne and the Papacy utilized Latin as a vehicle to bind disparate ethnic groups together (Slavitt 1999). During the Middle Ages, Latin was the language of the church, universities, and courts, and also served as the medium of exchange in all intellectual life. As John A. Armstrong (1982, 281) has noted, 'throughout the Romance region, the requirement of precision in legal and theological affairs was met by the persistence of Latin as the sole elaborated code of the learned.'

With the decline of the Vatican and the strengthening of royal power in France, England, and (what was later to become) Germany, the use of Latin began to diminish and a clear internal linguistic division took shape. In England, the Anglo-Saxon dialects came together with French in the fourteenth century in the new English language. Under King Edward III,

the Pleading in English Act 1362 made English the official language of the law courts and the parliament. From then on, English began to be widely used among all social groups and became a building block for an embryonic English national consciousness (Seton-Watson 1977, 29). In France, Latin began to decline after Philip IV made French the language of royal edicts in Northern France in the thirteenth century (Asher and Simpson 1994). In 1539, the Ordinance of Villers-Cotterets, signed into law by Francis I, made French the official language of the country. Then in 1629, Louis XIII promulgated the Code Michaud that made French the compulsory language for the registration of baptisms, marriage, and burials. Thereafter, French came to be widely used among all the social classes and became an important symbol of French identity (Greenfeld 1992, 99). In the German-speaking parts of Europe, priest and theologian Martin Luther nailed his *Ninety-Five Theses* to the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg in 1517 and declared that religion should rest on each individual's faith and comprehension of the Bible (Marshall 2017). The event triggered the Protestant Reformation. Subsequently, Luther's German translation of 'The New Testament' and the complete Bible, published in 1522 and 1534, respectively, made the Bible more accessible to ordinary Germans and facilitated the rise of the modern German language and literature, as well as laid the seeds for a German identity (Schaff 1910).

Fourth, the military revolution, i.e. advances in warfare technology and strategies, contributed to the rise of sovereign states and national consciousness. Davies (1996, 519) states that 'the modern state without the military revolution is unthinkable. The road from the arquebus to absolutism, or from the maritime mortar to mercantilism, was a direct one.' The late Middle Ages saw the move from cold weapons to firearms and explosives. The invention of the musket and artillery changed the way war was fought. The increasing demand for firearms also stimulated the growth of modern industry and mercantilism. Modern warfare gave rise to trained standing armies with professional skills and strict discipline (Smith 1977), and these standing armies consolidated the royal power and gave kings an 'incomparable political instrument for reducing the power of the nobles and for forcing their subjects to obey' (Davies 1996, 519).

This military revolution led to the fall of the nobility and the rise of new social groups. The social and political functions of the nobility were weakened as military careers were now offered to talent from all social classes (Thomson 1972). Manufacturers who produced firearms and civilians who served the standing army gained functional significance. The alliances between the new social groups and the royalty allowed the king to further weaken the power of the feudal lords.

As the importance of religious authority and regional feudal lordships continued to decline, new social groups and centralized royal power dominated the early sovereign states of Western Europe. In England, a national consciousness emerged as people began to show their loyalty to the king – the incarnation of the monarchy and the centralized sovereign state (Greenfeld 1992, 74). The doctrine of the 'Divine Right of Kings' was developed in the late sixteenth century in order to consolidate the monarch's supreme authority, to instill obedience, and to make all social ranks religiously and morally obliged to obey the royalty. This doctrine also dominated France. The kings of France were portrayed as the incarnate essence of society and the 'State,' and French identity transformed from an 'essentially religious into a political one' (Greenfeld 1992, 112).

To conclude, the formation of the sovereign state and the prevalence of the Divine Right of Kings in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries nourished embryonic national consciousness which was based on 'a notion of an emotional attachment to a landscape, a dynastic state or a ruler' and an ideology consolidating the political unification of the monarchy (Alter 1996, 6).

The emergence of nation states, national identity, and nationalism was a slow, non-linear and incremental process, initiated and driven by several factors that led to the transformation of 'loyalty to the monarch' into 'loyalty to the state,' and eventually into 'loyalty to the nation'.

### **The rise of nation states and nationalism**

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, social and political transformations became increasingly conducive to the rise of nation states and nationalism. The royal authority began to be seen as a barrier to the new social groups. The rising petty bourgeoisie, privileged city dwellers, the city burghers, and landowners demanded more economic and political freedom, and opposed the restrictions and heavy taxes imposed by the monarch. Their claims eventually developed to be one of the most important factors behind the English and the French Revolutions, which resulted in the demise of royal power and the formation of modern nation states (Hobsbawm 1988, 105).

In England, James I's strong belief in the 'Divine Right of Kings' caused severe conflicts between the monarch and the parliament and resulted in the English Revolution of the mid-seventeenth century. According to Guizot, Marx, and Engels, the English Revolution marked a significant stage in the shift from feudalism to capitalism. The gentry who dominated the parliament were 'bourgeois' modernizers who were determined to maximize their profit margins. Those who supported the king were 'feudal' traditionalists more interested in preserving their power, status, and authority (Stone 1985, 44–45). As the parliament became the servant of the bourgeoisie, 'Parliamentary statutes, speeches, and pamphlets separated the issue of nationality from the issues of religion and the English Crown and clarified the meaning of national identity' (Greenfeld 1992, 77). The Revolution drew more people into political action and extended national consciousness to 'new geographical areas and lower social levels,' and made the nation the primary object of people's loyalty (Hill 1970, 265; Lefebvre 2005). After the English Civil War (1642–1651), the monarch no longer functioned as a major host for national consciousness, and England began its transformation from a sovereign state to a nation state.

The French Revolution (1789–1799) was another milestone in the rise of the bourgeoisie as it marked the beginning of the transition of France from a sovereign state into a nation state. Most scholars describe the French Revolution as the result of the clash between the old feudal noble class and the emerging capitalist bourgeois class (Lefebvre 2005). During the French Revolution, 'various social, political and intellectual developments found powerful expression in radical politics' (Hutchinson and Smith 1994, 7). Led by the bourgeoisie, people from around the country 'transcended regional, corporate and religious barriers and joined together as the people of a state, as a political nation' (Alter 1994, 56–57). Consequently, the power transferred from the monarchy to the nation, and the concept of nation state replaced the monarch's sovereign state as the source of identity (Greenfeld 1992, 166).

The French Revolution constructed French identity in several different ways. First, a primary level education system was established to foster patriotism and promote French as a standardized language. Second, print media such as newspapers, booklets, and journals were used to promote the radical social and political changes and propagandize the idea of the nation and nation state. Third, new symbols of the French nation, such as the national flag, national songs, and national day, were created (Stavrianos 1975). As Kohn (1944, 20) has observed, the French Revolution infused the idea of nationalism and created 'a consciousness in which all citizens could share' – 'the masses were no longer in the nation, but of the nation.'

Since the emergence of early examples of European nationalism, represented by the revolutions of England and France, 'nationalism has been understood as a political movement born by broad sections of society which declares attachment to the nation to be the supreme bond' (Alter 1994, 56). Following the French Revolution, Napoleon's expansionist policies provoked reactions in England, Spain, Germany, Poland, and Russia. It intensified and 'diffused the civic ideas of national autonomy, unity and identity across Europe' (Hutchinson and Smith 1994, 7). After the defeat of Napoleonic France, the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815) was held by the major European powers to redraw the geopolitical map. However, the Congress ignored the national and liberal impulses of small nations, and so stimulated their resistance. Thereafter, nationalism became the driving factor in the rising tide of independence movements in Europe. The Greeks, under the Ottoman rule, declared independence in 1821 and achieved it in 1829. The Belgian Revolution of 1830 led to the establishment of an independent Belgium free from Dutch rule. Independence movements were also launched by Italian, German, and Irish nationalists.

From the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries onward, print media, the growth in literacy, and the greater social communication and growing economic contacts between different social classes increased the distribution of new political ideas. It helped people to slowly embrace their national symbols and norms, and supported certain political organizations (Hutchinson and Smith 1994, 27–28). An increasing proportion of populations began to 'perceive themselves as members of a particular nation. They identified with its historical and cultural heritage and with the form of its political life, and endowed existence with meaning both in the present and the future' (Alter 1994, 9).

In summary, the modern form of nationalism can be understood as 'both an ideology and a political movement which holds the nation and the nation state to be crucial indwelling values' (Alter 1994, 8), and as a vehicle for mobilizing and assembling people under a united front for a common, primarily political goal. It was the forces that emerged from various political and economic interests, combined with an ethnic, cultural, and religious consciousness, that bonded people into one 'imagined community' or 'nation.' Nationalism encapsulated these forces and united people under a single banner, creating a sense of pride, belonging, and commitment to the perceived common interest of the nation. The essence of nationalism is the power struggle between interest groups. On the macro level, that is often demonstrated through the rivalry between countries, nations, or alliances of nations. On the micro level, rivalries and conflicts between religious groups, ethnic groups, social classes, or political and military groups are the most visible forms of such power struggles.

As people sought to establish territorial political entities corresponding to their group identity combined with their desire for fundamental political and economic changes, nationalism became the dominant political doctrine within Europe and beyond (Armstrong 1982, 4). In 1776, the United States declared independence from the British Empire. In the first half of the nineteenth century, European colonies in Central and South America – most of which were under Spanish rule – rose in rebellions that gave birth to Haiti (1804), Columbia (1810), Paraguay (1811), Argentina (1816), Chile (1818), Mexico (1821), Costa Rica (1821), Peru (1821), Brazil (1822), Bolivia (1825), and a host of other independent nation states.

In the first half of the twentieth century, nationalism and national rivalries triggered the First World War (1914–1918) and the Second World War (1939–1945). In the 1940s and 1950s, following the Second World War, more than 25 nations declared independence. In the following decades, the growth of nationalism among the oppressed nations of the Western powers' colonies in Asia, Africa, Central America, and Oceania gave rise to an even greater number of newly independent nation states. At the same time, nationalists from different

ethnic and religious backgrounds launched separatist movements in Burma, Canada, China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Spain, Sri Lanka, Turkey, the former Yugoslavia, and many other countries across the world.

While globalization and technology are facilitating the integration of humanity, nationalism is, on the contrary, still constructing and reinforcing both the physical and psychological borders between nations. In 2022, the number of independent states around the world has reached 195, and there is little doubt that the figure will continue to grow in the future. In addition to dividing the world into fragments, nationalism has generated tensions and conflicts across the globe. The Cold War and the arms race, in particular between NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the Indonesian Genocide, the Indo-Pakistani wars, the Iran-Iraq War, The Troubles in Northern Ireland, the Islamic State movement, the Russia-Ukraine war, and the recent trade war between China and the United States have all witnessed the continuous impact of nationalism on world politics, economics, and international relations.

### **Studying nationalism and nation building in Asia**

Pierre van den Berghe argued that nationalism is ‘an extension of kinship selection and “nepotism” which has become salient in the modern world because of large-scale population movements, colonialism and conquest’ (Hutchinson and Smith 1994, 48). Together with the rise of nationalism and the emergence of independent nation states across the five continents, the twentieth century saw the transformation of the international system. Asia gradually gained independence from Western hegemony and colonization, and moved from an enforced wall-flower existence at the periphery toward a central position in a new global constellation. Since the late twentieth century, led by China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Korea, Turkey, and Vietnam, Asia’s fast growing economic, cultural, and political influence has made it an important player in the age of globalization. Against this background, nationalism in Asia has become an increasingly discussed and debated topic.

As the largest continent in the world, Asia encompasses 48 countries and is home to nearly 60 percent of the world’s population. Current studies on nationalism in Asia have been challenged by the region’s geographical, social, and cultural diversity and complexity. A handful of published works have tried to examine nationalism in Asian countries from a comparative perspective, each providing case studies on several countries in East, Southeast, South, Central, or West Asia (Emerson et al. 1942; Ball 1952; Holland 1953; Kennedy 1968; Kedourie 1974; Kang 1979; Breuilly 1993; Leifer 2000; Reid 2009; Rozman 2012; Omelicheva 2014; Kingston 2016). Most research has focused on individual countries in the region, notably the major economic powers, including China (Dittmer and Kim 1993; Unger 1996; Hughes 1997; Zhao 2004; Schoppa 2011; Mitter 2020), India (Chatterjee 1986, Bhatt 2001; Pandey 2002; Chatterji et al. 2019), Iran (Cottam 1979; Ansari 2012), Indonesia (Legge 2011; Arianto, et al. 2018), Japan (Iida 2002; McVeigh 2003; Shimazu 2009; Wilson 2013), South Korea (Robinson 1988; Shin 2006; Kal 2013), and Turkey (Kieser 2013; Al 2019).

Some have studied the construction of national identity and nationalism in the first half of the twentieth century, when many Asian countries were transforming from having been Western powers’ colonies or semi-colonies into independent nation states (Kahin 1952; Duiker 1976; Gould 2010; Narangoa and Cribb 2011; Sato 2015; Boshier 2017). Others have examined the development and transformation of nationalism in Asia since the mid-twentieth century in the context of the Cold War, the Vietnam War (Duiker 1994), civil war (South 2005; Epkenhans 2016), diplomacy (Gries 2004), the spread of democracy (Corbridge

and Harriss 2000; Connors 2002; He 2017; Bertrand 2021), modernization (Zheng 1999; Dönmez and Yaman 2019), and globalization (Starrs 2012; D'Costa 2012). Others have analyzed the relationships between ethnicity (Bulag 1998; Bertrand 2004; Findley 2010; Han 2013; Yaghoubian 2014; Sheikh 2018), religion (Farhadian 2005; Yu 2005; Walton and Hayward 2014; Shani and Kibe 2019; Kingston 2019), and nationalism.

In addition, an increasing number of scholars have started to explore the issue from social, cultural, and technological perspectives by identifying and analyzing the role of language (Simpson 2007), education (Vickers 2005; Nozaki 2008), literature (Tsu 2005), popular and traditional cultures (Guo 2004; Lei 2006; Menon 2012; Surak 2012; Daniels 2013; Benesch 2014), film and television (Muhlhahn and Haselberg 2012; Gorfinkel 2017), gender (Blackburn and Ting 2013), sport (Zhoxiang and Hong 2014; Merkel 2014), food (King 2022), the internet (Mengin 2014; Schneider 2018), and other social and cultural institutions in the construction of national identity and nationalism in Asian countries.

Generally speaking, in the field of nationalism studies, Asia is still a novel topic and under-researched continent which needs to be explored further. Unlike existing literature that either offers case studies on several Asian nations, or gives an in-depth analysis of a specific country, this Handbook intends to provide readers with both a holistic and detailed view of Asian nationalism. Instead of covering the whole of Asia, it focuses solely on East and Southeast Asia, and covers 15 countries: Burma, Brunei, Cambodia, China, East Timor, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Malaysia, North Korea, South Korea, Singapore, Thailand, the Philippines, and Vietnam.

Written by a team of international scholars from different academic backgrounds and disciplines, the book presents a comprehensive and multi-disciplinary survey of the formation and transformation of nationalism in the context of Asian culture, politics, economy, and society. It explores a diverse set of topics, including theoretical considerations on nationalism and internationalism; the formation of nationalism and national identity in the colonial and postcolonial eras; the relationships between traditional culture, religion, ethnicity, education, gender, technology, sport, and nationalism; the influence of popular culture on nationalism; and politics, policy, and national identity.

In short, this Handbook illustrates how nationalism helped to draw the borders between East and Southeast Asian nations, and how it is re-emerging in the twenty-first century to shape the region and the world into the future. It intends to highlight the latest developments in the field and contribute to our knowledge and understanding of nationalism and nation building. It also offers new perspectives on studying Asian history, society, culture, and politics, and provides readers with a unique lens through which to better contextualize and understand the relationships between countries within East and Southeast Asia, and between Asia and the world.

While the chapters in this Handbook offer the latest insights, it is worth emphasizing that the research must be as dynamic as the field of research itself; we can compare our subject matter to geological formations where shifts that are, at first glance, limited in range and scope contribute to wider ranging and unpredictable shifts in the geosphere. Here, this applies to economic, political, and socio-cultural changes. As we are facing unimaginable challenges in the age of globalization, it is of utmost importance that we (a) provide such up-to-date research as is contained in this present Handbook, and (b) use it for future research, not least research that aims to find well-informed and differentiated answers to the questions arising around the dynamic relationship between globalization and nationalism.

I hope that the topics and views in this volume will further stimulate interdisciplinary research and debate on nationalism, nation building, and identity construction and discourses in Asia in both the historical and modern contexts, while disseminating knowledge and scholarship to a wider audience.



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