

## FRAGMENTS OF NATIONS AND NATIONALISMS: TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY NATIONALISMS

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### —Abstract—

This paper attempts to provide a typology of state-seeking nationalisms of the 21st century. We collected data using James Minahan's (2002) Encyclopedia of Stateless Nations and from the major newspaper sources with international coverage using Proquest newspaper database from 2000-2010. Based on these data we identified over 300 nations, which demand a state for their own, which have a well-defined territory, has a flag of their own and an organization which demand independence and/or autonomy. This paper examines 174 of these nations which have populations over 1 million. These nations are highly different from each other in terms of their level of mobilization level of militancy, organizational capacity, demands and grievances. Taking these differences into consideration, we established a typology of 21st century state-seeking nationalisms. Our typology, which is inspired by Miroslav Hroch's three phases, is not only descriptive in character but also suggests how nationalist movements evolve and transform in time.

**Key Words:** *typology of nationalism, nationalist movements, separatist movements, secessionist movements, Miroslav Hroch, James Minahan*

**JEL Classification:** F51, F54

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In an article titled "The New World", recently published in the New York Times, Jacobs and Khanna (2012) wrote the following lines<sup>1</sup>:

"It has been just over 20 years since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the last great additions to the world's list of independent nations. As Russia's satellite republics staggered onto the global stage, one could be forgiven for thinking that this was it: the end of history, the final major release of static energy in a system now moving very close to equilibrium. A few have joined the club since — Eritrea, East Timor, the former Yugoslavian states, among others — but by the beginning of the 21st century, the world map seemed pretty much complete. Now, though, we appear on the brink of yet another nation-state baby boom."

Although Jacobs and Khanna (2012) focused on Tuareg movements in Mali, Kurdish movement in the Middle East, secessionist movements in Belgium, Congo, Somalia, Syria, Afghanistan and Pakistan, unificationist movements in Arabian peninsula and Korea as their primary examples, these are not the only secessionist movements in the world. Recent scholarship underlines that there are a significant number of state-seeking nationalist movements in Africa, South and South East Asia, Middle East, Europe, North America and Latin America.

This paper aims to investigate the current level of state-seeking nationalist movements in the world (1) by creating a database of nationalist movements of the 21st century and (2) by trying to summarize the main characteristics of this movements using variation-finding strategy (Tilly, 1984) and (3) constructing a typology for nationalist movements of the 21st century.

Typology-construction is a widely utilized tool in the studies of nationalism and nationalist movements (Smith, 1971, pp. 211-229). In the literature of nationalism there is a wide spectrum of historical typologies which compare the types of nationalisms across time (Carr, 1945; Hayes, 1931; Hroch, 2000), geographical typologies which try to understand the commonalities and differences of nationalist movements across space (Kohn, 1994; Rokkan, 1999) and sociological taxonomies which attempt to summarize various differences in the social characteristics and the organization of these nationalist movements (Greenfeld, 1992; Snyder, 1976; Symmons-Symonolewicz, 1965; Gellner, 1983).

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<sup>1</sup> This is one of the initial products of an ongoing research. Authors would like to thank Naz Kural, Begüm Özcan, İnci Bilgiç, Serdar Altınışık, Mahmut Gökçe and Beste Yamanoglu for their contributions to the data collection part at the initial stages of the project, to Prof. Brian Van Arkadie for his critical evaluation of the primary source the project is using for data collection, and to Magda Von Der Heyt for her helpful comments on nationalism in Latin America.

Before we propose another typology to this already long list of existing typologies, we need to underline the purposes for which we are proposing a new typology. A typology cannot be correct or incorrect, it can only be more or less useful for the purposes for which it was designed. Our purpose is to understand the current level of state-seeking nationalist activities in the 21st century. However attempting at presenting the current state-seeking nationalist movements of the world faces a definitional problem: when does a movement becomes a nationalist movement? How do we know that a community demands a state for its own? Are violent struggles for statehood necessary or sufficient for us to understand that a demand exist? What percentage of the community should have that demand so that we can generalize it to the "nation" as a whole? Does every nationalist movement need to have an nationalist organization of its own? Is the existence of a single organization demanding independence enough to categorize that movement as a nationalist movements? There are many questions around how to define or categorize the existing nationalist movements.

Our project, in general, aims at investigating current nationalist movements in the world and providing empirical data, evidence and conceptual tools for scholars who study nationalist movements of the 21st century. The typology we aim to construct in this paper, however, has a more modest purpose. We try to differentiate among the current level of *activism* among existing nationalist movements in the world, which is, for us, the first step of addressing to other related problems.

## **2. METHODOLOGY**

In order to understand the current level of activism among existing nationalist movements, we established a database of national movements of the 21st century using James Minahan's *Encyclopedia of Stateless Nations* (2002) as a primary source. *Encyclopedia of Stateless Nations* an updated edition of author's original study, *Dictionary of Stateless Nations*, and it contains 350 articles on historical, political, social and religious evolution of many newly nations which do not currently have a state of their own.

Minahan's criteria for defining nations is very useful for a study like ours, which aims to understand the commonalities and differences among the stateless nations of the 21st century. Minahan rejects the use of government lists or official documents for national and/or minority groups on the grounds that "if government criteria were followed national groups in such states as Turkey or Japan would not be included, because of government claims that there are no national minorities within their borders" (Minahan, 2002, p. xii). Considering the varieties of existing

nationalisms and the lack of a consensus on the definitions of nationalism Minahan also rejects the use of a uniform criteria based on common language, common religion, common history, common culture, occupational specialization or size.

Building on *Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*, which defines nation as "*a body of people, associated with a particular territory, that is sufficiently conscious of its unity to seek or possess a government particularly its own*", Minahan (2002) uses three factors for his selection of "nations": (1) self-identity as a distinct group, (2) display of the outward trappings of national consciousness (e.g. adaption of flag), and (3) the formation of a specifically nationalist organization or political grouping that reflects its claim to self-determination. Based on this definition he selects 350 nations without states which still existed in the year 2002.

To our knowledge, there is no scientific review of Minahan's work which evaluates the reliability and validity of the information Minahan presents in his articles. Although Francis Fukuyama (1996) published a very short review of Minahan's early edition of his encyclopedia, it does not give much information about the reliability of the book. Many scholars writing on nationalism started referring to this encyclopedia as a primary source, yet these studies do not provide an evaluation of the work as well. For these reasons we compiled our database in three steps: First, we compiled the socio-demographic information of each nations in terms of their population, territories, language, religion, percentage or other peoples living in "their" territories. These figures were manifested explicitly in Minahan's articles. Secondly, conducting an extensive content analysis of Minahan's articles we established new variables that are necessary to construct our typologies. These variables contain information about these stateless nations' current organizational activities, their level of mobilization, demands, their organizational capacity and the type of issues and problems they organize their movement around. Thirdly, we used Proquest international newspaper database and various existing datasets such as Minorities At Risk (2009) to validate the information provided by Minahan. We paid attention to the activities of these stateless in the last 30 year with a focus of their activities since 2000; and categorized these nationalist movements based on our typology.

We do not claim the comprehensiveness of the database we compiled. On the contrary we realize that there are many factual errors and inconsistencies in Minahan's encyclopedia. Furthermore based on our reliability analysis, we were not able to validate the information regarding some of these "stateless nations". Of course absence of evidence is not the evidence of absence, yet for our purposes we

did not add the stateless nations we could not validate into our analysis. However we believe that this encyclopedia can be utilized for a macro-analysis which attempts to understand the differences among diverse nationalist movements from all over the world.

### 3. ANALYSIS

Below we will present our analysis for stateless nations which have populations more than 1 million<sup>2</sup>. There is a total number of 185 stateless nations which have populations more than 1 million in Minahan's encyclopedia. However since 2002, when Minahan wrote this encyclopedia two of these stateless nations, the Kosovars and South Sudanese gained their independence. Based on our research we decided to exclude 9 more nations (Antioquians, Gilakis, Logonese, Hejazis, Romands, Roms, Mormons, Jews (residing in Russia), Ahmadis) from our analysis because they did not fit in the original definition of nations Minahan laid in his encyclopedia. Thus our analysis contains 174 stateless nations that existed in Minahan's encyclopedia which had populations more than 1 million.

Comparing the level of mobilization, organizational capacity and demands of these 174 stateless nations, we decided that one needs to differentiate among the three types of existing nationalist movements in the world that we would call as Type A, Type B and Type C movements<sup>3</sup>.

Type C movements are nationalist movements which have nationalist organizations (1) demanding an independent or autonomous state for their own and (2) having a high level of mobilization to achieve that purpose. This second property, the high level of mobilization for statehood, is the characteristic property of Type C movements and there are two different ways how these organizations can have a high level of mobilization. First, the organizations themselves may engage in political and/or militaristic activities by themselves. Or they can mobilize masses for these purposes. However, whatever strategy is employed, Type C movements are usually seen as a potential threat by the ruling

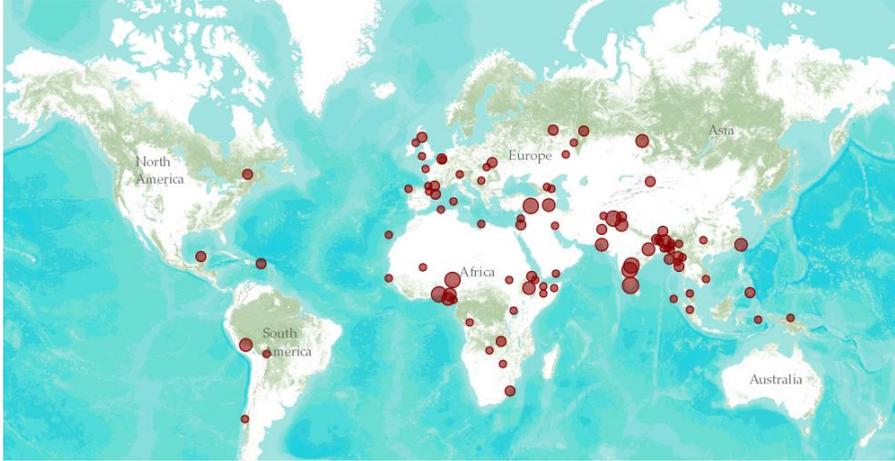
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<sup>2</sup> It is necessary to underline that for us there is no lower population limit for communities to be recognized as nations. Today 43 of members of the United Nations have populations less than 1 million. If we add the dependencies to the list the number is above 100. Our criteria is not derived from a a priori established notion of a nation but is merely a tool to simplify the presentation in this paper because we believe that many of the properties of these nations with smaller populations are different from others, thus, they should be analyzed separately.

<sup>3</sup> The terminology of our typology is inspired by Miroslav Hroch (2000), who compared the development of various national revivals in Eastern Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and underlined the three phases of nationalist revivals. For Hroch (2000, p. 23) "Phase A" which was the period in which nationalism was mostly a scholarly interest, "Phase B" which was the period of patriotic agitation, and "Phase C" which was the rise of a mass national movement.

states. These Type C movements are the most characteristic nationalist movements.

**Figure 1: Map of Type-C State-Seeking Nationalist Movements**



Of the 174 stateless nations only 94 of them (54.0%) fit into this criteria (see Figure 1). Although Type-C movements are seen in all parts of the world, there is an exceptionally high concentration of Type-C movements in South Asia especially in Bangladesh, Myanmar (Burma), India and Pakistan belt (23 movements). In Africa, Nigeria in the West and Sudan-Ethiopia-Somalia belt in the East are two main zones of Type-C nationalist unrest. Middle East and Caucasus host not only the well-known Kurdish, Palestinian and Chechen movements but also the Maronite, South Azeri and Dagestani movements. In Europe Type-C movements are concentrated mostly in the Western Europe. These are the nationalist movements which are known as the "new nationalisms of Europe" which arose after the 1970s. Catalan, Basque, Aragonese and Galician nationalisms in Spain; Occitans and Bretons in France; Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish nationalisms in the United Kingdom; and Flemish and Walloon nationalisms in Belgium are among these movements. In the Balkans, there is no Type-C movement except for the Vojvodines, Carpatho-Rusyns and the Western Ukrainians, which is probably due to the "earlier Balkanization" process and high-number of newly established states at the turn of the 21st century. Americas have lower number of Type-C movements compared to other continents. Except for Quebecois movement in North America, the Maya and Puerto Rico movement in Central America, Aymara, Cambas and Mapuches movements in South America, there are not many Type-C movements in the Americas.

Looking at the movements we listed above, one can see that these movements are highly different from each other in terms of demands, powers and/or strategies. Thus Type-C movements should be further differentiated among themselves. However we will not conduct this further differentiation of Type-C movements here. For us Type-C movements is a very broad category of nationalist movements whose common denominator that they have a relatively high level of mobilization for their nationalistic purposes. The utility of Type-C movements is best seen when it is compared with the Type-B movements.

When there is at least one nationalist organization claiming or demanding separate statehood but level of mobilization is low, we called these movements Type-B movements. In reference to Miroslav Hroch's terminology, it can be argued that these movements are in their "patriotic agitation" phase and they have not yet become a serious threat for the states against which they organize. We categorized 48 of the stateless nations (27.5%) as Type-B movements. Interestingly Type-B movements can also be observed in places where Type-C movements did not exist. For instance in North America Type-B movements are more common than the type-C movements. The Californian, Texas and Southern nationalist movements can be seen as Type-B movements in the USA and Western Canadian movement is a Type-B movement in Canada. Emerging Lombardian, Ligurian and Venetian nationalisms in North Italy, and Sicilian nationalism in Southern Italy can be seen as examples of Type-B movements in Central Europe.

**Figure 2: Map of Type-B State-Seeking Nationalist Movements**



An interesting feature of Type-B movements is almost half of these movements were former Type-C movements which historically failed to achieve

independence or preserve it if they had achieved for a limited time. The Type B movements in the USA were active secessionist movements in the 1860 or Alsatians had a strong Type-C movement in the first quarter of the 20th century. This tells us that the evolution of nationalist movements do not occur in a linear stage-based model as Hroch (2000) underlined in his A-B-C phases. The phase of mass mobilization can be followed by a patriotic agitation phase if the movement fails but organizations prevails.

Finally our typology underlines the necessity to recognize a third type of nationalist unrest that we will call as Type-A. In Type-A movements we see (1) a community with a strong in-group sentiment and self-conscious identity and (2) at least one political organization which try to solve various cultural, social or political problems these communities are facing. Of course defined in this way, thousands of ethnic groups or communities can be counted as Type-A movements. Actually at the face value, Type-A movements are not very different from thousands of other ethnic groups thus most of these movements would not be considered as "nationalist" by most scholars. However, what is critical for Type-A movements is that they are at the transition from a pre-political era to a political era. They are highly politicized and concepts like "independence", "autonomy", "self-determination" have started to be imagined and manifested as a project or opportunity by the political elites. We categorized 32 of the movements in Minahan's database (18.4%) as Type-A movements.

**Figure 3: Map of Type-A State-Seeking Nationalist Movements**



As we have underlined Type-A movements are (yet) not proper nationalist movements. Thus for those reading Minahan's encyclopedia, these groups would

emerge as a complete anomaly and it can even be suggested that they should be eliminated from the list. This includes groups like Northumbrians in the U.K., Cajuns (French Acadians) and New Englanders in the U.S, Zulians in Venezuela, Bahians in Brazil, Maasais in Kenya, Zazas in Turkey, Neapolitans and Emilians in Italy or Hui-Huis in China.

However looking at the political developments in these communities one would see that these groups are becoming highly-politicized and some of them start imagining independence or statehood as a solution to their particular problems. The violence against the Maasais in the 1990s, for instance, has pushed this tribe to discuss how to maintain culture and development of Maasailand, a discussion during which autonomy and independence is emerging as a political opportunity. Zazas in Turkey, Hui-Huis in China struggle for the recognition of their identity and religious practices but they are not nationalist. However a close examination of the current developments in these communities will reveal that some emerging political organizations and groups might lead to their transition into Type-B movements, where agitation for independence and autonomy might start soon.

#### **4. CONCLUSION**

The typology we propose in this paper suggests that social scientists studying the evolution of nationalist movements must distinguish between different phases of nationalist movements in which independence and/or autonomy emerges as a political opportunity to particular problems of a territorially based community (Type-A movements), movements in which at least one political organization expresses its demand for statehood, leads nationalist agitation and propaganda, and struggle to establish its hegemony over a significant segment of the communities (Type-B movements), and movements in which there is a relatively high-level of mobilization for statehood (Type-C movements). In the literature of nationalism, nationalist movements are mostly defined as Type-C movements. However studying Type-A and Type-B movements are also critical to understand the complex processes through which "new nationalist movements" emerge.

Our typology does not propose a unilinear evolution from Type-A to Type-C movements. Thus unlike Hroch, we are not talking about phases. Although it is still possible that a movement first emerges as an idea (Type-A), then finds its organizational structure (Type-B) and find resources and opportunities for mass mobilization (Type-C), it is equally possible that Type-C movements turn into Type-B movements after they lose their communal base and opportunities for mobilization, or Type-B movements turn out to be Type-A when they lose their organizational capacity and the movement only remains as an "idea". We argue a

close examination of this dynamism is very critical for social scientists studying nationalism in a comparative-historical perspective.

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