Contents

	Preface	X
	Industrian The maintenance of the second sec	
	Introduction: The modernist paradigm	
	The rise and decline of nationalism? 1	
	The rise and decline of modernism? 2	g.
	Aims and plan 5	
1	The rise of classical modernism	8
	The roots of classical modernism 9	
	The classical modernist paradigm of nationalism 18	
PAT	RT I	
	rieties of modernism	25
2	The culture of industrialism	27
	'Nation' and 'nationalism' 29	
	Agroliterate and industrial societies 30	
	From 'low' to 'high' cultures 32	
	Nationalism and industrialism 35	
	Nationalism and 'high cultures' 37	
	Nationalism and public education 39	
	Nationalism and historical continuity 41	
	Nationalism and the ethnic past 45	
3	Capitalism and nationalism	47
	Imperialism and uneven development 49	
	Populism and romanticism 51	alia iz
	Nationalism-producing' development? 53	
	The social base of nationalism 55	
	Internal colonialism 57	

hartitemistres by result beginning.

	~
37111	Contents
VIII	COMMENT

	Ethno-regionalism 61	
	Elite strategies of 'rational choice' 63	
	Interest and passion 66	
4	State and nation	7
	Sources of political modernism 70	
	The reflexive state 71	
	The nation beyond the state 73	
	Nations and the inter-state order 76	
	The state and war 79	
	A political theory of nationalism? 82	
	State and society: bridging the gulf? 84	
	Identity and politics 89	
	Intellectuals and nationalist ideology 91	
	Political modernism and ethnic history 92	
	Conclusion 94	
5	Political messianism	9
	'Political religion' 97	
	Marginal youth 99	
	The cult of the 'dark gods' 101	
	A millennial opiate 103	
	Colonialism and the intellectuals 106	
	Millennialism and progress 109	
	The religion of history 112	
6	Invention and imagination	1
	Inventing nations 117	
	Ethnic and civic nationalisms? 125	
	'Proto-national' bonds 127	

138

PART II

Critics and alternatives

Mass self-sacrifice 140

The nation as construct? 129

An imagined community? 136

Print-capitalism and re-presentation

Imagining the nation 131

143

The fried minister and time reclaimed they

Le Branchelersh burnbert melbreiteft

7 Primordialism and perennialism

Primordialism I: inclusive fitness 146

	The instrumentalist critique 153	
	Perennialism I: ethnic continuity 159	
	Perennialism II: perennial ethnicity, modern nations 161	
	The psychology of ethnic affiliation 165	
	The immemorial nation? 167	
8	Ethno-symbolism	170
	'Old, continuous' nations 170	
	Pre-modern nations? 173	
	Cultural and political nationalism 177	
	Myth-symbol complexes 181	
	A framework of national emergence 183	
	Culture and the border 185	
	'Dual legitimation' 187	
	Ethnies and ethno-symbolism 190	
	Origins and types of nation 193	
	Ethno-symbolism considered 196	
9	Beyond modernism?	199
	Polyethnicity, past and future 199	
	The post-national agenda 201	
	Fragmentation and hybrid identities 202	
	Gender and nation 205	
	Liberalism and civic or ethnic nationalism 210	
	Nationalism and globalisation 213	
	National identity and supra-nationalism 216	
	Beyond modernism? 218	
	Conclusion: problems, paradigms and prospects	221
	Problems 221	
	Paradigms 222	
	Prospects 225	
	Notes	229
	Bibliography	244
	Index	264
	the bear the construction of the control of the con	

The second secon

Primordialism II: cultural givens 151