Journal of Languages, Culture and Civilization

Volume 3, Issue 4, December 2021, Pages: 335-342

Homepage: http: jlcc.spcrd.org ISSN(P): 2708-3748

# The Role of Islamism in state Nationalism

Lubna Saeed[a], Muhammad Asim Nawaz[b], Ghulam Abbas[c], Muhammad Ashraf[d],

[a] PhD Philosophy, Ural Federal University, Yekaterinburg, Russia.
[b] Assistant Professor, Lyallpur Business School, Government College University Faisalabad.
[c] Research Scholar, Department of Islamic Study, Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan
[d] Visiting Lecturer, Department of English, Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan.

Corresponding author's email: ashrafkhosa@hotmail.com

Received: 19 August 2021 Published: 31 December 2021

Abstract

The role of religion in state nationalism is harder to specify. Nationalist clashes bring a wide spectrum of beliefs and factions together. With unrivalled intensity and resonance, nationalism is a significant marker of a contemporary democratic society as well as the arena of politics. In the following article author has attempted to reveal the connection between Islamism and state nationalism with a case of Pakistan. The focal ideas that have magniloquently been evaluated are; Nationalism as an Ideology of state, Islamism as a concept, state nationalism and the role of Islamization. The concepts have been discussed with a categorization of different critics and analysts: modernist, primordialists and perennialist. Three criteria have been established to assess Islam's effect on state nationalism: Islam is included in broad sections of the Constitution that identify the nation state; there are Islam-inspired national slogans, symbols, anthems, and flags that associate Islam with the nation; and the state uses Islamic motifs on national currencies, which are the most common everyday emblems of the nation that citizens touch.

Keywords

Democratic society, Islamization, modernist, primordialists and perennialist.

DOI Number: 10.47067/jlcc.v3i4.83

© 2021 The authors. Published by SPCRD Global publishing. This is an open access article under the Creative Commons Attributions-NonCommercial 4.0

## Introduction

The history of nationalism is reflected in its past, and the occurrences of nationalism are reflected in its contemporary eras, and has no place unchanged by its effects since around the mid-19th century [Haris; 2009, 1]. Anthony Smith [2010] stated that nationalism is a basic determinant of a contemporary democratic society as well as the sphere of politics, with unbeatable intensity and resonance. Even, Josep Llobera [1994] named nationalism the as the "King of modernity". Discussions were held about why and how nationalism started, but very few would refute its significance. Nationalism is intense when it socializes people and becomes an intrinsic part of society. Media and Education are two vital strengths for socializing as Michael Billig [1995] claims, although there are dozens of un-observable daily activities and incidents that perpetuate nationalism. An outsider can see these concerns, but local population does not really. To color a piece of fabric one means and it gives a symbol to die for and paint it otherwise that becomes a sign of deception, revulsion, and deep hate.

The conventional approaches to nationalism, constructivism and primordialism, have been separated into two. Primordialism believes that ethnicity is old, stable and unchanged; the constructivism considers it to adjust in accordance with governance and the socio-cultural climate. Primordialists are generally focused on an extended association with their ideas. Ethnicity and nationalism, according to their claim, are built on the affection of people with their own type. In the human population, nepotism is innate and built biologically. Therefore, a philosophy of inclusive fitness and nepotism justify the influence of nationalism over individuals. This theory indicates that humans appear to display altruistic behavior towards close family members and kin to maximize the likelihood of good transmission of their collective genes. Perennialists have quite a less important role than primordialists and derecognize the significance of socio-biological relations. They embrace nationalism is a new and modern concept, and believe that ethnicity and nationalism neither to be natural nor to be granted. However, nationalism is not believed plausible without common traditions that have formed in history. The cornerstone of the solidarity which nationalism creates is language, widespread myths, and symbols. Modern and contemporary nationalism is associated with religion according to Adrian Hastings. He found religion a valuable contribution to nationalism and opposed several modernists' attempt to neglect the involvment of religion that has an important influence in the rise of nationalism in many European countries.

Modernists, in comparison to the primordialists as well as to perennialists, associate nationalism with modernization. They argue that it is hardly possible before modernism there was any nation. In the aftermath of modernity, industrialism, mass education, press publishing, democracy and a number of other influences led to the emergence of nationalism. The Modernists contend that blood relations, culture and common history are the foundations of nationalism. Whereas, perennialists and primordialists has stated that Nationalism is based on the common myths and “concocted” practices.

## Nationalism as the ideology of State

State, leaders or decision-makers advocate that particular form of nationalism that is ideal for them or promotes their conception of a state. The nationalism’s precise interpretation differs over

times and always has been debated. It should be stressed, however, that this form is not equivalent to the nationalism occurring at the individual, collective or social level. State nationalism is mostly successful due to the services provided, however there are many cases when mainstream nationalism opposes the state nationalism and persuades State nationalism to eventually emerge or to be a substitute by becoming new state nationalism. Therefore, though stressing this difference, it must be considered that nationalism in the State is consistently affected by mainstream nationalism and is never fully 'out' of it and not Independent. State nationalism is characterized to foster the central and cohesive identification as a nationalism purveyed by the country. The state nationalism came into scene in response to the social nationalism that is supported typically at public scale. State nationalism is often described as elite or affluent nationalism, describing it as nationalism of classes "administratively and politically influential, wealthy, with a higher social designation" whereas popular or social Nationalism of the kind of non-elite.

## The Concept of Islamization

As nationalism, Islamization is a difficult topic to define. It might not be easy to differentiate between Islamization, Shariatization and Muslimization and lately Talibanisation [Korotayev, 2000; Singh, 2007; Lindlay-Higfield, 2008]. The conceptual jumble becomes even more difficult to disentangle when the additional notions of de-Islamization, re-Islamization, and insidious Islamization are included. Julian Lee recognizes the concept's ambiguity and associates Islamization to "fundamental and conventional Islam" [Lee 2010; 19]

Arskal connects Islamization with Sharia law. To utilise this criteria, however, one must first define 'orthodox, fundamental Islam' and Sharia, which would be a complicated job [Salim, 2008.15]. Islamization and Shariatization are two terms used by Farzana Shaikh [2008]. She argues they reflect an unshakable commitment to carrying out Islamic principles and laws at the expense of a larger and more ambiguous dedication towards Islamic moral codes.Leaders and advocates of Islamization and Shariatization, on the other hand, are very opposite. The above debate demonstrates that there is really no consensus on what constitutes Islamization of any state, other from the relationship between Islam and state. Because Islam may be interpreted in a number of ways, here might be and are numerous opposing viewpoints on state Islamization. Instead of concentrating on exactly articulating Islamization of state, indicators are used to evaluate Islamization of authorities in the situation of state nationalism. These factors generally connected to policies, regulations and laws with a focus on Islamization of state rather than popular Islamization.

## Religion and State Nationalism

The unreasonable emotional element and the racial division sometimes contribute to nationalism disconcertingly. However, where nationalism is not seen in a favorable way, questions are far more common regarding the role of religion within state nationalism. A fusion of religion with nationalism is seen as inflammatory and damaging [Juergensmeyer 1993].

It is difficult to describe the connection between prevailing religion and nationalism because; they were fierce enemies and also fast friends but depend on the background. These opposing patterns

are exemplified by two of the earlier countries as Britain and France. Catholics, the main religious sect in France, had a complicated relationship to French state nationalism, as a result of dispute between both the popes and Emperor for the power and ownership Church roles and possessions, and conflicts with several prominent Catholic dynasties (Austria and Spain). By comparison, Anglican Christianity was an integral feature of British nationhood, the prevalent religious doctrine in Great Britain.

Barbara-Ann Rieffer and Rogers Brubaker [2010] had a valuable contribution concerning relationship within nationalism and religion, although, they did not discriminate between state and common nationalism. Four approaches to evaluate the relation within nationalism and religion as provided by Rogers Brubaker [2012] that could be taken as four forms of ties between nationalism and religion. Religion and nationalism are inherently contradictory with each other over the first situation. Each of those aims to be the nation's main symbol, by trying to exclude the other one. Nationalism is a contemporary ideology of religion that aspires to take the place of an ancient one. Religion describes some aspects of nationalism in the second form. These elements are typically connected with the nation's roots and its early growth. This sort of connection is very normal and religion is an integral part of nationalist ideologies in many countries.

Religion is a prominent contribution to nationalism according to the third form. This is a representation of the national identity and even religion is focused on some certain markers and myths. Furthermore, Brubaker reveals how nationalism and religion are inextricably linked. Nationalism as a movement revolves around a religion in plurality and the distinction between the two is complicated. As, William Safran [2005-1] states, ' in these situations, states become a secular representation of the prevailing religion rather than not". Brubaker is hesitant to use this kind of nationalism as his opinion that nationalism is a concept connected to a political structure that operates within a variety of other political entities. He believes that this concept of nationalism could indeed not contain a clear component of religious nationalism.

Barbara-Ann Rieffer [2003] claims that there is not enough consideration paid to the connection among nationalism and religion. Religion is entirely forgotten or gets only a mediocre acknowledgement in the works of so many great philosophers of nationalism. Rieffer cites Gellner, Anderson and Hobsbawm who believed that while religion was greatly contributing to west European nationalism, the importance of religion is strengthened by being component of mainstream culture. This tendency is due to the desire of historians to view nationalism as a new and progressive notion, although the main religions dated back a thousand years.

Rieffer claims that religious supremacy contributes also to the precepts of religion being upheld into national law and practice by ruling the national state. In the sense of MMCs, this establishment of the precepts of religion into national rules and regulations can be termed as the Islamization of the state. She then accepts that religion's involvement in nationalism mostly progresses towards to Islamization of the state government. The categorization of the numerous modes of dialogue between nationalism and religion is provided by Rieffer. Religious nationalism is the first class which leads to the state where nationalism and religion are un-dividable.

The second group is "instrumental religious nationalism," in which religion is not the predominant component but is component of nationalism. Sometimes in such situations, religion

has been used by the ruling establishment to give additional coating of national solidarity to the base on ethnical culture. The third group is "anti-religious or secular nationalism" according to which religion has no role in nationalism and even nationalism is sometimes determined by the resistance towards the prevailing religion. While Reiffer's points to the connection between the position of religion in the playing role for nationalism and social policy, the three divisions she identifies are too broadened and differences over the surfaces of which one nation belongs to any of these categories. For instance, Reiffer places India (1979; Post Era) in the category of religious nationalism, including Pakistan and Iran of post -revolution. These categorizations would be criticized by many social philosophers.

Sate Nationalism and the role of Islamism

After 1945, Islam and the state nationalism scholarships can be separated in two phases as Pre-era of 1970 and the Post-era of 1970. Until the 1970, in the most Muslim majority countries, the political elites, who were mostly non-religious, de-promoted Islam and attempted to prioritize economic prosperity and non-religious nationalism. Islam, a feature of the medieval, early industrial period, has been deemed history with respect to the vanished empires. Although, not all the history was presented as unyielding, and myths from a still further early Islamic era had been revived, developed and encouraged in many Muslim majority countries, and Islam was regarded a manipulating force which diverted the "nation" from its true course. Leadership had aims of creating the western-based liberal, united, strong and industrialized states. The emphasis on Islam went opposed both the formation of national integrity and individuality. Many of these developing countries had large non-Muslim communities and Islam was not special. The political elite thus stressed other outlets of national identity to be far more inclusive and to establish more decentralized nation states. They concentrated on ethno-linguistical nation like Turkey or dynastical state (as Oman and Jordan) or ideological (as Iraq, Syria and Yemen) or ancient (for example Lebanon and Yemen ) ties and they brushed aside the religion of Islam. Unsurprisingly, Islam is regarded poor in this political atmosphere and many analysts and historians have figured it out that Islam has lost its fight against the more forceful nationalism (i.e. non-religious nationalism). Haim [1955] defines the secular or non-religious nationalism as the most potent trend in modern Arab Islamic political discourse, according to the author whereas, Keddie Nikki [1969; 17] argues that common allegiance into the Muslim majority countries transformed into contemporary nations. Rosanthal [1967, XIII] observed the slow surrender of a weakened Islam in front of a secular nationalism. Arab nationalism as Ba'athism and Naserism had been raised among Arab countries as well as secular nationalists' revolts conquered in many Muslim majority countries.

The situation has changed both within and beyond the Muslim majority countries from the 1970s. On the worldwide level, Western influence, primarily the United States, diminished as a result of the Vietnam War and the economic growth of post second world war. The two armed conflicts among Arab and Israel brought further the attention of the Muslims towards the involvement of the West in supporting Israel. Previously, popularly, becoming aligns with the West was seen as a pillar of power; however, just after 70s, it became a movement that would have to be clarified as

well as justified. This may have been the time when oil-wealthy fundamental religious regimes willing to help other Muslim-majority countries with hundreds of thousands of dollars as aid.

To take advantage of these transformations, many Muslim majority countries' administrations, that were maily governed by secular oligarchs, intended to exploit religion as a tool. The importance of Islam in sovereign nationalization was emphasised, with Sharia serving as the foundation for legislations and state constitutions [Roy 2007; 36)]. As, Gregory Starrett [1998] documented in his writing "Putting Islam to Work" , relying on his studies in Egypt, mainstream press, emblems, and academia were used to disseminate Islam and integrate Islam with both the government and the state. The importance of Islam in nationalism was bolstered by these government efforts. Unlike in the past, nationalism did not oppose Islam, but rather accommodated it. Though there is no proof that involvement of Islam as a movement of nationalism has expanded among the whole or even mainly in Muslims majority countries since 9/11. Islam's influence in Muslims majority countries state nationalisms has been inflated in a part of western mainstream media. Secular components of state nationalism were said to be weak and diminishing, whereas Islamism was rising in popularity. "The 'clash of civilizations" argument had been used to minimise and deny the authority of secularism of sovereign nationalism, as well as the republic altogether in Muslim majority nations. This was threat from Islam, fanaticism, or Islamophobia seemed as falling upon the Muslim-majority countries, with the ostensibly secular states located in these nations were seen to be too feeble to combat it [Tibbi; 2002].

As David [2012] evaluated that numerous Islamist groups, such as Taliban, the Iranian Revolution and Hamas have had their nationalist overtones were overlooked or dismissed. This tendency can also be seen in recent works which assert the era of post-Arab Springs of Islamist's dominance and secularism in states nationalisms that was is no longer relevant [Krauthammer 2012; Rubin 2012]. The Islamists' own condemnation of nationalism appears to have inspired in some of these studies. Sayyad Qutb and Maulana Maududi, both were the most famous ideologues of contemporary Islamists movements, believed that geographical nationalisms are anti-religious because it undermines the solidarity of the Muslims through emphasizing devotion to country or race over slam or God [Toth; 2013]. The questions arises "Does the influence of Islam in states nationalisms is growing among Muslim Majority Countries"? Analysts have been unable to provide a definitive explanation because there are approximately fifty MMCs, with Islam's involvement in state nationalism rising in some and declining in others. A definitive response can be given, like the countries with majority of Christianty, Hinduism and Buddhism, at the regional level.

A wide range of examples of the various links among both religions and state nationalism has been described by Brubaker [2012] and these cases can be seen in Muslim Majority Countries. This relationship can sometimes be witnessed in the same country at various points in history, demonstrating the dynamic essence of Islam and its involvement in state's nationalism. Ethno-linguistic links, for instance, constituted a foundation of Iranian nationalism under Rieza Shah's rule during 1930s to 40s, and it had an adversarial relationship with Islam. Iran, on the other hand, has been portrayed as a country whose state nationalism is built on religion since the 1980s.

Correspondingly, Islam was initially antagonistic to Bangladeshi state nationalism, but by the 1980s, Islam had become an integral aspect of state nationalism in Bangladesh.

## Conclusion

It's difficult to assess the influence of religion in state nationalism. Nationalist confrontations bring together a diverse range of ideologies and factions. However, a unique culture (or a combination) is generally promoted, highlighted, and referenced so frequently that it gets etched into the public consciousness. Although primordialists, whose trust is in eternal, constant countries, today acknowledge as nationalist is chosen among dozens who uses the different folklore, martyrdoms, and mythologies to try to reawaken his national community. To evaluate Islam's influence in state nationalism, three criteria have just been chosen: Islam is included in broad sections of the Constitution that identify the nation state; there are Islam-inspired national slogans, symbols, anthems, flags that associate Islam with the nation; the state employs Islamic motifs on national currencies, that are the most prevalent everyday emblems of the nation that touch the hands of the citizens. Under the shreds of all discussion, author can summed up that since the mid-nineteenth century, the history of nationalism is mirrored in its past, and the occurrences of nationalism are reflected in modern times, leaving no place unaffected by its influence.

## References


Starrett, Gregory. 1998. Putting Islam to Work: Education, Politics, and Religious Transformation in Egypt. University of California Press.

Rieffer, Barbara-Ann J. 2003. “Religion and Nationalism Understanding the Consequences of a Complex Relationship.” Ethnicities 3 (2): 215–42. doi:10.1177/1468796803003002003.

Rais, Rasul B. 2012. “Is This Jinnah’s Pakistan?” The Express Tribune. September 10. http://tribune.com.pk/story/434351/is-this-jinnahs-pakistan-3/.

Nye, Malory. 2012. Religion: The Basics. Routledge.

Nayyar, A. H., and Ahmed Salim. 2005. The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan Urdu, English, Social Studies and Civics. Sustainable Development Policy Institute.

Llobera, Josep R. 1994. The God of Modernity: The Development of Nationalism in Western Europe. Bloomsbury Academic

Lee, Julian C. H. 2010. Islamization and Activism in Malaysia. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Keddie, Nikki R. 1969. “Pan-Islam as Proto-Nationalism.” The Journal of Modern History 41 (1): 17–28.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. 1993. The New Cold War?: Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State. University of California Press.

Harris, Erika. 2009. Nationalism: Theories and Cases. Edinburgh University Press.

Donaldson, David. 2012. “Hamas and Iran: Nationalism and Islam.” E-International Relations. October 10. http://www.e-ir.info/2012/10/10/hamas-and-iran-nationalismand-islam/.

Cohen, Stuart. 2012. “Religion as Nation-Builder and Nation-Divider: Interpersonal Relationship in Isreali Defense Forces.” In Religion, Politics, Society, and the State, edited by Jonathan Fox. Paradigm Publishers.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2012. “Religion and Nationalism: Four Approaches*.” Nations and Nationalism 18 (1): 2–20. doi:10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00486.x.

Anderson, Benedict. 2006. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. Verso.

Haim, Sylvia G. 1955. “Islam and the Theory of Arab Nationalism.” Die Welt Des Islams, New Series, 4 (2/3): 124–49. doi:10.2307/1569540

Krauthammer, Charles. 2012. “The Islamist Ascendancy.” The Washington Post, July 12. http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/charles-krauthammer-the-islamistascendancy/2012/07/12/gJQArj9PgW_story.html.

Rieffer, Barbara-Ann J. 2003. “Religion and Nationalism Understanding the Consequences of a Complex Relationship.” Ethnicities 3 (2): 215–42. doi:10.1177/1468796803003002003

Robinson, Matt. 2012. “Turkey’s PM Wants To Build Mosque To Hold 30,000.” The Huffington Post. December 2. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/12/02/primeminister-erdogan- a_n_2227708.html.

Roy, Oliver. 2007. Secularism Confronts Islam. Translated by George Holoch. New York: Columbia University Press.

Safran, William. 2005. “Introduction.” In The Secular and the Sacred: Nation, Religion and Politics, edited by William Safran. Routledge.

Smith, Anthony D. 2010. Nationalism. Polity

Tibi, Bassam. 2002. The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder. University of California Press.

Toth, James. 2013. Sayyid Qutb: The Life and Legacy of a Radical Islamic Intellectual. Oxford University Press.

Shaikh, Farzana. 2008. “From Islamisation to Shariatisation: Cultural Transnationalism in Pakistan.” Third World Quarterly 29 (3).

Salim, Arskal. 2008. Challenging the Secular State: The Islamization of Law in Modern Indonesia. University of Hawaii Press.