Indigenous People, Change, and Development:
A Romantic Nationalism Model

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In the 19th century, Romantic Nationalism provided an alternative to rational visions and universal strategies for mankind. Doing so involved affirming that people are emotionally and uniquely connected to their cultures and heritage. Many indigenous, ethnic, and traditional peoples continue to respond in a manner reminiscent of Romantic nationalism. Understanding and appreciating these parallels can be a valuable tool for those related to economic development projects that involve such peoples. This paper provides business anthropologists with a useful overview of Romantic Nationalism and its relevance in today's world.

INTRODUCTION

Many mainstream decision makers experience difficulties because they fail to adequately understand their clients, partners, and/or collaborators. To cater for such a situation, many consultants offer training, advice, and insights regarding the habits and priorities of people from China, Japan, Germany, and many other major trading partners. By providing a sophisticated cultural grounding, these specialists seek to enhance the cultural skills of those they serve.

In addition to understanding large, powerful countries, appreciating the distinctiveness of indigenous, ethnic, and traditional cultures is also important. One of the missions of applied anthropology (of which business anthropology is a part) is to help mainstream decision makers and negotiators gain the tools and insights they need to effectively operate in a culturally sensitive manner.

This paper goes beyond discussing the unique details of particular cultures or countries by providing a broad framework for understanding a variety of parallel responses that are often made by peoples who, in other ways, are very different. Romantic Nationalism (a 19th century European political movement) provides valuable clues and insights in this regard. By adapting our thinking regarding Romantic Nationalism to reflect the contemporary situation, a method for better understanding of responses to change (including cultural resurgence) emerges.

The Enlightenment Yesterday and Today

The Enlightenment (Gay, 1996) was an intellectual movement of epic importance that swept Western Civilization, reaching a high point of dominance in the late 18th century. The Enlightenment was greatly influenced by the methods of British "Rationalism" or "Empiricism" (Priest, 2007) that was championed by scientists such as George Berkley and David Hume.

As time went on, French intellectuals embraced these techniques and perspectives, using the emerging scientific method as a foundation for an intellectual movement that emphasized rational and universal solutions to the problems faced by cultures, peoples and society. The resulting Age of Enlightenment (and its empirical, rational, and universal orientation) was eventually elevated to a philosophy of life, not merely a set of ad hoc research tools. Unfortunately, the movement tended to chauvinistically dismiss other ways of thinking by depicting them as primitive, irrational, and superstitious.

To this day, many scholars and practitioners in the fields of business and economic development embrace strategies and perspectives that are reflective of the Age of Enlightenment. Thus, business leaders are fond of developing the "best way" to do something and then apply these tactics in a wide variety of contexts. The methods of scientific investigation, furthermore, owe a great debt to the Enlightenment in ways that draw attention away from humanistic and culturally specific considerations. Today, the dominance of such methods is being challenged. Business anthropology, for example, is actively contributing qualitative methods and culturally sensitive orientations that are vital in this regard.

A first step towards a broader view that led to a tempering of the Enlightenment was made by John Locke (a leading empiricist), who introduced the "Tabula Rasa" (blank slate) paradigm (Locke, 1996). Asserting that at birth the human mind is completely "empty" until "written upon" by the events in their lives, Locke argued that people are products of their experiences. As a result, the "Tabula Rasa" model (although empirical in nature) possesses aspects of humanism, progressiveness, and tolerance because it views people as molded by the events in their lives.

In spite of Locke, the universal tone of the empirical method was largely unchallenged until Immanuel Kant (Scruton, 2001), the German philosopher, argued that the human mind possesses innate abilities of analysis (including 12 distinct varieties of thought) that exist independently of empirical observations. In other words, Kant reminds us that various innate characteristics of human thought facilitate the empirical method. This shift in emphasis is known as the "Kantian Turn" in philosophy.

Because Kant's philosophy led to the weakening of the Enlightenment (and its rational and universal bent), the stage was set for broader views that emphasized the significance of human emotions, the distinctiveness of specific cultures, and a broader view of mankind that expands beyond rational thought. Thus, although much business thinking is clearly reflective of the Age of Enlightenment, more humanistic alternatives eventually emerged. And, as we shall see, they exerted a great impact upon the development of anthropology.

Culturally Specific Alternatives

Starting in the mid-18th century, critics of the Enlightenment began to aggressively complain about its limitations. In particular, detractors challenged the Enlightenment's assertion that rational thought and universal strategies are the foundation of superior societies and cultures.

Johann Gittfried Herder (Barnard, 2004) who studied under Kant, applied the Kantian Turn in philosophy to the study of society. In doing so, he undermined the Enlightenment's premise that the history of mankind is a long march towards rational life, coupled with universal strategies that should be embraced by all people.

Earlier in his career, Herder developed an interest in folklore and cultural criticism. Doing so involved emphasizing that cultures possess unique and important foundations that are expressed in language, art, the intimate beliefs held by a people, and so forth. Herder, of course, lived in an era when many ethnic groups and regions had been conquered and reconquered in wars beyond their control. When dominant victors took charge, they often used the tactics of cultural hegemony (or dominance) in attempts to stamp out the cultural and ethnic distinctiveness of the local people. Nevertheless, Herder emphasized that "nations" or "peoples" (he was actually talking about cultures or ethnicity) can best be viewed with reference to their emotional and cultural heritage, not arbitrary boundaries on a map.

Herder set the stage for modern folklore scholarship when he insisted that each folk (or "volk") possesses its own traditions, customs, language, and so forth. This heritage typically resides within the people in a legacy that is not written down, but informally passed from generation to generation by

example and word of mouth.   This folklore (easily ignored by those who focus upon "high culture", "kings and battles history", coupled with the written word), can be very powerful.   Herder referred to the distinctiveness of specific peoples as "volkgeist" or "the spirit of the people".   Herder also referred to its opposite as "zeitgeist" or "the spirit of the times": a reference to the influence of circumstances and current events.

Herder's thinking set the stage for the work of Frederick Hegel, the 19th century German philosopher. Before Hegel's time, the concepts of "culture" and "national character", which are so common today, were not widely used or well developed.   Expanding upon Herder's thought, however, Hegel viewed a nation as a cultural tradition that existed as a large and chiefly homogeneous collective entity.   He observed that these nationalities often continue even when their formal "state" or "country" ceases to exist.   Owing to the partitioning of Poland by Prussia and Russia in the 18th century, for example, Poland got 'extinct' as a political institution for 123 years.   Poland, from a "volkgesit" perspective, however, remained intact and remerged as a formal nation in the 20th century.   It is interesting to note that in the Middle East, the Kurds (as we shall see below) make a similar argument today.   This is the view of "nation" (actually culture) that Hegel emphasized.   Today, of course, the "civil" view of nation is a powerful alternative that is based on laws, rights, obligations not culture or ethnic identity.   Nonetheless, the ethnic/culturally-specific view of nation has long existed and under certain circumstances it remains a powerful force.

Hegel's model is clearly related to (and it significantly influenced) modern views of culture that are utilized by today's anthropologists who view cultures as holistic entities made up of diverse parts (including language, art, literature, religion, worldviews, and so forth that are united in synergistic ways). In the case of distinctive cultural enclaves, this is often true.

The work of Herder and Hegel are examples of a gradual movement away from the dominance of the Age of the Enlightenment.   Their work provided the tools needed to view people in terms of their distinctiveness and the feelings they harbor (not with reference to some rational, universal, and standardized plan for humanity). Doing so transcends focusing upon sovereign states that may be the result of historic accidents.   Modern anthropology and sociology owes a great debt to their work.

The Romantic Era

In the late 18th century, British intellectuals (among others) embraced many of Herder's sentiments leading to the emergence   of what has come to be known as the Romantic Era (Blanning, 2001). Attempting to "tease out" or recapture the cultural heritage of Britain, poets such as William Wordsworth (Mason, 2010) viewed rustic peasants as the guardians and transmitters of a unique and precious cultural heritage.   Wordsworth, for example, wrote in a style that attempted to replicate the way that humble farmers talked, thought, and acted.   As a corollary, Romantic intellectuals suggested that these unassuming people possessed profound grassroots wisdom.   By advancing this chain of thought, Wordsworth (and the Romantic Movement in literature he helped to create) celebrated unique and emotional aspects of specific cultures as revealed by the "common folk".   The Enlightenment's emphasis upon rational, universal, and forward-thinking alternatives was, thereby, challenged and an alternative based upon unique and emotional (not rational and universal) aspects of life was championed. Although a strong alternative to the Enlightenment was being developed, however, Romanticism had not yet become a political movement or a rallying cry for downtrodden peoples.

One example of this trend was the rise and popularity of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, a group of intellectuals and painters that sought to reform art by eliminating the impact of the Renaissance that was viewed as overly confining, rigid, and limiting.   As an alternative, the pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood embraced what they felt was a more human and spontaneous form of artistic expression that was asserted to have existed in the Middle Ages and characterized by greater freedom of expression.   Revealingly, this movement was founded in 1848 which (as we shall see below) was a year of great political upheaval inspired by an emotional outpouring stemming from the desires of various peoples to assert their culture, heritage, and traditions.   To a large extent, these events sought to temper the universal and rational emphasis of the Enlightenment.

Napoleon's Experiments

Over time, Romanticism, which had begun as cultural criticism and a literary/artistic movement, was transformed to include a strong political orientation. The emphasis upon political involvement stemmed from the belief that since (1) cultures are unique and (2) people have a strong emotional connection with them, and (3) the rational and universal orientation of the Enlightenment was misguided. From an activist point of view, this chain of thought encouraged people to strengthen and preserve their traditions and not allow them to be diluted by outsiders.

Nonetheless, advocates of the Enlightenment remained as a powerful force during the early 19th century. A classic example of this trend is the Napoleonic Code. After coming to power as the leader of France, Napoleon commissioned a panel of respected jurists to create a legal framework that would be rational, consistent, objective, efficient, and fair to all. When Napoleon conquered a territory, he mandated that this code be installed as the new law of the land. Of all his achievements, Napoleon was most proud of this legal system, observing, "My true glory is not to have won 40 battles...what will live forever is my Civil Code." (Wanniski, 1998:184.)

In spite of Napoleon's noble intentions and the many successes and positive influence of the Code, dissatisfaction sometimes arose. Opponents complained that the legal system a people live by expands beyond rational, objective, and universal rules. Legal frameworks also possess a specific cultural content or slant. If alien legal systems are thrust upon people, critics continued, the code they are forced to live by might conflict with their heritage and traditions. Speaking about Catalonia, for example, Enric Prat de la Riba (1998) observes that people "spoke of law as a live entity, which is spontaneously produced by national consciousness...They said that law and language were both manifestations of the same national spirit..." Interestingly, in 2017, Catalonia made a bid for independence from Spain due to sentiments that appear to be very similar to these 19th century responses.

Such priorities and concerns, of course, continue in other contemporary contexts. Many Muslims want to be ruled by a code of law that is based on Islamic traditions while, in the West, efforts are sometimes taken to insure Sahari law does not influence Western Countries, such as the United States.

These views forcefully undercut the notion of an impartial, culture free, and universal law. Opponents depicted Napoleon's universal code of law as a thwarting and alien artifact, not a liberating tool of universal application. Demands were made to embrace alternatives that took the form of a culturally appropriate legal system. Universal and rational alternatives that had been introduced were rejected. This thinking set the stage for a political movement known as Romantic Nationalism.

Romantic Nationalism and Its Implications

Cases where the Napoleonic Code was rejected demonstrate the growing demand that people be allowed to live according to their cultures and traditions. A basic premise of this position argues that unique cultures possess significance to those who embrace them. Consistent with such views was the belief that universal and rational schemes introduced by outsiders (however noble their intentions might be) can easily emerge as thwarting and oppressive. Powerful forces overriding the will of the people came to be viewed as particularly vile. Throughout Europe, attempts were made to recapture the heritage of the culture or ethnic group and, in the process, eliminate outside influences as well as arbitrary controls (that were viewed as oppressive).

In doing so, the Romantic Movement began to take on political overtones. Throughout Europe, a legacy of cultural (and political) hegemony had long existed in which a dominant empire or nation attempted to use force and schemes of social engineering to transform distinct people into homogeneous members of a larger nation. As people gained a greater sense of their ethnic identity due to the advancement of Romanticism, however, many cultural enclaves rejected the influences of those who sought to manipulate and remake them.

Norway, for example, dominated by Denmark (and later Sweden) for centuries, had long been strongly pressured to abandon its heritage and embrace the culture of its "mother country" (sic). Eventually, Norway reaffirmed its heritage. Composers such as Edvard Greig (Grimley,2006) wrote "serious music" based on traditional folksongs. The Norwegians even revived a form of their traditional

language (New Norse) due to the efforts of Ivar Aasen who travelled the countryside to discover how traditional people spoke. His findings were used to restore a nearly extinct language to everyday use. This resurrected form of speech was embraced by the people of Norway and is still widely used today. Norway, culturally and politically dominated by outsiders for centuries, reaffirmed its unique identity and eventually won independence. Consistent with the spirit of Romanticism, Norway changed the name of its capital from Christiania to a more Norwegian Oslo (in a manner similar to Turkey renaming Constantinople as Istanbul). More recently, in 2017, the town of Barrow, Alaska (USA), the most northerly city in North America, changed embraced Utqiagvik, its original indigenous name. In all three cases, these actions stem from a desire to celebrate, recognize, and affirm a cultural identity.

The Example of Greece

For an example of Romantic Nationalism in action, consider the Greek War of Independence against the Turks (Greece had been part of the Ottoman Empire since 15th century).

When the Ottomans were in control of Greece, the local people enjoyed few political freedoms. Turkish rule and domination, however, did not cause Greek culture and traditions to fade into oblivion. On the one hand, the Greek Orthodox Church provided cultural stability and the mechanism needed for the Greeks to preserve their ethnic identity. In addition, because Christians paid higher taxes than Muslims, the Empire was motivated to allow Greek culture and Christianity to continue because mass conversion to Islam (and the resulting eclipse of the Greek heritage) would have cost the rulers money due to a lower rate of taxation. Although in some places (such as Albania) significant Islamization took place, this did not occur in Greece.

As a result, in the early 19th century an intact Greek culture continued to exist and many of its members felt oppressed by Turkish domination. The Greek people, furthermore, were aware of the American and French revolutions, the philosophy of Romanticism, and its emphasis upon the power and sacredness of a cultural heritage. In addition, Ottoman power was waning (years later, British politician John Russell referred to the Empire as the "Sick man of Europe"). The time was right for a rebellion.

In 1821, the Greek War of Independence began (Brewer 2001). It immediately gained the sympathy of Europeans who viewed Greece as the mother of European civilization. A strong emotional reaction of great strength caught the imagination of Europe, especially in Britain and France. The struggle came to be viewed almost as a crusade in which the cradle of European culture was struggling against alien and oppressive rulers. These events were taking place in an era when Romantic sentiments, that emphasized emotion and distinctiveness, were strong and vital.

Not only that, one of the towering leaders of the Romantic Movement (Lord Byron) volunteered to serve the revolution and off he went to Greece only to die in pursuit of the cause. The death of this icon of Romanticism did much to increase support for the cause. Owing to his sacrifice, Byron continues to be regarded as a national hero among the Greeks, while the rest of Europe lauds him as a powerful intellectual force and a champion of Romanticism.

The Ottomans probably could have put down the Greek revolt except for outside intervention by Britain and France. Eventually, the Greeks prevailed. As a side effect of this struggle, the Ottoman Empire became suspicious of Greeks. Historically, the Ottoman Empire had been multi-ethnic even though the government and its leaders were Turkish. But now, the loyalty of those who were culturally different began to be questioned. A process had started that in the early 20th century resulted in the Turks seeking to make their country more culturally homogeneous. This, of course, can be viewed as another twist of Romantic Nationalism (perhaps its dark side): instead of distinct people seeking a homeland of their own, attempts were made to remake the country and its peoples into one homogeneous mass. To accomplish this goal, harsh and inhumane measures were often used against minority groups.

The Greek War of Independence, furthermore, encouraged a rash of other groups and regions to begin their own struggles for independence, spurred on by Romantic Nationalistic goals and ideals. Throughout Europe, people were inspired to assert their ethnic traditions and seek a homeland.

A high-water mark of this movement occurred in 1848 (Dieter, 2000) when widespread, but largely uncoordinated, rebellions challenged the established authorities of many European countries and empires.

A major influence fanning the flames of discontent was the demand that large homogeneous ethnic groups be allowed to live, unmolested by powerful outside forces, in countries of their own.

Ultimately the rebellions of 1848 were defeated and the pre-existing regimes prevailed. In spite of this conservative victory, the seeds of change had been sown and a chain of thought with far-reaching consequences set in motion.

Significant among these insurrections is the Herzegovina uprising (Ekmecic, 1973) that lasted from 1875 until 1877 in which ethnic Serbs in Herzegovina began a struggle that quickly spread to other Serbian areas. Once the unrest became a major conflict, it rapidly spread to include other ethnic groups within the Balkan region. The "April Uprising" in Bulgaria is notable in this regard. The urge for independence in Bulgaria was spearheaded by the re-establishment of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church in 1870 and other nationalistic agendas that were consistent with Romantic Nationalism.

Collectively, historians refer to these actions to the Great Eastern Crisis. The hostilities ended due to the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 which recognized the de-facto independence of Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro, along with the complete autonomy of Bulgaria.

These tensions continued into the 20th Century and led to the Balkan Wars. By this time, Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia had won independence. Unrest remained, however because many ethnic populations continued to live under Ottoman rule. Owing to this situation, many of those living in the Balkan countries sought to unite with members of their ethnic groups that continued to be controlled by others. In 1912, countries that had broken free of Ottoman domination formed the Balkan League. Once that union was established, two Balkan wars were fought in quick succession. In the first, the Balkan States were victorious over the Turks. In the second, the other members of the Balkan League (along with Ottoman aid) defeated the Bulgarians. Both wars had strong ethnic overtones and can best be viewed as examples of conflicts triggered by Romantic Nationalism.

After World War 1, furthermore, a political reshuffling took place that was inspired by Romantic Nationalistic sentiments.

Thus, in the 19th and early 20th centuries a wave of Romantic Nationalism swept over Europe. It was inspired by the desire of people to live according to their heritage and traditions. It reacted against rational and universal alternatives. Today, parallels to that era still continue.

Developing a Romantic Nationalist Orientation

The era of Romantic Nationalism provides an almost laboratory setting to observe the impact of social and economic change upon people whose cultural heritage is being threatened and/or is enjoying a renaissance. Although the Romantic Nationalism movement took place in the past and typically involved people who may have little in common with today's struggling populations, useful parallels can, and should, be drawn from these historic examples. By generalizing how people have responded and what caused them to do so, useful perspectives can be developed regarding the reactions of ethnic enclaves in a changing world.

A specific orientation is presented below with reference to Romantic Nationalism. By considering these examples, the quest to preserve and strengthen a cultural identity can be better understood. Some impacted groups are large and operate within the "modern world". Others may be small ethnic enclaves scattered in remote places. Although important differences exist, the following relevant issues are considered:

1. **The hegemony of rational and universal strategies can cause dissention**. During the Age of Enlightenment, powerful nations recommended (and/or forced) people to adopt the rational and universal agendas that they favored. Doing so often involved cultural, political, and/or economic hegemony that forced people to think and act in alien ways. Romantic Nationalism involved a reaction against these Enlightenment priorities that focused upon cultural identity and attempts to throw off outside influences. The same potential for action and reaction exists today.

2. **Many modern decision makers continue to reflect the Enlightenment**. Similar to the strategies of the Enlightenment, many of today's business leaders, consultants, economic development specialists, and planners continue to search for universal solutions and "best practices". If these programs are implemented without adequate attention to the resulting cultural impacts, tensions can develop.

3. **Cultural enclaves are often pressured accordingly**: On many occasions indigenous, ethnic, and traditional peoples are subjected to the pressures of cultural hegemony. In the past, these techniques often took the form of overt policies designed to undercut local cultures. On many occasions today, in contrast, outsiders seek to embrace strategies merely because they are believed to be appropriate and/or efficient choices. In either case, people subjected to such pressures are apt to feel that their heritage is being weakened and destabilized.

4. **The continued power of Romantic Nationalism**: Although Romantic Nationalism tends to be associated with the 19 century, many cultures and ethnic enclaves continue to act in a manner that is similar to it. Owing to these parallels, Romantic Nationalism can provide a useful lens for understanding a wide variety of peoples and the choices they make. These actions appear to be an independent invention due to analogous pressures, not a conscious and overt emulation of the historic movement.

5. **Different Peoples, Similar Responses**: When subjected to similar pressures, people who are very different and not culturally related are likely to respond in parallel or identical ways. A model based on Romantic Nationalism can provide analysts and decision makers with valuable predictive and analytic abilities.

6. **A supplement to culturally specific orientations**: Appreciating a culture's unique characteristics has great value. Gaining this knowledge, however, can be difficult and it is not easily transformed for use in other contexts. A Romantic Nationalist perspective, in contrast, can provide insights regarding how different peoples respond in parallel ways when facing similar pressures. This method of analysis should be part of the toolkit of leaders, decision makers, and business anthropologists who deal with diverse people facing analogous challenges.

The era of Romantic Nationalism demonstrates the power of cultural identity and the struggles that have been waged to preserve and strengthen it. In many parts of the world today, cultural enclaves are reasserting their identity in ways that are akin to this historic movement. Understanding these contemporary reactions and their implications is vital in a changing world. An updating and generalizing of Romantic Nationalism provides a useful way to do so. Business anthropology has a vital role to play in dealing with such potentials.

Relevant Examples

To demonstrate the relevance of Romantic Nationalism in today's world, examples are provided. The first deals with the Kurdish people, a large ethnic group with a distinctive cultural heritage that typically lives a "modern" lifestyle. This discussion demonstrates that cultural renewal can take place among large groups with "mainstream" habits. The second set of examples includes observations involving a variety of indigenous communities, large and small. By dealing with such variation, the discussion is usefully expanded.

1. The Demand for Kurdish Independence.

The Kurdish people of the Middle East are a distinctive cultural group that numbers in many millions. Today, large populations of Kurds live in Turkey, Iran, Syria, and Iraq in regions that are adjacent to each other. They have been described as the world's largest ethnic group that lacks a national homeland (Landis and Albert, 2012). After the emergence of the Ottoman Empire (1281-1923), the Kurds were usually controlled by the Turks (although various Kurdish regions were contested by rivals, including the Persians). In spite of Ottoman control, however, the Kurds long enjoyed a level of self-rule because the

Empire appointed local leaders and the Kurdish people were able to live according to their cultural traditions and heritage.

The situation began to change in the early 19th century when the Ottoman Empire sought to consolidate and centralize its power. This trend led to unrest. The first Kurdish uprising took place in 1880 (Ozoglu, 2004), led by Sheik Ubeydullah, who sought independence for the Kurds and the establishment of Kurdistan as an independent country free of Turkish or Persian control. Although the rebellion was defeated by Ottoman forces, the uprising demonstrated a growing desire for independence.

In the early years of the 20th century, a reformist group called the Young Turks gained power in the Ottoman Empire. Besides seeking to modernize and secularize the country, the Young Turks initiated a strong push to reduce the degree of cultural pluralism and ethnic variation in an attempt to make the Empire more culturally homogeneous. This priority led to significant campaigns of ethnic cleansing involving ethnic Greeks and the oppression of non-Turks, including the Kurds (Fisk, 2005 322).

After World War 1, the Ottoman Empire was dismantled. During negotiations regarding the lands in the former Empire, Iran noted that historically all of Kurdistan had been part of the Persian Empire and asked that this territory be returned. This request was not granted (Schofield, 1989) because the British wanted the Kurdish sections of Iraq and the French demanded Kurdish territory in Syria. Turkey (a new country stripped of its former empire), furthermore, wanted to keep as much territory on the Anatolian Peninsula as possible, and after winning the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923), it gained the right to control Kurdish lands adjacent to predominantly Turkish regions of the country. The remaining sections of Kurdish territory fell to Iran. For a short time, an attempt was made to establish a Kurdish state, but it failed to survive (Prince, 1993). Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, various revolts and rebellions occurred but were not proved successful.

Over the years, attempts have been made to undercut Kurdish culture. In Turkey, for example, laws were passed that outlawed the use of the Kurdish language in both public and private contexts (Toumani, 2008). Chronic and long-lasting insurrections by the Kurds (such as in Turkey between 1984 and 1999) saw examples of excessive violence on both sides. My purpose here is not to judge these events, but merely to point out that many Kurds were (and are) willing to put their life on the line in the quest to win a national homeland.

Eventually compromises were suggested such as the establishment of semi-autonomous Kurdish regions or zones (as in Iraq). Over time, this semi-autonomous region has begun to act more and more like a country. The Kurdish region of Iraq, for example, has been able to establish its own military force that helped greater Iraq and its other allies during the current wars in the region. In September 2017, the Iraqi Kurdistan independence referendum was held and 93% of the voters demanded independence.

Currently in Syria, a movement towards greater autonomy is also emerging. Kurdish militia in Syria are active and the government is considering giving the Kurds greater autonomy. These actions (and others like them) indicate a growing trend towards greater self-determinism for the Kurdish people, no matter what the final arrangement might be.

To fully understand these events within a historic context, a consideration of the suggestions of United States President Woodrow Wilson is useful. Woodrow Wilson was a tireless proponent of self-determinism, stating, for example, that "National aspirations must be respected; people may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. 'Self determination' is not a mere phrase; it is an imperative principle of action" (Wilson, 1918). These statements, of course, reflect the tenets of Romantic Nationalism as well as the goals of the Kurds and other ethnic groups in the Middle East (such as the Arabs who sided with the British during World War 1 after being promised a homeland after the war). Britain ultimately reneged on these promises, because it wanted to extend its empire within Arab territory. Owing to British and French ambitions, the Kurds were also denied a homeland and their lands were parceled out to the victors of the war.

Had President Wilson been able to advance his vision of self-determinism, a solution reflective of Romantic Nationalism might have been possible. After World War 1, unfortunately, the United States experienced a period of political and economic isolation. Because of this trend, Wilson was unable to forcefully advance the cause of self-determinism in the Middle East. Without his leadership, various

parts of the former Ottoman Empire were divided up by Britain and France with little concern for the ethnicity of the people who lived there.

In Iraq, for example, ethnic groups and/or religious sects that were hostile to each other found themselves merged into the same country. And, as discussed above, the Kurds were divided among several countries (including Iraq) and forced to endure a minority status everywhere. Such fates are the antithesis of Romantic Nationalism, a movement that spotlights cultural identity.

Goals reflective of Romantic Nationalism that were embraced by ethnic groups, such as the Kurds, did not disappear. Just the opposite; the Kurds have made repeated attempts to gain a national homeland and this agenda continues to this day. Such dogged and continuing campaigns are not without precedent. As discussed above, after being divided up by Prussia and Russia, Poland "ceased to exist" as a country for 123 years. Nonetheless, the Polish people survived as a cultural entity and eventually the country of Poland reemerged and continues to exist today. The Kurds have a similar goal. Their actions are best understood with reference to Romantic Nationalism.

In tabular form, some key issues are addressed:

TABLE 1

Kurdish Quest for Independence	
Political Hegemony	After World War 1, Britain and France divided up the former Ottoman Empire in ways that suited their priorities and did not reflect the needs or wishes of the peoples who lived there. As a result, the Kurds, a large ethnic group, found itself divided among 4 countries, suffering a minority status in all of them.
Cultural Hegemony	As a minority group, the heritage and traditions of the Kurds were not adequately addressed. In some places, following Kurdish ways (speaking the language, for example) was outlawed. The goal of such sanctions was to achieve cultural homogeneity through overt controls and social engineering.
Romantic National responses	As a minority group in various countries, the Kurds have typically been asked to conform to (or at least tolerate) the will, demands, and lifestyle of the majority. These requirements usually ignore a strong emotional connection the Kurds have for their heritage. The Kurds have been unwilling to live devoid of the emotional connection to their culture and traditions. These responses are reflective of Romantic Nationalism.
Current Situation	The quest for Kurdish independence still remains. Various initiatives (both violent and peaceful) have gone on for decades. Movements are underway to grant a special status and greater autonomy to the Kurdish regions in some countries that have large Kurdish populations. Other Kurds demand a separate and unified state. These alternatives are strategic examples reflective of Romantic Nationalism.
Discussion	
Romantic Nationalism was a 19th century movement, typically involving Europe, in which ethnic groups sought to live according to their traditions and heritage. In certain parts of the world, large groups remain that are currently unable to enjoy self-determinism and enjoy their heritage. Where such environments exist, responses similar to Romantic Nationalism are likely to occur. The Kurds are one example of this possibility.	

In the 19th century, large cultural and ethnic groups in Europe were motivated to unite socially and politically in attempts to preserve (and live according to) their heritage.   These situations gave rise to the era of Romantic Nationalism.   Where similar conditions exist today, parallel responses can be expected. The situation of the Kurds is one example of this possibility among large contemporary ethnic groups.

2.   A Wider Variety of Responses

Although the knowledge of Romantic Nationalism can be valuable when dealing with specific cultures, such as the Kurds, it can also be used to understand the responses of a wide array of ethnic enclaves.   Although ethnic groups vary in size and in regard to the circumstances faced, the paradigm provided by Romantic Nationalism is useful in a wide variety of situations, because it deals with identity, the threats to a people's heritage, and actions that are designed to preserve or strengthen the culture.

Instead of dealing with one notable group, such as the Kurds, this discussion considers a wider range of pressures, responses, and characteristics that involve a variety of groups, large and small.   Many of these peoples have little in common except for the similar pressures confronted and, perhaps, their parallel responses.   Hopefully, by examining these diverse examples, the fuller implications of behavior, reflective of Romantic Nationalism, can be better understood.

Historically many ethnic or cultural groups have been dominated by outsiders.   Typically, the modus operandi of the colonial powers or the controlling nation was to enter a region and set up legal and administrative systems that suited their needs. In some situations, day to day rule was being carried out by local leaders.   In other cases, the colonial power exerted stronger and more centralized rule. These policies, furthermore, often gave rise to post-colonial pressures after independence.

From a demographic perspective, in many countries or regions the local people remained in the majority as a relatively small number of outsiders took up residence (although these expatriates typically exerted great power and were a privileged class). Regions with such a history and demographic makeup are often referred to as "Third World".

This arrangement typifies the situation of colonial sub-Saharan Africa (and its later post-colonial history) with the exception of South Africa.   Local groups often experienced a weakening of their power and self-determinism although demographically they remained in the majority.   Such situations can easily encourage Romantic Nationalistic sentiments and actions, serving as a catalyst when cultures seek to reassert themselves.

In addition, as colonies became established, different ethnic groups were often merged into the same political entity or administrative unit.   When the colonial system was intact, the alien administration typically moderated the tensions that arose between rival groups in order to keep the peace.   After independence, however, these contending groups often remained in opposition to each other, although no outside force existed to intercede on behalf of parties that felt they were being treated unfairly.

In North Africa, for example, two distinctive groups are the Arabs and the Berbers.   During colonial rule, the colonial administrations apparently made decisions that were fairly impartial and did not tend to favor one group over the other.   After independence, however, many Berbers have complained that the dominance of the Arabs and that the use of Arabic in official business works against their interests (Informal personal communication).   I do not know if this is true, but the appearance exists and, with it, a potential for Berber resentment.

Tensions and rivalries such as this have often spawned feelings akin to Romantic Nationalism when different ethnic groups in the same country came into conflict.   The Biafran War (civil war in Nigeria during the 1960s) is a tragic example of this possibility.

On other occasions, a massive influx of immigrants from the outside made the indigenous people a minority in their own land.   This has been the experience in places like North America, Australia, and New Zealand.   Such regions are often known as the "Forth World".   In both Third World and Forth World situations, political hegemony prevailed in which indigenous peoples were controlled by outsiders. In other cases, one indigenous group attempted to dominate others in what amounts to a domestic form of cultural hegemony.   The actual tactics of this control and manipulation vary.

In North America during the 19th century, relentless waves of immigrants pushed the indigenous peoples ever further West (with tribes usually being relegated to undesirable or unwanted hinterlands). This process continued until the "frontier was closed" and the displaced indigenous peoples could retreat no further. Ultimately, reservation life became commonplace. Nevertheless, in the United States today American Indians enjoy a range of rights because of treaties and/or their indigenous status. The Congress of the United States, however, has asserted the right to restrict or eliminate these privileges (although doing so under current circumstances is not a tenable option).

Despite the current political climate, the rights of the American Indians can be unilaterally restricted; this has occurred in the past. The years from the end of World War 2 until the 1960s, for example, is known as the "Termination Period" of American Indian history because the official policy of the United States government was to eliminate the powers and rights of Indian tribes and completely integrate these people (and their resources) into the social and economic life of the country. The intention of the government was to phase out the special identities and/or privileges enjoyed by American Indians and their tribal governments. Currently, the United States has backed away from that policy, acknowledging the rights, privileges, and special status of American Indians. But an act of Congress could change that at any time.

Today, the American Indians (as a collective, multi-cultural group) are a small minority. Demographically, individual tribes are even more insignificant. As a result, they must adhere to the will of the larger population. This is an example of a Forth World arrangement in which indigenous peoples emerge as marginalized factions of minor demographic significance within their own homeland.

In addition to political implications, cultural hegemony (or dominance) often occurs when outside cultures or ways of life exert profound pressures that transform a people. In the 20th and 21st centuries, for example, American popular culture, movies, fast food, blue jeans, rock and roll music, and so forth have exerted a powerful impact upon the world and many of the cultures within it. This influence has become so great that various nations and cultural leaders fear that their heritage is being overshadowed and weakened by these alien influences. Under these circumstances, a cultural renaissance, if often sought, that closely resembles Romantic Nationalism. Small isolated cultural enclaves are probably even more vulnerable to cultural diffusion of this sort.

The cultural hegemony associated with American life, however, is primarily a reflection of the times, not an orchestrated strategy of social engineering or part of scheme of multifaceted mind control. In many historic circumstances, however, cultural hegemony has been a key component of a unified and systematic strategy designed to weaken local cultures. For many years in the United States and Canada, for example, the younger generation of tribal leaders was forced to attend boarding schools far from their home. The major goal of these institutions was to assimilate the next generation to the "mainstream" culture in ways that were designed to weaken the local power structure and undercut the cultural traditions of the indigenous peoples. Missionaries and governments often closely cooperated in attempts to replace the religious heritage and, thereby, challenged the authority of local leaders. Thus, Sheldon Jackson, who administrated the Alaska Native Boarding Schools in Alaska, was also a Presbyterian Minister who helped divide up Alaska into segments in a scheme that was devised to better and more efficiently coordinated missionary efforts among Native Alaskans.

Thus, in addition to political hegemony, cultural hegemony can exert a strong influence either formally or informally. Sometimes, however, cultural hegemony is rejected by those who are targeted or impacted. Earlier in this paper, we saw how Norway, long subjected to cultural hegemony by Denmark and Sweden, reasserted its cultural heritage and transcended the alien culture that had been forced upon it. Many indigenous people today embrace agendas that are reflective of how Norway embraced Romantic Nationalism. Indigenous people, for example, often favor a revival of the local language, traditional law, focusing upon indigenous folklore and customs.

Coupled with these trends are the pressures of economic and social development. As discussed above, during the era of the Enlightenment, well-meaning outsiders often sought to devise the one best way to do things and introduced these innovations wherever possible. In this spirit, alien cultural institutions (such as a legal system considered to be rational and fair) were introduced. Many people,

however, felt that laws and mores are so intimately intertwined with the culture that alien systems should be avoided.

In the United States, for example, Native American tribes operate their own court systems. Developing such institutions was encouraged by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. To facilitate this act, the Bureau of Indian Affairs developed a generic and pre-fabricated "boilerplate" of legal codes that provided detailed practices and procedures that tribes could easily adopt. Although many tribes initially embraced a "Western-style" court system in this way, today there is a trend for many courts to revert back to the traditional legal systems that had long been practiced by the people. A particular court, for example, might authorize a panel of elders to issue verdicts instead of empowering judges and/or juries. This situation is very similar to the fact that various European peoples rejected the Napoleonic Code because it clashed with the heritage and traditions of the people and their cultures. Doing so is clearly akin to Romantic Nationalism.

Business practices and economic development initiatives can also emerge as examples of cultural hegemony. Modern business leaders and economic development specialists often operate in a manner that is reflective of the Enlightenment and its attempts to be rational and universal. This, unfortunately, can lead to lack of appreciation of the heritage of those who failed to echo the current management fad. Conflicts and misunderstandings can develop when members of distinctive cultures prefer options that reflect their heritage and unique needs, not methods that were developed in the West.

Thus, in many ways the reactions of today's indigenous people parallel the Romantic Nationalism of the 19th century. These similarities do not appear to be a case of conscious cultural diffusion or overt borrowing. Instead, these trends seemingly result from similar pressures and challenges that have triggered analogous or parallel responses. An overview is presented in tabular form in Figure 2.

TABLE 2

Representative Indigenous Situations	
Political hegemony	During the colonial era (and analogous periods in places like the United States that have small cultural entities under their control), political dominance was often a fact of life for distinctive cultures and peoples. Even after the end of the colonial era (and similar developments such as the end of the Termination Period in the United States), the legacy of political and cultural manipulation often continues, exerting a powerful influence.
Cultural hegemony	Cultural hegemony occurs when a powerful outside culture exerts a strong impact upon people and their cultures. On some occasions (such as the popularity of the "American popular culture" worldwide), cultural hegemony is simply a reflection of the temper of the times. On other occasions, dominant forces use cultural hegemony as a conscious tool of social engineering intended to weaken the local leadership and heritage.
Economic Pressures	The age of the Enlightenment emphasized rational and universal solutions to the world's problems. Although business leaders, consultants, and planners might not consciously extend the Enlightenment, they often act in a similar manner to it. By doing so, these decision makers and advisors risk overlooking the significance of unique and local traditions and their values.
Romantic National responses	Exposed to pressures that mirror the issues faced by Romantic Nationalists in the 19th century, many contemporary peoples are responding in a manner that is reflective of that social movement. It does not appear that such actions are overtly inspired by Romantic Nationalism, but merely that they are reacting in similar ways due to parallel pressures and challenges.
Discussion	
By understanding Romantic Nationalism, the situation faced by and the responses of contemporary cultural enclaves can be better understood. It appears that elements of Romantic Nationalism have been independently re-invented in response to circumstances that are similar to those of the 19th century.	

Responses reminiscent of Romantic Nationalism continue to exist. By understanding this 19th century movement, we can better comprehend today's parallels and effective ways to respond to them.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Romantic Nationalism was a movement that took place in the 19th and early 20th centuries (largely in Europe) that involved ethnic groups and cultural enclaves reasserting their identity and, typically, demanding a distinct homeland where their cultures and heritage could thrive and develop on their own terms.

When working towards that end, the leaders of Romantic Nationalist movements typically rejected the demands and strategies provided by powerful outsiders who tended to offer (or demand) that rational and universal strategies be adopted. As an alternative, local solutions that acknowledged the emotions, sentiments, and the feelings of the people were embraced.

An understanding and updating of Romantic Nationalism provides perspectives of value when examining contemporary movements involving cultural resurgence. Reactions of this type take place among large "modern" groups such as the Kurds as well as smaller, more isolated cultures including the indigenous peoples who live in many regions.

Thus, in a very real sense, the ideas of Romantic Nationalism continue to exert a powerful influence. A fruitful strategy to use when evaluating and dealing with those who act and think in this manner is to (1) seek to understand the uniqueness of a culture (2) while looking for parallel responses to commonly occurring pressures. A focus upon Romantic Nationalism provides clues in this regard.

Romantic nationalism becomes a vital force when the cherished cultural underpinnings of a people are challenged or weakened. This is especially true when outsiders forcefully introduce rational and universal agendas that seek to cancel out highly valued traditions, cultures, and heritages. Under such circumstances, an emotional resurgence often takes place.

By keeping Romantic Nationalism in mind, business anthropologists can help develop a better understanding of social change, stability, and economic development among distinctive peoples. Impacted peoples include both large and "modern" groups (such as the Kurds) and a wide range of other cultural entities (including "minor" ethnic enclaves and indigenous peoples). Romantic Nationalism can effectively model how people seek to preserve and reassert their heritage, control their world, and practice self-determinism. The desire to do so is bolstered by movements that are akin to but apparently uninfluenced by Romantic Nationalism.

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