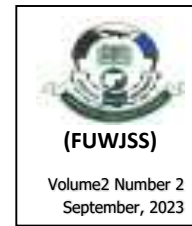


INTERROGATING PRIMORDIALISM AND MODERNISM IN NATIONALISM

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Abstract

This paper comparatively analyzed two competing theoretical assumptions in the field of nationalism: primordialism and modernist thoughts of nationalism. Primordialism simply argued that nations and national identities are naturally fixed and given, and that ethnic groups are often attributed by share consciousness, belongingness and sometime sentimental in order to achieve group's interest and aspiration. In contrast, modernists argue that the rise of nations and national identities are product of historical revolution which nations undergo over the years. Historical revolution to modernists is rooted in industrialization and globalization. In interrogating these thoughts of nationalism, the paper's findings reiterate that both industrialization and globalization have continued to form basis for global interconnectedness without eroding nationalist movements. Thus, nationalist struggles have remained the permanent features of both national and international societies over the years. The paper concludes that primordialist hostilities by ethnic groups toward each other form the prime factor for ethnic conflict in modern society. Likewise, modernists' wind of globalization and economic disparities among nations is responsible for group's conflicts in modern society. The paper recommends that social justice, negotiation, and federalism should be advocated as viable instruments for resolving ethnic conflicts in modern society.

Keywords: Primordialism, modernist, nationalism, ethnic conflicts, social justice

Introduction

Discourse on nationalism has no doubt dominated academic literatures in the field of culture and identity and characterized by a lots of debates among scholars. This debates and perspectives on nationalism have made the concept of nationalism to be susceptible to theoretical leanings. Historical accounts confirmed that the concept of nationalism has not only suffered theoretical interpretation from different viewpoints but also suffered from definitional hurdles in which the concept is conceived by different scholars from different standpoints (Gellner, 1983, Beiber, 1983, Smith, (1998, Smith, (2001), Smith (2003), Ozkiriml (2010). In fact, Bieber (2018) argues that the concept of nationalism is both elusive and ubiquitous. Similarly, Gellner (1983) opined that all prophets of nationalism have suffered from persistent wrong consciousness. For instance, Smith (2010) view nationalism from five (5) different perspectives; first, nationalism is a process of growth or formation of a nation. Second, a sense of national feeling vide sentiment or consciousness. Third, a nation identified with a language and symbols. Fourth, a movement that encompasses political and social dimension in respect of a nation. Fifth, an ideological doctrine both particularly and generally that is associated with a nation (Smith, 2010). These perspectives

on nationalism are all encompasses as they see nationalism as both practice and ideological imprint of some group of people with common feelings and values. Though Bieber (2018) see ideological values of nationalism as narrow and malleable in the sense that members of a particular community or group often felt superior to other groups; this sense of superiority could be based on parties, gender or socioeconomic group. In this sense, nationalists actions are often characterized by distinctiveness that distinguish them from other nations and struggle to maintain this distinctiveness in the midst of representing the nation (Bieber, 2018).

Bieber's definition seems to be likened to primordial model of nationalism which sees groups within a nation from prism of national identity (Beiber, 2018). Of course, Kohn (1994) categorized nationalism into two major layers. These are civic nationalism and ethnic national nationalism. Civic nationalism to him is basically on citizenship coupled with ability of individual to align with a nation. While ethnic nationalism is attributed by common decent that is basically on myth with less inclusivity. These duo perspectives on nationalism is exemplified by French nationalism which was seen as civic in nature by giving room for a more generous citizenship rule while the ethnic nationalistic of German nation exemplified the ethnic nationalism (Bieber, 2018). This distinction offered by Kohn in the course of defining nationalism was utterly criticized by some scholar. Though they admitted that the distinction is useful historically but could only offer little guidance on nationalism discourse in contemporary era (Shulman, 2002; Brubaker, 1999). Gellner's (1964) explanation on nationalism appear to be more controversial in both ethnic and nationalist scholarship. In fact, Brendan (1997) inferred that Gellner's (1964) thesis on nationalism has shocked both secular rationalist and conservatives. The central argument of Gellner's position was that both Marxism and Liberalism got it wrong in their interpretation of nationalism. Liberal view subjected nationalism to a legacy of doom that was irrationally outmoded, savagery and superstitious. While the Marxists view nationalism as necessary phenomenon but temporary as far as drive or path to global socialism is concerned (Gellner, 1964).

The intellectual flog received by both Liberalists and Marxists by Gellner's position on nationalism seem to gain support from later scholars such as Smith (2003), Ozkiriml (2010). This is so because the contemporary realities on nations and state formation is no a reflection of both Liberalist and Marxist logic. Brenden (1997) for instance argued that Marxist ideology on nationalism is moving faster to its grave while self-doubt has wracked the Liberalist view. The contention here by Braden is that nationalism is gaining momentum and even healthier. This idea is further supported by Ghosh (2015) who argues that recent global event has witnessed the explosion of ethnic rivalry. Though this development was peculiar to developing world of Africa and Asia in the wake of 1950s owing to the strains and cracks in secular sphere of Asia and Africa (Phadnis, 1989). However, the rise of nationalism surfaced in the west following the collapse of the Soviet Union. After the fade of communist nationalism, new form of nationalism appears in Europe and America which is centered on ethnocentrism and racism (Rattansi,1994). Smith (1998) similarly concurred that ethnic nationalism has flourished between the periods 1990 to 2000, inferring that the period is the most era characterized by intense rise of ethnic nationalism since the end of the World War in 1945. While globalization is massively striving and continues to form basis for global interconnectedness, this posture has not eroded nationalist movements.

Thus, nationalist struggle has remained the permanent features of both national and international societies. This struggle that is multidimensional in

nature ranges from self-determination or independence, emancipation from shackle of economic exploitation and ethnic/tribal and or regional identity crisis. This crisis of identity often breeds conflicts at the level of intergroup, interstate and international crisis. It is on this note that theoretical explorations were device to explain the factors that gave rise to these nationalists struggle. The prominent theories that explain this phenomenon are Primordialism, ethnosymbolism and modernist theory of nationalism. This paper shall explore the basic tenants of primordialism and modernist theories and compare their arguments and instrument device by them to solve the conflict that often arise as a result of nationalist struggle.

Primordialism Theory of Nationalism: The Basic Argument

Central to primordialism in explaining the rise of nationalism is that hum being is naturally born as biological being and inherently preoccupied with tendency to defend and protect its national identity. Ghosh (2015) expressed that the ideology associated with primordialism was that ethnic group is natural and that ethnic sentiment is justifiable. In his popular work published in 1957 titled; “Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties”, Shill was the first scholar to use the term primordial to described the attachment and feeling people within a given territory have towards themselves. This feeling is often associated with emotional and strong loyalty and solidarity to the group. Though Shill’s work on primordialism was also influenced by number of works in Sociology of religion. Popular among this works are conversion by A. D. Nock and Greek popular religion by Martin P. Nilsson. His major argument was that blood tie which is strongly connected with feelings for family members attached is the significance aspect of group interaction (Shill, 1957). In his introduction to his edited book titled; *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Differences*, Barth (1969) identified four (2) basic elements that are fundamental to primordialism in nationalism discourse. These elements are: ethnic group are instinctively biological and self-penetrating; members of ethnic group share common cultural values which is manifestation of their overt cultural form. Other elements are: the members of ethnic group are socially bounded in field of communication and interaction; the members of ethnic group are often characterized by self-identification and also identified by other group as a members of their group.

This categorization has justified Clifford Geertz’s thesis on primordialism where he alarmed that primordial attachment is a driving force manifest in the idea of kinship, culture and locality. He sees ethnicity in relations to primordial attachment as a world of personal uniqueness that is ratified collectively, expressed publicly and ratified socially (Geertz, 1973). Buttressing this analogy, Antonsich (2015) accounted that primordialism could expressly explained and contributed to the classic debate on how nation originated. Similarly, Diego Muro’s approach on this debate vividly argues that primordialism account for rise in national identity (Diego, 2015). Though Diego gave this account from the lens of other two paradigm; instrumentalism and constructivism, Hugo (2015) expressed his objection about the possibility of explaining rise of ethnicity and national identity universally from primordial and constructivist lens, arguing that they are opposite models that can differently explain the rise or growth of nationalism. In his own contribution to the meaning of primordialism in the study of nationalism, Weinreich et al. conceived the concept as;

a sentiment, or affect laden set of beliefs and discourses, about a perceived essential continuity from group ancestry to progeny (perceived kith and kin),

located symbolically in a specific territory or place (which may or may not be the current place of the people concerned). (Weinreich et al. 2003: 119).

Similarly, Ozkırımlı Umut put it this way;

Primordialism' is an umbrella term used to describe the belief that nationality is a natural part of human beings, as natural as speech, sight or smell, and that nations have existed from time immemorial. This is the view of nationalists themselves and was for some time the dominant paradigm among social scientists, notably the historians. Primordialism also constitutes the layperson's view of nations and nationalism. (Ozkırımlı 2017: 51)

These illustrations on primordialism by both Ozkırımlı and Weinreich et al. justified the naturalness and historic elements on the rise of a nation. It propose in specific terms and identified sentiment as an essential characteristic of primordial logic which in essence is the function of feeling of continuity of heritage to posterity as a member of symbolically ethnic group. Essentially, four (4) different paradigmatic versions that are fundamental in explaining primordialism. These versions are nationalist thesis, sociobiological thesis, cultural thesis and perennial thesis.

Nationalistic Thesis: This thesis argues that belonging to a particular community is an inherent attribute of human condition and essential for existence of human nature. Gellner (1983) equate this phenomenon to a biological being with a nose and two ears without which human body is not complete. The completeness of human nature therefore according to this tradition is achievable if they are identified as a distinctive members of a nation. Also central to the nationalistic view of nationalism is the superiority of the group belief and significantly the group prejudice to the survival of a nation as oppose to individuals. Historian are the most prominent figure in drive for nationalist movements across the political climes as they made several attempt to exvavate evident without any form of skepticism that established eternal character of their nations (Ozkırımlı, 2010). Recent surge in nationalist parties and nationalist movement is a mere justification of nationalistic view of primordialism. For instance, Hobsbawm (1990) have predicted the end of nationalism in several occasion however, Bieber (2018) opined that post-cold war period ushered in intense nationalist movement which is a reflection of civil wars and genocide in Rwanda and Yugoslavia. Bremmer (2017) also explained the recent surge in nationalist movement in global political arena. His proposition is exemplified by recent major global events such as Brexit, the election of Donald Trump in United State of America, the Japanese Prime Minister Shinzō Abe nationalistic policies, the policies of Narendra Modi of India and President of the Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Also among the signal of the rise of nationalism is Austrian and German elections in 2017 and the far-right party that have succeeded in Italy. Among the four (4) major variables identified by Bieber (2018) to measure nationalism i.e attitudes, nationalist violence and hate crimes, nationalist policies and the rise of nationalist parties, the first two that is attitude and nationalist violence and hate crimes constitutes the best narrative of nationalistic model of primordialism. The first variable suggest that altitude of a group is often inclined and attributed by prejudices and sentiment towards other groups. The utilities of this altitude found in the group are ethnic identity, isolationism, pride in the nation and issue of trust in other nationalities (Bieber, 2018). While the narrative on nationalistic violent and hate crime is a breeding ground for violence in our today society. This idea is

supported by Horowitz (2003) who argues that virulent nationalist movement is a causative factor for deadly ethnic riot and war among the States. Advanced nations are not also immune from this development as France, Germany, United State and United Kingdom were recently cut in the wave of hate crimes within the angle of nationalism (Bieber, 2018).

Sociobiological Thesis: This model of primordialism give preference to kingship which strongly determine the social relationship within the group. Pierre van den Berghe is the greatest apologist of this model. According to this thesis, desire by a group to maintain the purity of its uniqueness remained the core values of group objectives. This objective is often accompanied with practice of endogamy (Van den Berghe, 1988) and most importantly, sense of unique descent which is central in the formation of a group and their persistent in the society (Connor, 1994). Kataria (2018) captured the ritual associated with sociobiological model of primordialism arguing that the consequences is attached to any actions within the group especially if the rigidity of the group values are not adhered to. This suggest that a groups from sociobiological thesis believe in common race and uniqueness of their value system. This made Pierre (1978) to liken the group to social animal where cooperation and mutual benefit is essential for group existence.

As a social being, kin selection is not the only explanatory power of a group existence in sociobiological model of primordialism, Van den Berghe (1978) developed two model through which group advance their course. These are reciprocity and coercion. Reciprocity is the cooperation the group entered into with other for mutual benefit with a wide expectation of return. This cooperation could be within the kin or outside the kinship. Coercion on the other hand is the application of force by the group to achieve their one-sided benefits. Group assertiveness in displaying their sentiment and promoting their interest could not be underestimated in sociobiological model of primordialism.

Cultural Thesis: the central argument of this model of primordialism is that cultural peculiarity and traits of group of people is fundamental in their existence as social being. Edward Shils and Clifford Geertz are the top apologists of this primordial tradition. Geertz (1973) argued that human nature primordial affection and could be describe in a given social existence be it in term of religious, kinship or linguistic community. Geertz tried to develop a dichotomy on the strength generally on primordial bond. This dichotomy on primordial bond ranges from society to society, from person to person and from time to time. He opined that virtually almost all the times, every society have some sense of attachment which is naturally incline with spiritual affinity than social interaction (Geertz, 1973). Geertz assertions on cultural perspective of primordialism was summarized by Eller and Coughlan in their article titled; "The Poverty of Primordialism" published in 1993 where they infer that Geertz's perspectives are threefold. First, that primordial are spiritual, natural and most importantly, primordial attachment or identities are given. Second, that member of a group share strong attachment which make the sentiment coercive, overpowering and ineffable. Third, that primordialism is essentially emotional and not necessarily or could be seen more than a mere interest theory that is qualitatively different from nature of identities (Eller and Coughlan, 1993). Many scholars in the field of nationalism have some reservation on Geertz's position. Smith (1998) for instance exposed the weakness of this tradition arguing that some people convert from one religion to another or in some instances, some people shift

their language and adopt other languages making their new life definable as opposed the ineffable posited by Geertz.

The originator of primordialism in the study of nationalism, Shill also belong to the cultural view of primordialism. Shill's perspective is somehow different from Geertz position as he emphasized the sacredness or holiness of primordial attachment (Shill, 1957). Unlike Geertz, Shill argued that primordial attachment is not attributable to holiness or sacredness but only derived their strength significantly from ineffable indices. While a rather different radical departure from both Geertz and Shill is the work of Steven Grosby whose idea is characterized by his insistent that object referred to as 'given' by Geertz is essentially primordial in itself. What this mean is that cultural affinities of ethnic group is primitively given (Grosby, 1994). The trio of Geertz, Shill and Grosby have provided sound analogy of cultural perspectives of primordialism which predisposed the sacredness of a culture of a given group of people whether in a definable or ineffable manner.

Perennial Thesis: This is a model of primordialism which is premise on historic and continue existence of traits peculiar to certain nations. The proponent of this primordial model is Adrian Hastings. According to Smith (1998) scholars like John Armstrong, Walker Connor and Donald Horowitz are also associated with perennial interpretation of nationalism. Hasting started by attacking other commentators of nationalism by referring the notion of a nation as absolutely modern arguing that all nations are historically rooted. He particularly gave the example of English nationhood which has medieval root (Hastings, 1997). In his own account, Smith (1998) refereed to perennial primordialism as an ideology of those who believed in antiquity of history of a nation, it's immemorial and most importantly its perennial character. Perennialists often see the nation as a vital feature of human life that have happened from the time immemorial. It is on this note that Smith (1998) categorized perennial model of primordialism into two (2) versions. The first one is continuous perennialism which trace the root of modern nations to several millennia or even centuries. This is premise on the fact that cultural continuity and identity is stressed over a long period of time, this continuity also link the ancient or medieval nations to the contemporary modern States. The second one is recurrent perennialism which is the view of those who regard nation a human association category that could found everywhere throughout the history. He stresses the fact that particular nations may not be permanent as it may come and go, but nation itself is pervasive and recurrent as a form of collective identity and association (Smith, 2001).

Modernist Theory of Nationalism: The Basic Argument

History is replete with changes and transformation in our societies. No society is stagnant and the major feature of all societies is change. Modernist theory of nationalism emerged to challenge the primordial model in interpreting the rise and persistent of nationalist movement. The criticism primordialism suffered in the hand of modernism is all encompass as it did not only challenge the wide spectrum of primordial model but dare all the components that expatiates the primordialism. Nationalist view that believe in sentiment, sociobiological view that believed in kinship and race, cultural view that believed in people's traits and perennial view that believed in continuity are all challenged by modernist traditions. For instance, Smith (2003), Gorski (2006), (Ichijo & Uzelac 2005) have all advanced that in modern world, nation and nationalism are sociobiological necessity and historically novel and that during pre-modern era, there was no room for nations and nationalism. The driving force for the growth of modernist to

explain the rise of nationalism in modern world are industrialization, capitalism, secularism, urbanization and bureaucratization of modern state's institutions (Ozkırmılı 2010). Smith (1998) also argued that this transformation is accompanied by revolution of modernity and formulation or emergence of modernization theory in 60s which was popular in social sciences following the movement for decolonization of Africa and Asia. It is on this note that Ozkırımılı (2010) opined that discussion on modernist theory of nationalism is centered on three (3) major factors. These factors are; economic transformation, political transformation and social/cultural transformation.

Two popular works on economic transformation in nationalism studies are Tom Nairn's thesis titled; "Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism" published in 1981 and Michael Hechter's work titled; "Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536–1966" published in 1975. For Nairn, nationalism is rooted in the general process of historical development as opposed to core dynamic of individual societies. To him, the explanatory power armed with utility to explain the rise of nationalism is rooted in historical growth of political economy beginning from era of French revolution to the contemporary era (Nairn, 1981). Ozkırımılı (2010) supported this argument when he shortly advanced the rapid implantation of capitalist mode of production associated with its socio-historical cost constituted nationalism. Gellner who is also popular in modernist traditions in nationalism studies inferred that the linkage phenomenon of nationalism and the process of modernization is superb, arguing that the requirements of modern state are culturally standardize, literate, mobile and population that are interchangeable (Gellner, 1965). Kingsley (1955) also equates nationalism to modernization because it is the only avenue through which people make secular aspiration that resulted into painful changes. In this scenario, national strength and prestige became the supreme aspiration of a nation which must be achievable through industrialization (Kingsley, 1955). Thus, the primordial logic of ethnic persistence, cultural heritage and biological kinship has no place in a modern society. This primitive logic is eliminated and replaced by forces of modernity which include economic liberalization, globalization, information technology and most importantly the democratization of national political institutions.

John Breuilly is a well-known scholar in political dimension of nationalism. He conceived nationalism as a movement politically inclined to seek or exercise power and at the same time justify such action of seeking power with nationalist argument (Breuilly, 2001). He developed three major assertions upon which nationalist argument which is a political doctrine are based. These are; first, the existence of nation with an explicit peculiar attribute. Second, that national values and interest take priority or is prioritized than all other values or interest. Third, that nation must be autonomous as possible. This he referred to as at least attainment of political independence (Breuilly, 1993). Central to the rise of nationalism is not only forces of modernization as advanced by several modernist theorists but quest for power which is the only instrument of controlling a state. Nationalism therefore is centrally premised on the objective of using and obtaining state power (Breuilly, 1996). This position is exemplified by African nationalists who after the decolonization of the continent gave more emphasis to state power than to nationalist course.

Gellner's modernist approach to the study of nationalism is considered as the finest approach that was accepted by many including his hardest critics. His ideas on modernist model of nationalism was influenced by two leading

founding fathers of sociology Emile Durkheim and Max Weber who drawn distinction between modern and traditional societies. Based on this societal dichotomy, Gellner propounded three (3) stages in human epoch. These stages are; era of hunter-gatherer, era of agro-illiterate and industrial era (Gellner, 1983). Using these stages of development in human history, Gellner's model is seen as alternative to what Ozkırımlı (2010) referred to as false theories of nationalism. Since society is not stagnant and have gone through many transformation, ethnicity and by the way primordialism will be least considered as root to positive development which is the desire of modern states. To this end, new modern societies are characterized by sophisticated continuity as opposed to stagnation system of ascribed role that was obtainable during the agrarian era. The modern era is devoid of sentiment that have preoccupied primordial thesis and recruitment into societal institutions are done meritocratically based on acquire technical skills (Gellner, 1996). In a nutshell, Gellner seen primordialists as been hegemonic and condemn their chauvinism for lacking the explanatory power to described the modern societies. Thus Nations, as well as nationalism as an idea and movement, are both contemporary and fresh. Both are outcomes of "modernisation," the process by which societies all over the world evolve toward a state of "modernity."

Reason for Ethnic Conflicts: Primordialism and Modernist Theoretical Perspective

Among the political paradigm that provided source of ethnic conflict, primordialism is one of the influential model along with instrumentalism and constructivism. Central to this paradigm in explaining ethnic conflict was that different in ethnic identities coupled with emotional attachment of each of these ethnic groups breed conflicts among them. Since ethnic nationalities are fixed and genealogical from generation to generation, the view of the primordialist is that there is high tendency that members of the same ethnic group are liable to cooperate among themselves and be hostile to an opposing ethnic groups (Hammond and Axelrod, 2006). Geertz (1963) trace ethnic conflict using the primordial prism to deep ancestral differentiation where irreconcilable ethnic conflict ascends unavoidably from hatred among the differing ethnic groups from ancient times and mutual fear of extinction, expulsion and domination among the groups. Vanhanen (1999) also gave similar account inferring that any society that is ethnically heterogeneous will inevitably be involved ethnic conflicts. Most of the conflicts in multi-ethnic states in Africa and Asia could be used to justified primordial source of ethnic conflicts. These conflicts are Somali civil war, Nigerian civil war, Rwanda genocide Eritrean-Ethiopian, Sri Lanka civil war etc.

The sources of ethnic conflict from modernist perspectives could be inspired by Anthony D. Smith's conception of nationalism. The characteristics of Smith's definition which is ideologically ridden is vulnerable to conflicts in modern era. Nationalism in this sense is the movement for maintaining and attaining unity and identity and autonomy for a population in which some of its members perceived to constitute a potential nation (Smith, 2001). To advance his thesis on this ideological purview, Smith formulated six (6) basic assumptions that associated with modern nationalist discourse. First, that the global societies is divided into nations each with its own peculiar destiny, character and history. Second, that the nations are the birthplace of power (political). Third, loyalties to the nation supersede all forms of loyalties. Fourth, that every individual must belong to a nation and to be free. Fifth, self-expression and autonomy is the requirement of all nations. Sixth, for global peace and justice to be assured, world of

autonomous nations are essential (Smith, 2001). If modernism is equated with Smith's formulae on nationalism, then globalization which is the driven force of current wind of modernism is capable of providing source for ethnic conflicts. For instance, William Greider reduced globalization from a mere ideology to cultural/economic fact arguing that the process is characterized by greed and use of naked power to grab money. He further argued that 'free trade' is nothing but insertion of self-interest norm to control global finance and business (Greider, 2000). While some even see globalization in this midst of current modernity as not only penetrating and harmful but external control or imperialism in another form (Conversi, 2012).

Ethnic conflict, racism and nationalism are spread and propelled by the wind of globalization (Chua, 2003). This according Glenny and McMafia (2008) is responsible for expansion of organized crimes and surge of religious fundamentalism. United State with its liberal toga is not exceptional when referring to modernist induced ethnic conflict as evidence in deep-seated racism in America (Wacquant, 2006). Modernism therefore is also culpable in societal conflicts.

Instrument of Resolving Conflict: Primordialism and Modernist Theoretical Perspective

Resolving ethnic conflict in both primordialist tradition modernist model in nationalism study is respectively tantamount to realist and liberalist debate in resolution of international conflicts. Just like realists, primordialist believed that ethnic groups are not only fixed but their action is ridden by group interest. In efforts to protect this interest by particular ethnic group, the other ethnic groups are seen as the enemy or adversary with option of defeating or eliminating them. Modernist on the other hand used liberal logic in resolving the ethnic conflicts by focusing on social justices, economic opportunities and freedom. Smith (1986) for instance fiercely argued for recognition and protection of minority right as a gateway to achieving and resolving conflict among differing and competing group in the society. Geertz is one of the few primordialist that offer somehow simple and illustrative solution to ethnic conflicts. Geertz argued that belongingness to ethnic is primordial and not necessarily biological but attachment associated with ethnic group is subject to change. This to him is an important parameter that enable possibility of ethnic group competing for power or resources to share some mutual bond and possibly shift their identity capable of entrenching peace among them. For peace to exist in multiethnic societies therefore, there must be right to self-determination and autonomous regions (Geertz, 1973). In a similar development, Shill provide action orientation formula to the resolution of crisis in multi-ethnic society. To him, custom, religion, race, territory and language are 'culturally given' and argued that if the new state in Asia and Africa are to overcome or succeed the arduous primordialism and cultural division, civil action associated with secular order with its rational efficiency must be taken (Shill, 1957). Secular order is therefore necessary prerequisite to peaceful co-existence in multi-ethnic societies.

For modernist, ethnic conflict is caused by forces modernization which create avenue for industrialization, urbanization, civilization and democratization in plural societies. These modernist forces are accompanied by social inequalities in most plural societies that often sparked violent conflict. Modernist like Gellner opined that nationalist homogenization is the remedy to quench this conflict tendency in modern states. This homogenization is according to him possible through assimilation (Gellner, 1983) John and Brendan (1993). Offered their solution to ethnic conflict in modern state basically on two (2) premises. First, they argues that

restructuring of territory is necessary through either partition or secession. Second premise which is similar to that of Gellner is engineering of cultural values which must be achieved either through assimilation or integration. More institutional instruments is also provided by the modernist in resolving ethnic conflict on modern era. The trio of federation/autonomy, consociation and arbitration are strong mechanism in arresting conflicts midst of modernism (John and Brendan, 1993). Federation is the arrangement of power sharing among the constituent units that composed the federation, arbitration is third party alternative method of conflict resolution that may arise between the warring ethnic groups and consociation is a positive cooperation between the competing groups in the society.

Conclusion

Primordialism and modernist interpretation of nationalism has been subjected to series of debates in academic literatures. In fact, there is no any reconciliatory sign between these two traditions in the study of nationalism. The primordialist has taken chauvinist approach by insisting that nations and ethnic identities are natural and fixed or what some primordialist referred to as 'given'. This fixation is bonded by race, language, custom, culture and religions. The apologists of this theory in the study of nationalism strongly defend their position that ethnic identity is not only natural but historic which predate modern states. The central argument of this model in interpreting the rise of nationalism is that solidarity to the ethnic group is sacred which cannot be challenged by any wind of modernism. In contrast, modernism views nationalism as a recent phenomenon which is a rapid response to societal changes and transformation process such as industrialization, civilization, urbanization and democratization of global institutions. Some ardent modernist rejected in totality the position of primordialist that the rise of nations and nationalism has nothing to do with ethnic identity but forces of modernization.

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