

The Construction of Geography by Nationalism: Homeland, Motherland, Fatherland

^{1,*}Adalat Muradov; ²Ferruh Tuzcuoğlu; ³Yusuf Ziya
Bölükbaşı

¹Azerbaijan State University of Economics, Baku, Azerbaijan; ²Sakarya University,
Sakarya, Turkey; ³Anadolu University, Eskisehir, Turkey

*Corresponding author: adalat.muradov@unec.edu.az

Abstract

In this study, the relationship between space and geography in the composition of nationalism is examined. As a modern ideology, nationalism has been the most powerful ideology for the last two centuries that have shaped the world map, constructing identities and influencing people's worlds of meaning. Understanding the content of nationalism, which is such a powerful ideology, is essential in understanding today's events. Therefore, in the present study, the relationship between nationalism and geography is explained through the concept of space, which is one of the two components of identity phenomena. This statement, what is the effect of geography on the composition of nationalism? The answer to the question is made around. It is necessary to understand the conceptual and methodological frameworks of the study to answer this question. The literature review constitutes the methodological framework of the study. The literature on nationalism has been analyzed in this manner. The conceptual framework, on the other hand, constitutes nationalism, nationalism-nation, and nationalism-geography relations. French, German and Turkish nationalisms explain the concepts of homeland, motherland, and fatherland. Consequently, it can be said that in addition to the role of geography in understanding nationalism, it also determines the forms of nationalism concerning the concepts of homeland, motherland, and fatherland.

Keywords: Nationalism, Geography, Homeland, Motherland, Fatherland.

Introduction

Ideology is undoubtedly one of the most important concepts that modernism transfers to the world of thought and people's ideas and lifestyles. Ideologies can be defined as systematized thinking, the intellectuals who make sense of individuals migrating from rural to urban settings due to a new mode of production and changes in Western Europe and increasing their educational opportunities. The number of

ideologies that emerged, especially in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, it has been observed to increase since then, and the fundamental ideologies have diversified by going through transformations. Nationalism is at the top of these. The dynamics of these transformations experienced by nationalism occur spontaneously by assuming various characteristics and identities while building nations in every geography it has spread since the French Revolution. Therefore, one of the basic premises in understanding and explaining nationalism is its relationship with geography. In this study, the definition of nationalism and the relationship between the nation factor and geography will be discussed from a descriptive perspective. However, presenting some key issues such as nationalism and nation, discussing their relations with space, region and geography are necessary before moving on to other concepts. The related literature has many studies and approaches to these concepts, especially “nationalism” and “nation,” which is impossible to list here exhaustively.

For this reason, it seems useful in the context of the current study to focus on some key definitions of nationalism and then examine its relationship with the concept of nation and examine identity through the concept of space. This study seeks to answer the following question: "What is the effect of geography on the composition of nationalism?" The study consists of three parts: The first part deals with the politicization of geography based on nationalism. In the second part, the issue of national geographies is discussed. In the third part, the concept of homeland, motherland, and fatherland are analyzed as national identity codes. In the third chapter, the concept of homeland in French nationalism, the concept of fatherland in German nationalism, and the concept of homeland in Turkish nationalism will be examined. The literature review method was used, and the national (Turkish) and international literature dealing with the nationalism-geography relationship was reviewed.

The Politicization of Geography on the Ground of Nationalism

Unlike other ideologies, nationalism is an ideology that does not have an agreed definition in the literature. Contrary to other ideologies, nationalism, which does not have global ideologues, is confused with many other concepts such as - racism, populism, and patriotism. However, most academics concur today that nationalism is a modern phenomenon. Like other ideologies, nationalism emerged after the French Revolution of 1789 and was shaped within the doctrine of national sovereignty, the nation-state's basic foundation. Thus, nationalism has politicized geography through its ideological formation. In France, nationalism emerged due to

the transformation of the King's subjects into free citizens and the legitimacy of political power based on these free citizens (Keitner, 2007, pp. 3-4). Although it is generally assumed that the revolution was initiated by the lowest strata of the social classes, the revolution began a year earlier with the participation of the privileged strata, then the bourgeoisie and the middle class (Rude, 2018, pp. 27-35), which underscore the effects of the modernization processes - capitalism, industrialization, urbanization, publishing, and literacy - and the influence of new social classes - the bourgeoisie and the educated middle class - in the emergence of nationalism. The earliest recorded use of the term in social and political terms dates back to the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder and the French counter-revolutionary cleric Abbé Augustin de Barruel in the late eighteenth century. In English, the first use of the concept occurred in 1836 to explain selected nation theories in the context of theological doctrines (Smith, 2010, p. 5).

Although it is accepted that nationalism is a modern doctrine formulated in the second half of the eighteenth century, some claim it to be much older, at least in the sense of national sensitivity. It is claimed that nationalism was known to the Classical Greeks and Hebrews in antiquity and/or existed in the Middle Ages. Here, the use of "natio," a Latin origin word in medieval Europe, is confused with modern nationalism. The pre-modern nation's membership was limited only to the ruling family and the aristocracy, as not all political unit residents had equal access to political power. This provides a clue for the evolution of nationalism as a modern phenomenon. With its highly developed organizational and rationalizing capacity, the modern state's rise has given rise to a new power relationship between governed and rulers. Although the necessity of sharing the power of power was realized with the rulers' consent, this new model increased the state's efficiency. It was necessary to redistribute power to obtain this consent so that everyone affected by it had their share. The redistribution of power was not voluntary but was also the result of pressure from the bourgeoisie and intellectuals who were preoccupied with legitimizing their demands by claiming that they were members of the nation and rightfully had the right to share power. In essence, this was the foundation of the modern nation. Therefore, the doctrine of nationalism was formulated in parallel with the development of democracy. The definition of nation was shaped based on citizenship in the civil context, as manifested by the French Revolution. Free citizens of France constituted the French nation. Thus, nationalism was accepted as a doctrine that legitimized the modern nation, which sought to overcome the obstacles to the goal of universal freedom and equality, such as birthright privilege, dogmatic thinking, and the remains of feudalism, which constitute the central political sphere of modernity based on democracy and equal citizenship (Schöpflin, 2001, pp. 225-226).

These positive aspects of nationalism were seen in small political units and relatively homogeneous nations. Nationalism is a stream of ideas that promises liberation and does so based on consensus. Where consensus cannot be reached or is broken, the situation gets complicated. The failure of the modern state to find a solution to this has, in some places, caused the disintegration of states and created a traumatic situation. Especially in Central and Eastern Europe, the phenomenon of “nation” began to take shape with an ethnic core rather than a civilian definition. In this manner, the transition moved from the civilian nation to the pure and simple, to a mixture of civic and ethnic elements; nationalism, in turn, acquired an ethnic color that it did not have so clearly before. The transformation gave nationalism a bad name because when the nation was defined simultaneously with civic and ethnic qualities, nationalism was regularly transformed into national exclusion. This type of nationalism originated in the twentieth century and peaked with the First World War, which still plays a vital role in legitimizing the state. Based on the nation and supported by nationalism, the state of the early twentieth century increasingly tended to self-glorify, set rigid boundaries against the rest of the world, and rejected any dependency that would undermine state sovereignty. The emergence of Fascism and Nazism during Europe's second Thirty Years' War (1914-1945) brought ethnic affiliation to a higher level. It brought the notion of race as the starting point of the social revolution. At the end of the war, nationalism was blamed, and far-reaching steps were taken to prevent extremism's recurrence. Ethnicity as a source of identity has been severely criticized and constrained by European integration and various other international cooperation forms. The democratic nation sought to confine itself to national identity's civic elements without too evident nationalism. Simultaneously, ethnic issues remained as before, but with no space given to self-articulation, a tacit foundation of consent. Compared to these events taking place in democratic countries, nationalism was condemned by Marxism in Communist systems during the Cold War. Against the idea of first political-cultural and later ethnocultural communities, communism defended the concept of economic class/identity. However, many former colonial societies did not switch to a mixture of anti-imperialist motivation, socialism, and nationalism. With the collapse of the USSR, weak civil society and state mechanisms made ethnic identities prominent in the post-Soviet geography and turned them into an object of conflict. After all, throughout the twentieth century, nationalism remained the nation's leading legitimate ideology (Schöpflin, 2001, pp. 226-227). Today, nationalism continues to exist as a more robust and more distinct doctrine than in the previous century. The only difference is that in societies where civil society, democracy, the rule of law, and human rights are strict, as in the second Thirty Years' War, nationalism dominated by racial-centered and exclusionary characteristics has strengthened. It

manifests itself in the discrimination against blacks in the West - the death of George Floyd in the US and the demonstrations that followed - and against Muslims.

After explaining the historical evolution of nationalism in geography's politicization, we can now focus on some critical thinkers' approaches to nationalism. Liah Greenfeld is one of them. According to Greenfeld, nationalism is the position of the source of individual identity with 'nations,' which is seen as the carrier of sovereignty, the central object of loyalty, and the basis of collective solidarity (2019, p. 13). According to Motyl (2001, p. 362), the state should be seen as a central link that brings together the concept of nation and nation-state, enables people to gain a sense of national identity, and motivates them to work for their development well-being. Breuilly, on the other hand, approaches nationalism from a broad perspective. Focusing on modernization, culture, class, identity, or ideology means neglecting nationalism's relevance to politics and power phenomena above and beyond. In the modern world, power means controlling first. Therefore, nationalism is primarily a form of politics. What needs to be understood here is that nationalism as a form of mentality is either part of the national consensus or seen as a political doctrine built by intellectuals. The main goal of nationalism is about obtaining and using state power. Therefore, nationalism legitimizes behaviors and actions that seek to attain state power or move this political organization with nationalist arguments (Breuilly, 1993, pp. 1-2).

Similarly, Hobsbawm focuses on the relation of nationalism to the modern state and politics. The modern state has made nationalism necessary because the complex bureaucratic system and the indispensable needs arising from its administration can only be met by nationalism (Hobsbawm, 2010, p. 85). Post-modern approaches focus on the discursive dimension of nationalism. According to Calhoun (2012, pp. 7-29), nationalism is only due to cultural or political changes that occur with industrialization, an ideological invention that legitimizes capitalist economic relations, a tool trying to centralize and national unity of the state, a resentment for unequal economic relations or seeing them as ethnic identities becomes deterministic interpretations based on an incomplete and single factor. Therefore, he states that the focus should be placed on the discursive dimension of nationalism. This rhetoric encourages people worldwide to think about the primary goals and national identities in the nation's context, and he evaluates this within the cultural approaches produced by nationalism.

The most basic concept to describe or reflect on nationalism is the phenomenon of the nation. Nationalism is a doctrine built on the phenomenon of the nation, and its main goal is to build a nation. According to Hans Kohn (1960, p. 14), nationalism is the consciousness of being a nation or creating a nation. Gellner defines nationalism

through the phenomenon of the nation as well. For him, nationalism is the intersection of the political unit and the cultural unit. However, nationalism's main function manifests itself in the transition to a higher culture with the standardization of education based on the necessity of substituting each other for people who have passed to a new mode of production - the industrial society - as a result of modernization. The basic principle in industrial society is to continue production, so it is essential that more than one person can do a job. There is no such requirement in the agricultural society. Standardizing education in industrial society has created the opportunity for individuals to substitute for each other whereby, nationalism presents an anonymous mass society construction as a continuation of the older adults' society, thus making the transition from subculture to an upper culture based on folk culture (Gellner, 2008, pp. 74-88).

Nationalism can be seen as a positive force that offers people who are different from each other a common reference for unity. It offers a chance of loyalty to something larger than themselves and their group, namely the nation. It provides them with a historical reference point and people to recognize their similarities through culture, lineage, and history (Motyl, 2001, p. 362). An invention reveals the similarities between people, sometimes by definition, made between some objective criteria. Therefore, objective and subjective values are taken as a basis when defining the nation concept. For example, Kellas (1998, p. 2) defines the nation within the framework of objective criteria and states that "the human group formed by individuals who think they are connected by history, culture and common ancestral ties" will be named the nation.

On the other hand, Ernest Renan states that a nation cannot be defined based on objective values. According to him, the nation is a spiritual being with two basic qualities: (1) a history formed by shared memories people who forget their historical conflicts can be called nation and (2) desire to live together (Renan, 1946, pp. 120-124). However, the modernity of the concepts that constitute the nation's phenomenon, whether formed by objective or subjective elements, is pointed out by many researchers. For example, according to Hobsbawm (2010, pp. 24-29), nations were formed within the framework of invented traditions, the inventions that took place in the last quarter of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century, and the basic idea is to create partnerships between individuals and thus organize the nation. Anderson (2011, p. 21) suggests that nations are imagined communities. Anderson, who explains nationalism with the revolution in secularization and printing, claims that nations are the product of imagination because all members of the group of people called the nation will never know each other but will connect with the consciousness of being the same nation.

Unlike modernist approaches, Smith states that nations are based on communities called pre-modern ethics. Although nationalism is based on modern times and nations to pre-modern ages, Smith's approach to these concepts is important in the nationalism literature. According to Smith (2010, pp. 5-6), nationalism has been used in the last century with five meanings: (1) the process of formation or growth of nations, (2) the feeling or consciousness of nationhood, (3) a national language and symbolism, (4) social and a political movement; and (5) both a general and a specific nation doctrine and/or ideology. Naturally, some of these definitions are very general, and some point to a specific nationalism feature. The ideology of nationalism has been defined in many ways, but most definitions appear to have similar qualities. The central theme is, of course, an overriding concern about the nation. Nationalism is an ideology that puts the nation at the center of its concerns and aims to promote society's welfare. However, there are ambiguous points in this definition as well. Therefore, we must go further and focus on nationalism's main goal to promote the nation's welfare. In this respect, it is necessary to dwell on three main goals on which all nations on earth are built: national unity, national autonomy, and national identity. Thus, a more general definition of nationalism can be made as follows: it is an ideological movement designed to achieve and maintain autonomy, unity, and identity for a population conceived as a "nation." Naturally, what should be understood from this phenomenon here needs further explanation.

Smith (2010, p. 11) classifies the approaches to the nation into two categories. In ideological discourse, the nation is a community that is felt and lived, a category of behavior and imagination, and a community that requires certain types of action from its members. Typically, nationalist activities include ethnic history and philology, archaeological excavations of national historic sites, buildings and structures, and national games and sports. In all societies, nationalism promotes the proliferation of commemorative rites and ceremonies, especially for those who fought on behalf of their nations, as well as those who brought great victories. The second approach is the nationalization of pre-modern ethnic groups with modernity, which predates nationalism in the eighteenth century. However, according to Smith, a nation is neither an ethnic group nor a state. Smith (2010, p. 13) defines ethnicity as,

‘a named community of people connected with the homeland, having a common ancestry, shared memories, one or more elements of shared culture, and at least a measure of solidarity among the elite.’ The concept of nation is “living in a perceived homeland and a named community of people with common myths and history, a different folk culture, and common laws and traditions for all members.’

Living Spaces of Nations: National Geographies

The main point emphasized in the discussions made so far is that nationalism is an ideology closely related to the phenomenon of nation, just as class conflict and equality in Marxism, individual and market economy in liberalism, and tradition in conservatism are important. The main emphasis of nationalism is on the concept of nation concept and its relationship with geography/space plays a critical role. Grosby (2005, p. 7) explains nation through time/history, memory, and geography/space. A nation is a community defined by birth based on geography. All people open their eyes to life as members of a nation. The nation's cultural, historical development explains this biological birth aspect, the importance attributed to geographical terms. It is one of the various forms of the kinship of the nation which, differs from other forms of kinship, such as family, as space has central importance. It differs from other regional societies, such as a tribe, city-state, or various 'ethnic groups,' not only due to the size of its territory but also in its relatively homogeneous culture that ensures stability, that is, it continues over time. Nations emerge at the end of various processes and developments in human history. Ultimately, trying to find the exact moment when any nation emerged, just like a manufactured product designed by an engineer, is a pointless undertaking. First of all, it should be underlined that all nations have historical premises. These historically earlier societies laid the foundation for the formation of nations. For example, the English nation emerged from historically earlier societies such as the Saxons, Angles, and Normans. However, these historical pioneers are never enough to explain the nation's facts alone because memories are the key to its existence. For example, the English nation would not exist if it had no memory of the Saxon King Alfred (849-899 AD) and the "good old law." Stories, myths, and history can be seen as the mortars of all nations shaped by their imaginations. Whether historically wrong or true, these memories distinguish one country from others. When understanding the past forms part of the present, this component of history constitutes the nation's characteristic feature. These memories also constitute the building blocks of the mental world that a person has. As the individual's mind develops in various contexts, such as family or different educational institutions, it tends towards the diverse and "happy" traditions. For example, a child becomes conscious of being a member of his/her nation through his own nation's language, traditions, and laws. These traditions are represented in the individual's understanding of self. When these traditions, which form part of one's understanding of self, are shared by other individuals as part of self-understanding, they relate to other individuals and know the relationship. The relationship itself is defined by the concept of "collective consciousness" specific to the common language or geographical region. This term in no way implies that humans are a combination of a group mind or biological instincts, like an ant colony.

Conversely, it refers to the social relationship due to individuals participating in the same tradition. Hence, features or qualities that distinguish tradition from others are recognized; they are the limits of social relationships that allow us to separate 'us' from 'them.' For example, those who accept and participate in Egypt's tradition through Jewish immigration separate themselves from those who do not. Those who worship the Japanese sun goddess Amaterasu distinguish themselves from those who do not. Those who speak one language realize that they are different from those who speak another language. The nation is a social relationship with collective self-consciousness. It is maintained by various institutions, such as the Jerusalem Temple for ancient Israel or the temple at Ise for Japan, or the British Parliament, bearing the traditions in which the nation's social relations are formed. These institutions form a religious, spiritual, or political structure for the nation. Ultimately, the nation is formed around common beliefs with such a structure (Grosby, 2005, pp. 8-10).

With all this, Grosby argues that the phenomenon of nation is formed around shared traditions, which are about a distinctive past and a spatially located history. When approaching the relationship between individuals in a spatial context, the place becomes the most essential criterion to distinguish an individual. Thus, the place is no longer just space; it turns into a field with meaning: geography. Usually, this self-understanding and interpretation are defined within the framework of the notion of birth in space. Thus, what nation means for a person is related to the people born in that region. In such a case, spatially formed "people" are believed to exist over time, and the term "nation" refers to this. This relationship is explained as England-British, France-French, Germany-Germans, and Canada-Canadians, regarding the region and population at the same time. This approach demonstrates the following understanding: A person has his own land, and a community has its own people. A nation is a social relationship with both temporal depth and limited space. The act of wondering about the past and its place establishes a continuity between that time and historical space and current space. This continuum is thought to justify the present order because it is necessarily understood to contain this past. For example, in the early 20th century, many Jews thought that modern Israel could only be found in the eastern Mediterranean region because their past - ancient Israel - was there. The belief in such a continuum enables one to realize the self and its position in the world. However, the traits that contribute to the individual's self-image and the traditions that carry them vary. Nevertheless, at the center of the nation's existence is the notion of people being territorially located communities, each built around their own traditions of cultural continuity. The nation is a spatial relationship of the collective self-consciousness of real and imagined time (Grosby, 2005, pp. 10-11).

After revealing the relationship between history, memory, and space, informing the nation's phenomenon, it is necessary to examine its relationship with nationalism and

national identity. Hooson (2001, pp. 113-114) briefly explains the relation of nationalism with space as a sphere in which the nation is personalized and defended in this respect. Geography is sometimes a romantic element of identity, material qualities, and geopolitical approaches. Physical geography has the quality of shaping national identities, such as the open grassland "borders" of America or Russia or the Swiss Alps. Although such ideas are subject to change and reinterpretation, they are still important in reflecting national sentiments' visual and conceptual underpinnings. As noted by Hooson (2001, p. 114), "the image of the unified natural-national framework of aggregation does not diminish its power to help create a human-made and national feeling, as in the domestic rural landscape of southern England. French territory was described by Blache, the founder of the French school of geography, as 'medals stamped on an image of a person.' Catalonian patriotism's resurgence in the last quarter of the twentieth century is inseparable from its association with beloved and known landscapes that are constantly nurtured by the tradition of walking clubs."

Reviewing the symbolization of geography in the context of nationalism and nation phenomena, now it is time to return to the importance of space in forming national identity. All societies create their values in space. The meaning and form of space are constructed with societies' values and identities. All people live on and interact from past to present - the buildings on the ground, the statues, the monuments, the squares, places of worship, mountains, hills, seas, lakes, rivers, and the heroes and ancestors - are geographies. Geographies, whether written or verbal, imaginary or real, living or material, help individuals answer the question "Who am I?" Space answers this question and plays a primary role in constructing national identities. In the modern world, political and legal sovereignty boundaries are drawn through national spaces, politicizing geography (Yücel, 2020a, p. 11). A modern state is a territorial form of state in which sovereignty belongs to the nation. The concept of nationality, which is the basic foundation of the modern state, results from a geographical, political, and cultural imagination or invention. Therefore, the nation-state, which is the dominant state paradigm today, politicizes and instrumentalizes geography in terms of both the state's basic characteristics and the construction of national identity. Thus, for nationalist thought, although geography contains different tones and accents in almost every society, its interaction with time/history is essential in the construction of identity. The modern state's ontological security is based on the spatial belief and perception of the national phenomenon and identity defined by equal citizenship and legal citizenship (Yücel, 2020b, pp. 274-275). To put it briefly, in the words of Yücel (2020b, p. 275), "the main element that binds national identities to political countries is the historical/cultural ties they have established with space." Therefore, these ties can demonstrate the importance of the nation and the geography element in which the ancestors lived before, in terms of

nationalism and the nation, for whose lives can be sacrificed, which can become synonymous with the concept of pudicity and honor.

When the literature of nationalism is examined, it is necessary to explain the concepts of homeland, motherland, and fatherland, which emerge in the context of nationalism, nation, and geography and effectively produce nationalist thought and rhetoric.

Identity Codes of Geography's: Concepts of Homeland, Motherland, and Fatherland

One of the modern world's hallmarks is divided into individual units or nation-states with carefully separated boundaries. The concept of space is an integral part of nationalism and presents a new biographical story for nations while consolidating nationalist movements over geography (Yücel, 2020a, p. 12). All nations have a territory on which they live. Sometimes, nations or nationalities that are candidates to become nations reside in geographies that they believe they own and often think that some of their ancestors lived. The concept of homeland is a romantic reflection of this sense of space. The phenomenon of homeland is more than the physical space that forms the political boundaries of a nation. It is a home, the place of origin, and wholeness; an area where its members share this house, and they think they are part of the same family.

Nevertheless, it is a prohibited area for foreigners. They are not at home here; foreigners, or at best their guests, are either tolerant of their hosts or excluded. Most of the time, motherhood and fatherhood patterns are an extension of the phenomenon of the homeland, as in metaphors of fatherland or motherland; A homeland is a place where one is bound and rooted by blood on his land (Blut und Boden) and can even be bestowed on society by God as in a promised or holy land. Typically, however, a real or imaginary past derived from incomplete historical or uncertain archaeological sources is associated with the homeland; as with German nationalism, Heimat becomes Urheimat, a nationalist homeland. Defeated by the Turks in Kosovo in 1389, the Serbs still maintain a deep primitive attachment to this geography that they once exercised political control. Armenian nationalists claim that Eastern Anatolia was part of the Armenian homeland because Armenians lived there before it came under the Turkish rule, at the same time that these lands stretching from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea and the Caspian Seas were brought together under the Great Tigran in the 1st century BC, and the Armenian kingdom was short. Generally, this relationship is maximalist and anachronistic.

Tigran's reign did not extend to all the areas claimed and lasted for a few years at most; his kingdom, contrary to modern nationalists' claims, consisted of many ethnic groups, not just Armenians. In this case, the constructability of the phenomenon of homeland emerges as a question. While a homeland usually has sacred antiquity, this approach seems to be built with a modern ideology, nationalism. Conceived as the land of freedom and the home of the brave, America is defined by the political boundaries of the United States, a region that was relatively recently annexed or conquered. The concept here perhaps seems less mystical and less obscured by the mists of a distant past but still evokes strong emotions for what Americans want to live and die. The concept of homeland thus constitutes one of the basic or primitive qualities of a person. One of the main difficulties regarding this issue arises when more than one nation claims rights on the same land. Germany's dangerous political slogans for Germans, Russia for Russians, Georgia for Georgians are incitement to violence aimed at cleansing undesirable groups' homeland. Eretz Israel is the Israelis' holy homeland, but the same land represents the Palestinians' lost land. The same claim is made for Kosovo by Serbs and Albanians or Bosnia by Serbs, Croats, and Bosnians. The list can be expanded almost globally (Motyl, 2001, pp. 217-218). Therefore, the perception of homeland and its meanings has been instrumental in forming nationalism, the emergence of conflicts, societies assuming a territorial state, and the emergence of the modern world map. Returning to the concepts of homeland, motherland, and patriarch, each of these three words is a combination of two terms. Grosby (2005) explains this as follows:

‘The second and third words refer to the terms 'mother' and 'father' respectively, both of which are directly responsible for the biological production of the child, with the relational origin of the term 'land,' a limited but broad region that carries the image. The first word "homeland" combines the familial residence and the immediate area where the baby conceives, feeds, and matures with a wider region's image. This combination of terms refers to a class category of kinship. However, it is a form of kinship revolving around the image of a limited ‘region’.’

Viva la Patrie: The Example of France in the Conversion of Political Geography to the Homeland

For today's modern nations, the concept of space expresses an understanding beyond being a space where random interaction is experienced between individuals who make up the nation. The idea of space is shaped and turned into a homeland by past,

and present generations' spirits is at the center of this understanding. It is the traditions that make the place a homeland. Such spatial specific traditions; both create the spatial-cultural structure and help us make sense of the behavior of participants in that culture. Besides, space boundaries are never geographical; passing on from one generation to the next, these traditions often define spatial boundaries. For example, ancient Greek city-states' territorial boundaries appear to be determined by gods or sacred sites associated with gods. The individuals living in certain geography interact with each other and participate in spatially shaped traditions that determine their behavior: the gods they worship, the language they speak, or the laws they accept. These spatially bordered traditions are sustained over time by various institutions and practices, from days of celebration, which are the mainstay of nationalist ideology, or days of commemoration to mark events that seem to indicate the existence of the nation's regional relationship; the Independence Day in the United States, the Bastille Day in France, the Coronation Day in England and Genocide Memorial Day in Israel. This cultural heritage should not be viewed as something outside of the individual, such as a jacket to be worn and removed. It forms part of the image of self and other individuals in the social network, inheriting spatially constrained traditions (Grosby, 2005).

In France, which has one of the first original examples of nationalism, the concept of the homeland has an important effect on forming the relationship between identity-geography-citizenship. In France, the *Patrie* emphasis has a historical background. More precisely, the French biographical story can be read by transforming the homeland into a nation. For some authors, the French identity was conceived by God as a product of history and nature in the pre-modern period (Kaiser, 2002, p. 96). Many historical narratives from France's Troy / Gaul lineage to Saint Clovis are referenced in this section. In these historical narratives, the purpose of the Trojan / Gaul lineage myth, built to achieve ethnic and geographical unity, is to make every sacrifice made for the French land, which is seen as equivalent to Eden's garden. Nevertheless, it is seen that from the 15th century, the concept of *Patrie* was stripped of its local/local meanings and started to be used as the name of the land that encompassed the whole kingdom (Llobera, 2007, p. 62).

Nationalism was interpreted in the context of a new religion that sanctified geography and identity and played an important role in forming *Patrie's* ideological identity within the framework of secularism (Kaiser, 2002, p. 97). The emphasis on *patrie* in the French understanding of geography has highlighted the combination of nationality in the nation-state conflict. The early establishment of the political unity of the French monarchy brought a strong emphasis on the state's identity. This matter made it impossible to imagine ethnocultural-based geography and identity in France. Political centralism and unitary have transformed into a “national self” to encompass

subcultures and identities that have emerged in the environment (Brubaker, 2009, pp. 26-27). In this context, the phenomenon of a citizen, who is subject to a homeland and lives there, internalized the revolution and drew the profile of a citizen with the right to self-determination.

On the other hand, it offered these citizens the opportunity to become French. However, French citizenship has historically produced a vision of identity in which foreigners can also be integrated. This historical basis bears the belief that foreign immigrants can turn into French, concerning the Roman tradition. Therefore, the French homeland is where the territorial nation, defined by the principle of "jus soil," lives on it. Another aspect that gave personality to the French homeland was the slogan "Vive la Nation, Vive la Patria" (Long Live the Nation, Long Live the Fatherland), which was voiced in the war against the Prussian army, one of Europe's strongest armies, in Valmy on September 20, 1792. This discourse and the resistance that emerged in its eyes caused the concept of citizenship, equipped with the French Revolution's values, to gain an ideological character. French nationalism's emphasis on geography expresses spiritual and ideological unity as well as administrative and territorial unity. The way of spiritual and ideological unity is to adopt France's character and adopt and internalize the set of values it produces. Therefore, any understanding of identity that could endanger or equate to the French set of values is suppressed by French nationalism (Nora, 2006, p. 40). Ultimately, France envisions a nationalism identical with state identity, based on nation-state centralism as land and homeland. At the same time, the Patrie phenomenon has gained a historical depth in terms of representing ancient France; the milestone of the values rising above it has been handled as the French Revolution. While the revolution invented the national citizenship institution on the legal ground, French identity has been formed in a spiritual/ideological context (Brubaker, 2009, p. 59).

Blut und Boden: Fatherland in German Nationalism

The fatherland concept is conceived as a place where ancestors live, where their essential qualities and character are formed, referring to societies' ancient history and roots. Generally, it constitutes the legitimate source of political-legal claims of societies about the lands they live. For societies that do not exist in the geography where their ancestors lived, the fatherland phenomenon becomes a means of expressing mystical and romantic aspirations for space. Still, as a place where historical codes are found or buried, the fatherland help answer the following: "Who am I?" or "Where did I come from?" It is a region that is the addressee of such questions and enables nations to be discovered within an objective understanding of

history. The fatherland phenomenon is a spatial definition that provides the national unity and solidarity of societies and is a driving force. In some cases, it is considered the main object of inter-communal conflict. Ultimately, the claim of ancientness and rootedness indicated by the fatherland has a socio-psychological orientation that suggests romantic feelings towards geography and the desire not to leave the past mentally and physically (Yücel, 2020b, pp. 275-276).

After a brief theoretical explanation of the fatherland, its influence on German nationalism should be mentioned. The geographical codes of German identity are a product of the German enlightenment (Aufklärung). Contrary to the French approach that puts the mind and the individual at the center, German enlightenment took nature's spirit as a reference. This spirit also gives people character. In this context, geography is where German identity is shaped and culturally matured has an important place in German nationalism. German nationalism celebrates rural and natural life rather than cities where cosmopolitan life and ethnic mix are common. Therefore, an organic link has been established between nature/environment and identity. This organic bond also points to the purity and historical roots of German identity. Living in harmony with nature has a significant role in forming the Volkgeist (German folk spirit). The true sense of unity and rootedness that constitutes the German spirit and consciousness has been figuratively equated with the process of connecting and taking root.

Therefore, blood and soil (Blut und Boden) have been accepted as part of the doctrine that creates society, giving society its color and creating its characteristic depth (Olgun, 2012, pp. 225-229). This doctrine hides being German in terms of identity-geography relationship in the thought of "Heimat." Heimat corresponds to the home as the production, development, and preservation area of pure German (Staudenmeir, 2011, p. 29). Heimat thought is a spatial fiction about the organic and naturalness of being German through geography. The political aspect of Heimat's thought is the paternal phenomenon. Fatherland played an important role in the political structure of German society. The phenomenon of patriotism and its influence on German romanticism is seen in shaping nation and nationalism.

For example, the poem "Des Deutschen Vaterland" (Fatherland of the Germans) written by Ernst Moritz Arndt in 1813 can be given: What is / where is the German ancestor? / Prussia? Swabia? / Is it the Rhine opened by the vines? / Belt that attracts the seagulls? / No, no, no / Fatherland must be bigger! / What is the German patriarch / where is it? / Only then can I say my country! In the poem, the place's spatial and geographic boundaries belonging to the Germans are indicated with the region where German is spoken. This situation brought the German fatherland boundaries to be cultural rather than geographical (Doğan, 2019, pp. 12-13). Thus, German

nationalism has acquired an aggressive and irredentist character based on the idea of fatherland, which is the rationalized form of "Heimat" sentimentality, and the understanding of duty it brings.

Motherland in Turkish Nationalism: Anatolia

Motherland has a structure that transforms historical identity into cultural identity. Hence, the realization of space's concept by transforming the qualities in the static, static, living, or official memory of society into the codes of daily life is achieved by the homeland's phenomenon. In other words, the motherland transforms the ancestor cult, nature cult, beliefs, and values, which are believed to be found in the people's subconscious, into people's daily lives by shaping them with the perception of space. Besides, it is a spatial structure in which the homeland's historical consciousness and national-spiritual privacy are protected. When we look at the relationship between humans and land, the soil represents productivity, abundance, and wealth in meeting human needs and meets psychological needs - especially security and belonging. The "main" metaphor in the word motherland can be said to have two functions. The first of these is the preservation of the ancestral heritage or the continuity of cultural codes. The second is the land's definition through the "mother," that is, women, the fertility and fertility symbolized by the land, and the inheritance of the socio-economic and socio-cultural field through the notion of woman. Thus, just as a mother takes care of her children and nurtures them, teaches speech, culture, and social rules to them, these characteristics are transferred to society through space with the homeland concept. Also, the idea of equating the land with women and women with honor, preventing the entry of strangers and enemies, and always being ready to die and kill to protect it constitutes an important reflection of the spatial imagination of the homeland (Yücel, 2020b, pp. 276-278).

Turkish nationalism is one of the best examples of transforming geography first into the homeland and then into the homeland. Turkish nationalism emerged in the last half-century of the Ottoman Empire due to the changes in the political, economic, and social fields. Turkish nationalism, "How can we keep alive the crumbling empire?" The answer to the question is a current of thought shaped under the military and civilian bureaucracy's leadership. The state's identity, the reaction of non-Muslim and Muslim elements against nationalism, and its late rise constitute the basic characteristics of Turkish nationalism in the state's focus on its survival. Namık Kemal first studied the homeland's phenomenon in Turkish nationalism, and the entire political geography was named homeland. However, the land losses suffered by the Ottomans did not create any change in Turkism's understanding of the

"cihanşümul" (worldwide) state. Nationalists such as Yusuf Akçura and Ziya Gökalp expressed Turanism's idea, which aimed to gather all Turks under one roof during this period. Turan pointed to the fatherland in terms of pointing to the ancient lands of the Turks. At the end of World War I, the defeat interrupted this idea and revealed that it was necessary to return to realist goals. For this reason, the National Struggle started as a movement with certain territorial boundaries, and Anatolia was successfully rescued from the invading forces (Bölükbaşı, 2020, pp.79-95).

Instead of the Ottoman Empire collapsed the Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923. The Republic of Turkey has enabled her to become the homeland of Anatolia to be a territorial nation-state. This young Republic, founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the National Struggle hero, was also a reflection of his ideas and ideology. In particular, nationalism and secularism have become the basic principles of the new state. Turkish identity was defined based on constitutional citizenship, showing that the understanding of civil-political nationalism was a dominant character in Turkish nationalism (Bölükbaşı, 2020, pp. 102-108). However, an ethnic-secular identity has been built since the 1930s. With this process, which started with the Turkish History Thesis and the Sun Language Theory, the Anatolian geography was transformed from homeland to motherland. Here, it is necessary to dwell briefly on the Turkish History thesis. The Turks established a large and settled civilization around an inland sea in Central Asia. When this inland sea dried up, they dispersed worldwide and brought civilization everywhere to those they went. Those who founded the Anatolian, Greek, Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Chinese, Indian and Etruscan civilizations are all Turks. This approach, claiming that pre-Islamic Turkish history was brighter, pointed to a territorial identity by stating that Turks were the autochthonous people of Anatolia due to the anthropological ties Anatolian civilizations and secular identity construction (Durgun & Yücel, 2019, pp. 193-194). Thus, the official-Kemalist understanding of nationalism made political geography a homeland in the first place. The country was transformed into the motherland, and the emphasis on ethnic-secular identity came to the fore. However, the Anadolism movement, which is outside the official-Kemalist understanding of nationalism and will become one of the components of conservative Turkish nationalism over time, constitutes a unique manifestation of the effect of the concept of space on Turkish nationalism. The Anatolian movement proposes the construction of identity-based on geography-based on Anatolian reality, unlike Turanism, Ottomanism, and Islamism. According to thinkers of this trend, the Turkish nation's history begins with the 1071 Battle of Manzikert. As a result of the nomadic Oghuz tribes who entered Anatolia with this war, mixed with the local peoples, and converted them to Islam, the Turkish nation was formed. Anatolia became the homeland of this nation. According to the Anatolian trend, the Turkish nation has two components: Islam and Anatolia (Durgun & Yücel, 2019, pp.195-196). Therefore, Anatolianism has been an

important thought system in showing the effect of geography on identity and making Anatolia a homeland.

Conclusion

Nationalism is an ideology that has shaped the last two centuries as a revolutionary way of thinking that emerged after the French Revolution. Given the developments in world history, many political history developments are closely related to nationalism and transformations of nationalism. Therefore, nationalism must be well understood. Although it is a modern ideology, it seems impossible to find a definitive proposition that defines nationalism and is accepted by all, with its references to modernity, especially with its romantic and prehistoric approach to the nation's concept. However, one of the ways to understand nationalism is by examining the concept of nation. Considering that all nationalisms constitute a national identity, the concept of nation is one of the basic nationalism components. There are various approaches to nation-building or its definition through subjective and objective criteria. However, the concept of place/geography is at the center of the relationship between nationalism and nation. Since all nations live in a particular geography, nationalism politicizes it and leads to the nation-state's modern state paradigm emergence. However, this politicization process is based not only on rationality but also on the mystical, romantic, and spiritual characteristics of nationalism. Politicalized geography is called the "homeland," which forms the borders of the nation and state. This space also becomes a homeland due to the importance of societies' unique historical qualities and ancientness. As stated before, one of the first examples of using the concept of homeland for political geography was seen in France. France's early achievement of its political unity and its ability to spread the post-revolution value system to its society has effectively made its political geography a country and placed it at the center of nationalism. The fatherland may sometimes differ from where romantic ties were established, and historical claims may not have legitimate grounds. German nationalism differs from the prominent influence of the fatherland on the understanding of identity and nationalism. The German fatherland, shaped within the German language and culture framework, never actually corresponded to a reality politically. Although it was Hitler who made this reality, the politics he followed while doing this dragged the whole world into war. The emphasis on fatherland has also caused German nationalism to take on an aggressive structure. The geography where historical identity turns into cultural identity is called "motherland," which is viewed as a place where culture flourishes. In the early Republican period, Turkish nationalism built Anatolian geography, which transformed historical identity into a cultural identity as its homeland. The

Turkish History Thesis and the Kemalist nationalism and Anatolian movement, emphasizing Anatolia, had a significant influence. After all, geography is the name of the nation's place, and it is designed through nationalism.

In conclusion, returning to the question at the beginning of the study, geography is an integral part of nationalism as it is part of identity construction. The different aspects of geography — homeland, motherland, and fatherland — determine the form of nationalism. While French nationalism's emphasis on the French homeland caused it to develop a civic nationalism, the Germans' fatherland emphasis developed an irredentist understanding of nationalism. In Turkish nationalism, on the other hand, there is a link between the transformation of cultural geography into the homeland and the emergence of a territorial understanding of nationalism. In short, geography is an integral part of nationalism, and its different aspects are one of the key concepts in determining nationalism.

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