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Kanthapura: An Amazing Depiction of the Creation of National Identity

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Abstract

The beginning of the 1930s, regarding Indian nationalism, marks an important benchmark because of the emergence of an actual, national, pan-Indian body called the Indian National Congress that, under Gandhi's stewardship, encompassed in its fold all the cross-sections of the society deprived of their entry in the mainstream politics. In unifying the masses and preparing to embrace a regional-to-national transition in their approach and attitude, the organisation built a vital sense of Indianness across the vast stretch of the land**.** At the heart of India**'s** decolonisation project was a national urgency to prioritise a unified national concept. And Indian English fiction, during the same time, was also an important voice to reckon with**.** By tracing nationalism from its abstract foundation to its concrete expression through historical background, this paper seeks to explore the construction of national identity in detail. It also tries to examine the successful use of a novel as a literary aspect of nationalist ideology.

Keywords: Decolonisation, Gandhi, Indianness, Indian English Fiction, Indian nationalism, Indian National Congress

Introduction

Nationalism is recognised as one of the forces that shape the cultural identity of a community. The keen Anglo-Irish political scientist and historian Benedict Anderson regarded the concept of a "Nation" as an 'imagined community,' that is, 'cultural artefacts' (1991, pp. 6**-7**)**.** For him, political reality precedes the rambling reality of the country**.** In other words, the concept of a state must first be considered that way before it emerges politically. Anderson identified two places for such a structure - the first a novel and the other, a newspaper – for such construction to come out and said, "For these forms provided the technical means for 're-presenting' the kind [sic] of imagined community that is the nation" (1991, p. 4).

With strong concern about Anderson's importance to the formation of an anti-colonial state like India, Partha Chatterji says that "the historical experience of nationalism in Western Europe, in the Americas, and Russia had supplied for all subsequent nationalisms a set of modular forms from which nationalist elites in Asia and Africa had chosen the ones they liked" (1993, pp. 4-7). He described the 'fictitious community' as "The most powerful as well as the most creative results of the nationalist imagination in Asia, and Africa is posited not on an identity but rather on a difference [sic] with the 'modular' forms of the national society propagated by the modern West" (1993, pp. 4-7). However, Chatterji agrees with Anderson as amounting to 'reducing the experience of anti-colonial nationalism to a caricature of itself' (1993, pp. 4-7). However, Chatterji acknowledges one of Anderson's main arguments by saying that "Anderson is entirely correct in his suggestion that it is 'print-capitalism' which provides the new institutional space for the development of the modern 'national' language" (1993, pp. 4-7).

Chatterji's dedication to Anderson brings people back to Anderson from where they started. Anti-colonial nationalism, howsoever differently it defines itself, in deciding both locate and assert its difference in culture rather than in politics as shown by Chatterji in the context of Indian nationalism, goes for the same use of (print) culture as its opponent, for using culture for a political end is itself a bourgeois practice, first experienced during the rise of the bourgeoisie in Europe (Armstrong, 1987). Ranjit Guha, too, in the context of the leadership of Indian nationalism coming out from the new, English-educated, urban-based Indian bourgeoisie, 'spawned and nurtured by colonialism itself,' finds culture to be the site as well as an articulation of difference (1997, p. 5).

Fredric Jameson and Aijaz Ahmad, like Anderson and Chatterji, find themselves engaged in discussing the nation's figuration in the so-called third-world literature. Jameson is well known for shaking up the peaceful world of academic criticism. He claims, "Third-world texts, even those which are seemingly private and invested with a properly libidinal dynamic – necessarily project a political dimension in the form of national allegory: the story of the private individual destiny is always an allegory of the embattled situation of the third-world public culture and society" (1986, p. 69)

However, as Jameson himself characterises, critics have found some flaws in his radical hypothesis. The current paper requires a single, most relevant example of 'positivist reductionism,' which Ahmad cites in his bitter wit, which is a 'unified one with a given essence and value.' It is related to the homogenisation of Jameson by 'nationalism itself' (Ahmad, 1992, pp. 97-102). Ahmad further reminds Jameson, "There are hundreds of nationalism in Asia and Africa; some are progressive, others are not" (1992, pp. 97-102). Further developing Ahmad's remarks, it can be said that the nationalisms of the two Third Worlds are not only different from each other. Each is shaped by tensions, contradictions and ambivalence, a complex phenomenon in its own

right.

Jameson's disregard for the complexity of nationalism, ironically, deprives nationalism of its historical character being studied more rigorously and vigorously than ever before. The various tensions that characterise the 'national concept' (Boehmer, 2005, p. 4) are truly appealing to modern theorists. For example, Tom Nairn claims, "It is an exact (not a rhetorical) statement about nationalism to say that it is by nature ambivalent" (1981, p. 348). However, Homi Bhabha asks, "If the ambivalent figure of the nation is a problem of its transitional history, its conceptual indeterminacy, it's wavering between vocabularies, then what effect does this have on narratives and discourses that signify a sense of nativeness" (1990, p. 2)? Answering this question for himself**,** Bhabha suggests, "The constitutive contradictions of the national text are discontinuous and 'interruptive'" (1990, p. 5). Simply put, nationalist ideological 'conceptual indeterminacy' is transformed into story/discourse ambivalence, so national stories/discourse can never be freed from contradictions**.** As Guha says, "Of the many contradictions of Indian nationalism informing *Kanthapura*, the one I will be primarily concerned with in this essay is its communal construction of Indian national identity: the conflation of Indianness with Hinduism, a nationalist imagination dreaming up the nation-state of the future as a Hindu *Samrajya* (kingdom) or *Ramrajya* (kingdom of Rama)" (1997, p. 5).

The triumvirate of Mulk Raj Anand, R. K. Narayan and Raja Rao is generally regarded **as** the founder of Indian English novels. Unlike Anand and Narayan, Raja Rao is distinguished by his sense of spirituality and deep respect for the caste hierarchy. He was in close contact with Western culture but h**as** showed no positive attitude towards it. In the context of India's national/cultural identity, he is like a cultural chauvinist**.** He sees Hinduism as the definitive sign of the Indian state. Solid egalitarianism, for Anand, envisions a national community that transcends the boundaries of caste and class, but he resists doing the same in the context of community and gender separation. Rao seems narrower than Anand, as his 'Imagined Communities**'** (Anderson, 1991, p. 25) recreate the structure of Indian society over the centuries**.** *Kanthapura* (1938) and other novels written by Rao after India's independence maintain the status quo by maintaining all different hierarchies. This novel focuses on the treatment of Muslims in India and seems to be one of the most famous Indo-English novels that explain the appearance of national society while dealing with the movement of the people**.**

Kanthapura, best known as an epic novel dealing with the struggle for freedom in India, vividly reflects Indian nationalism. Raja Rao, who spiritualise India's socio-politics, prominently described India's social and political scenarios during 1919-1930 when the Gandhi movement, creating a charismatic Gandhian ideological influence over the country, peaked. India, full of nationalist movements and national pride, was heading towards independence during this period. Unlike other novels, Raja Rao**'s**

Kanthapura is undoubtedly national, with complete coverage of Indian themes, Indian characters, Indian life, etiquette and more. The novelist, in this book, is taking a microscopic view of Kanthapura, a village in Karnataka, southern India.

Literary Explorations

Raja Rao, the novelist, is often regarded as a controversial man of genius. Nevertheless, he enjoys a vast and undeniable place in Indian English literature. He is credited with several novels, stories and essays focusing on the concept of illusion and reality, the human soul and the Vedic concept of native roots. Almost all of his critics praised his early novel *Kanthapura* as one of the best novels dealing with national sentiment. In this context, William Walsh states that *kanthapura* is about the intensity of life in India, its physical immediacy, traditional swaddling, and religious tweets. Gandhi is considered both a god and a politician marching to the salt pans; Moorthy, the God's manifestation as the non-violent frantic young leader; and the policeman, the whole negation and evil of life. The novel densely and brilliantly deals with the actualities of village existence with an impassioned light of spirituality (Walsh, 1990, p. 68).

M.K. Naik writes, "*Kanthapura* is the Indo-Anglian novel as Modern Indian *Sthala-Purana*, or legendary history of a place" (1997, p. 259). The novel, in this larger sense, appears to be regional. It, for its depiction of all the happenings across the country, is a microcosm of the cosmos.

E.M. Forster, calling *Kanthapura* the best English novel of great literary power ever written by an Indian, contends, "Raja Rao describes the daily activities, the religious observances, and the social structure of the Indian community, and he brings to life a dozen or more unforgettable individual villagers. The novel traces the origins of the revolt to an awakening of the long-dormant Indian soul" (1954, p. 69).

Though Raja Rao lived and finally settled abroad, his mind never forgot Indian culture and traditions. He always felt the vibrations of Indianness in his life, and his writing style also reflects it. Using English as if it was his mother tongue, he modified and broke English syntax and structure so that it could suit his purposes. S. Nagarajan, here, seems to be worth quoting when he says, "Raja Rao's aim is to create a style which will reflect the rhythms and sensibilities of the Indian psyche" (1964, pp. 512-17).

Narasimhaiah also, commenting on Rao's writing style and technique, says, "The emotional upheaval that overtook *Kanthapura* could only find expression by breaking the formal English syntax to suit the sudden changes of mood and sharp contrasts in tone, by establishing a correspondence between perceptions and the images he could readily lay his hands on in the life around and by a fresh emphasis on old images and a completely different, in this case, Kannada, intonation to English sentences. In other words, it had to

be a highly original style, a technical innovation indistinguishable from an essentially Indian sensibility" (1967, pp. 79-80).

Focusing on the story of Gandhian ideology, Raja Rao's *Kanthapura* (1938) reaches the village of Kanthapura and drastically changes the lives of the residents. In order to create a sense of shared history and collective sense of belonging against British colonialism, Rao's depiction of national identity, by putting the village in the centre, relies heavily on the use of centuries-old Indian culture and traditions. In their attempt to find the strength to fight against colonial domination, the villagers re-discover their shared cultural and religious past and envision a new society. Thus, *Kanthapura*'s imagining of the new society follows a past-oriented narrative and combines the past, present and future in the microcosm of the village. The temporal origin of the projected nationhood determines the limitations and possibilities for the formation of the idea of a nation and the future society.

Methodology

A quantitative content analysis was employed to find out the recent research works' trends, trace the innovative literary contribution to national identity creation and establish a foundation for future research. A quantitative content analysis aids in summarising several research articles and presenting a strong and justifiable generalisation in the research field (Ozcinar, 2009, pp. 559-580). The study was based on research papers found from different database websites by using keywords such as 'Decolonisation, Gandhi**,** Indianness, Indian English Fiction, Indian nationalism, Indian National Congress.' Out of almost more than two hundred research articles available on different websites, only forty were found relevant to keywords, having full text with open access availability. Journals' years of publication being recent and accessible were chosen between 1980 and 2018.

Main Argument: Creation of National Identity

Kanthapura, Raja Rao's first novel, is one of the finest images of the Indian liberation struggle that has a profound effect on the morals of the Indian people. Kanthapura, the title of the novel, depicts a remote village in Karnataka in southern India. The village, the perfect social unit, "the site where soul-force could find regenerative expression away from the corrupting regimes of technology and modernity" (Gopal, 2009, p. 47), is seen as the key to changing the world. Kanthapura village, already immersed in a deeply religious theme, is soon hit by a storm of Gandhian ideals. As Anshuman Mondal puts it, "The circuit of collusion is, however, shown to be short-circuited by Gandhian nationalism, at first in conflict with orthodoxy and latterly in conflict with colonialism. By this point, the orthodox space of the village has been replaced by an incipient Gandhian

space, a process initiated at the moment of Swami's exposure. The new era is consummated by the villagers' commitment to Gandhism" (1999, pp. 103-114).

Rao, pointing to Gandhi's iconic position, uses the national schema of Kanthapura's 'creative imagination' (Sekher, 2008, p. 150) to promote public awareness and non-violent listening. Rao gives a mythical colonnade to facilitate Gandhi's struggle for freedom in his current book. He says, "The subtlety of the Gandhian thought and the complex political situation of Pre-independence could be explained to the unlettered villagers only through legends and religious stories of gods" (2005, p. 104). The British arrested Mother India, and Gandhi, the human birth of King Shiva, came to set her free. The conflict between Gandhi and the colonists, organised as a war between Rama and Ravana, symbolises the interconnectedness of good and evil. Comparing India with Sita (King Rama's wife), Mahatma with King Rama, and Nehru with Bharata (King Rama's younger brother), Rao states, "It is not for nothing the Mahatma is Mahatma, and he would not be Mahatma if the gods were not with him" (2005, p. 125). Srinivas Iyengar also feels that Rao's attempts to fabricate the myths of the liberation movement amplify the truth "by way of achieving eternity in space surpassing the dialectics of history" (qt. in Dayal, 1991, p. 11). By giving the nature of God, Rao makes Gandhi represent "a vast symbol of ideal life-code, of a holy and noble person" (Sharma, 2005, p. 25). To portray Gandhi as a symbol of God's power seems to be expected to alleviate the suffering of the people of India. This can be confirmed by the belief that the inhabitants say, "Oh, no, the Mahatma need not go as far as the sea, like Harishchandra before has finished his vow, the gods will come down and dissolve his vow, and the Britishers will leave India, and we shall be free, and we shall pay fewer taxes, and there will be no policemen" (Rao, 2005, p. 172).

Religion shows its vitality among the people and plays an important role in the book. Newly registered Congress Committee members from the village appear before God at a swearing-in ceremony in the temple. Moorthy asks them to swear, standing before the sanctuary, that they will never break the law. They vow to spin the strings, indulge in *ahimsa* (non-violence), and begin to search for the truth, but in the name of the goddess Kenchma, they also do not jump on the drinks of state-owned toddy stands. The men, brutally beaten by police for picking up mudflats, have gone to Mount Kenchama to gather muscles for a reunion.

Moorthy, the story's main character, repeats Gandhi's identity in Raja Rao. Through him, Rao makes the front of Gandhi's ideological apologist. Moorthy's significance can best be understood when Rao regards him as "a pebble among the pebbles of the river, and when the floods came, rock by rock may be buried under" (2005, p.180). Resident Rangama calls him "Moorthy the good, Moorthy the religious and Moorthy the noble" (Rao, 2005, p. 144). Speaking of Moorthy, Meenakshi Mukherjee finds him as an "idealised character who, like Christ, takes all the sins of the people upon himself and undergoes a penance for purification, a young man who conquers physical desire and self-

interest" (1974, p. 141). Achakka, the narrator of the story, attests primarily to Kanthapura's reaction to Gandhian's vision and its responses to his call for vision. She also honestly sees the patriotic devotion of the people on the one hand and the terrible and cruel enmity of the British imperialist society and the Brahminic hegemonic community on the other.

Moorthy, experiencing his first encounter, though not a personal one, finds a possible 'personal' change in him. He, in Gandhi's view, from the outset, goes through a careful process of purification. Gandhi also admits, "Self-purification, therefore, must mean purification in all walks of life. And purification being highly infectious, purification of oneself necessarily leads to the purification of one's surroundings" (1999, p. 420). Moorthy, inspired by the contagious purification aspect of Gandhi's vision, goes to society with a sense of change and spirit. Touched by the beauty and power of the spirit that emanates from the man, as Mallikarjun Patil writes, "Moorthy shines with a rare radiance in his face. He utters truth is God, and God is truth just echoing Gandhi" (2001, p. 114). After seeing Gandhi's expanded divinity, Moorthy showed political and spiritual interest in him.

Reflecting on Gandhi's assertion that the purity of the soul is essential to the free will of human beings, Moorthy believes that loving haters and even enemies is a fundamental attribute of such leadership. Interpersonal relationships can be better understood by building within oneself an important personal concept in the universe. This is the eternal awareness that abounds in all *jivas* (souls), whether friend or foe. Jayaramacher, the man of *Harikatha* (God's story), explains, "Fight, says he, but harm no soul. Love all, says he, Hindu, Mohammedan, Christian, or Pariah, for all are equal before God. Do not be attached to the rich, says he, for the rich, create passions, and passions create attachment, and attachment hides the face of truth. Truth must you tell, he says, for Truth is God, and verily, it is the only God I know" (Rao, 2005, p. 22). Supporting Gandhi's non-violent values, elimination of untouchability, and love for all, Moorthy is determined to confront and resist violence. Looking back on his life, he realised that he could have avoided specific incidents if he had practised non-violence. Seetharamu's faithful obedience and non-violent persecution of the British show the extent of Gandhi's teaching at *ahimsa* in Kanthapura. The idea of non-violence envisions purging the feeling of contempt and derision responsible for creating hostility and violence. Moorthy opposes Range Gowda's violent aspirations to resolve his enmity with Bade Khan, a Government-appointed policeman spying on the political movements of Kanthapura's freedom fighters. Moorthy, a young university dropout eccentric Brahmin mouthpiece of Gandhian ideologies for freedom struggle, points out the reason for nationalism above religious laws and racism based on caste (Dangel-Janie, 2007, p. 152). With symbolic colonial abandonment, he stripped off his city clothes and urged the women of Kanthapura to weave garments for national purposes. Rao writes, "We should do our duty. If not, it is no use belonging to the 'Gandhi group.' Rangamma says, 'That is right, sister,' and we say, 'We

shall not forget our children and our husbands.' However, how can we be like we used to be? Now we hear this story and that story, and we say we too shall organise a foreign-cloth boycott like at Sholapur, we too, shall go picketing cigarette shops and toddy shops, and we say our Kanthapura, too, shall fight for the mother" (2005, p. 110).

Moorthy insists on losing British goods. For him, Gandhi's vision focuses on breaking away from everyday life. Gandhi needed the support of his followers in the liberation struggle by turning away from wealth, affluence, and violence. Moorthy declares that he opposes the oppressive and racist society against the legitimacy of Brahminism and mixes it with the uncontrollable elements of the village. Influenced by Gandhi, he sees Kanthapura Brahmin as the beneficiary of the oppressive traditional socio-economic system. Therefore, he fights structural violence in opposition to the Brahmin community. To him, Bhatta symbolises the violence of the Brahmin building in an attempt to silence the untouchables living in Kanthapura. Looking down on Gandhi's ideas, Brahmins say, "What is this Gandhi Business? Nothing but weaving course, handmade cloth, not fit for a mop, and bellowing out bhajans and bhajans and mixing with the pariahs" (Rao, 2005, p. 28). However, Moorthy is influenced by Gandhi's view of the struggle for equality and social harmony. So he breaks the extra caste line, **e**nters into Pariah quarters and makes Harijan boys his friends. Regarding Brahminism's reaction, Rao writes, "The Swami is worried over this Pariah movement, and he wants to crush it in its seed before its cactus roots have spread far and wide. You are a Bhatta, and your voice is not a sparrow voice in your village, and you should speak to your people and organise a Brahman party. Otherwise, Brahmanism is as good as kitchen ashes. The Mahatma is a good man and a simple man. But he is making too much of these carcasses eating Pariah" (2005, p. 44).

Moorthy ignores his colleagues' warnings about the consequences of Brahmin's violation and continues with his Pariah business. He sees segregation as a man-made boundary, so he pursues human well-being beyond class. He is working hard to strengthen the Dalits. Residents protesting against the Brahmanical conquests say, "Why should not pariah Rachamma and Sampanna learn to read and write? They shall. And Bade Khan can wave his beard and twist his moustache. What is a policeman before Gandhi's man? Does a boar stand before a lion or a jackal before an elephant?" (Rao, 2005, p. 37).

Moorthy, who continues to liaise with the City Congress Committee, has also formed the Panchayat Congress Committee in Kanthapura. Members of the Panchayat Congress Committee included a female Rangama and an exiled Rachappa. When Karavar Congress Committee member Shankar and lawyer Ranganna try to convince Moorthy of *Satyagraha's* (passive resistance) futileness, he refuses to be swept away by their shallow politics. Instead, he introduces himself as Gandhi, a genuine citizen devoted to the work of the world. Residents praise Moorthy for his indelible qualities. They also appreciate his efforts to build nationalism and passionate women to sing,

"There is one Government, sister,

There is one Government, sister,
And that is the Government of the Mahatma" (Rao, 2005, p. 207).

Discussion

Having a dormant pattern of treating castes and communities of Kanthapura, the novel, in the beginning, presents the whole village as divided and hierarchised on caste, creed and religion. The village consists of a Brahmin Street, a Pariah quarter, a Weavers' colony, a Potters' community, etc. However, these distinctions suddenly, after the village gains momentum for freedom struggle under Moorthy's stewardship, disappear, at least politically, and we can note Rachappa, a pariah, holding discussions in the Brahmin quarter, and Moorthy, in Potters' colony, pariah huts. The different communities, to counter the British, getting transformed into a Unified Community, turned out to be the driving force of identity in *Kanthapura*. Nation, as we know, displays a great assimilatory force taking all the diversities into its fold and Gandhi, in this process, performs a catalytic function. As Ranjit Guha says, "Indian nationalism achieves its entitlement through systematic mobilisation, regulation, disciplining and harnessing of subaltern energy" (1992, pp. 64-120). The formation of the Kanthapura Congress itself suggests the identification of people by reconfiguring the caste differences and bringing all people together under a single banner of identity called a nation. But this does not imply that people feel happiness and contentment with their new identity. Nay, their old identity, drawn from the caste structure of the society, can neither be overwritten by the new national identity. Now, the novel, with the answer to the new happening with their old identity, leads us to an interesting dialectics of identities. The dialectics of new identity took away the supremacy and ruling power of the people belonging to the upper strata of society and helped the marginalised come upward. This role reversal of people made the object a subject resulting in the existing power corridors being divested of their authority. Consequently, when the Brahmins in *Kanthapura* hear Gandhi talking of mixing castes, they put a strong resistance, being scared of their old identities' dissolution in the melting pot of nationalism.

The novel, by the emergence of a new identity, presents a severe threat to the idea of identity defined by *Sanathana Dharma* (ancient religion) and *Varnasram* (caste system). Hence, by invoking certain sections of forgotten history, the turban man tries to define people's identity in terms of religious exclusivism. History often gets invoked to give a new identity, a religious identity. Here, in the novel, this new identity is radically something different from the Gandhian revival of the religious identity. Gandhi, through his call for Hindu-Muslim unity, both being the brothers of the same land, too, is writing a history based on the selective past of harmony between these communities, whereas the turban man is citing certain other pages of history filled with enmity between them. Thus, both

attempt a strongly and politically rooted claim over history for different reasons and objectives. If one is claiming it for bringing about communal harmony and infusing multicultural spirit, the other is for establishing the supremacy of its vested communal interests. In this way, history is a struggle site for identity formation during the nationalist phase.

Moorthy very well realises that the literate Brahmins and upper caste, not the illiterate subalterns, pose problems to Gandhi's teachings. As a part of the ruling elites throughout the pre-colonial period, the upper caste literates chose to coordinate with the British so that their supremacy over the lower classes could be politically ensured. Gandhi, precisely through his ideological campaigns, wanted to break this. His political ideology had two intentions, including the subaltern energy in the Indian freedom struggle. First, it aimed to empower and liberate the untouchables from the upper caste hegemony by bringing them under the political fabric of the nation. And secondly, Gandhi was very well aware of the fact that the freedom struggle might lose its strength and become a mere farce without the whole-hearted involvement of the subalterns. And thus, he achieved both in a single stroke. His creation of a national identity through dialectics of identities, ideologies and power structures achieved, at least on the political front, a social revolution in terms of setting up a non-hierarchised society.

Conclusion

This brief study of *Kanthapura* suggests that if identity in India during the 1930s can be considered its association and identification with a more prominent defining force, it can better be acknowledged that people's imaginings of identity were related to the nation defined by its culture and religion. Considering religion as a more prominent defining force during the period, the then world can safely be understood in the sense of microcosmic and minuscule culture within a paradigmatic framework of religious systems and beliefs. Most of the writings of the period explore the possibility of a community within a religious locus emanating identity and precepts of life. People, in those days, found their inability to relate to themselves beyond nation and religion. People's sacred and profane questions got an ultimate answer by 'Nation' and 'Religion.' Indian English Fiction of the time, naturally, displays these preoccupations of the people in general. However, after the 1930s, these identity arrangements shifted to strong national moorings of identity. Moreover, Gandhi, appropriately, during this phase, is forming such a conceptual shift in identity.

Raja Rao, here in his debut novel *Kanthapura,* attempts to define India, not through its geographical and tropical landmarks, not through its flora and fauna, not also through its different rulers. It is to be noted that all these parameters essentially share the vision of India. They manifest the *darshan* (idea) of India. However, India does not get defined by these realities, rather, it is the abstract concept called India that makes all these realities

turn out to be Indian. To create such a concept of national identity, Rao, recording different modes of the past – myth, legend, story, narration – mixes all these forms and portrays the present history of the time. The story of the novel revolves entirely around Kanthapura, but it seems to depict the entire Indian village because the same events happened all over the country at the time. And the identity of Kanthapura, thus, becomes the country's identity.

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