

only symbolise ethnic bondage but also sustain the putative belief. As part of the strategy, compulsory institutions like kinship and religion are promoted to ensure accessible communication. Institutions are given an instrumental nature, responsible for the ideological transformation of cultural values to political and economic ends.

Ethnic nationalism makes it a point to solidify social-psychological ethnic boundaries. These boundaries define lines of ethnic identity and membership and involve group inclusion and exclusion questions. While the contents and membership of ethnic groups change, their boundaries remain. Boundaries can be of two kinds: internal, within the ethnic group, and external, outside the group. In the internal boundaries, self-inclusion in the group occurs, sympathy and loyalty are set towards co-members, and the process of self-identity overlaps. In the external borders, membership exclusion is outlined, and demarcation lines are laid for outsiders.

While assessing ethnic nationalism, Isajiw (1992) suggests distinguishing its external and internal aspects. External aspects of ethnic nationalism refer to social and cultural observable behaviour, such as participating in ethnic institutional organisations and contributing to ethnic associations. The internal elements of ethnic identity comprise visual images, ideas, etc. In this way, ethnic nationalism is constructed as a facade for political aspirations through cognitive, moral, and affective ways.

Resource Competition and Ethnic Nationalism

Ethnic identity is mobilised in multi-ethnic societies as ethnic elites compete for scarce resources and rewards. Such resource competition could lead to ethnic political movements if the acquired resources of a group are threatened or an underprivileged group realises the structural inequalities a group faces. Gurr (1993) writes that an ethnic group may develop a perception of deserving more value than it is getting. Phadnis (1989:39) observes that the process of relative deprivation leading to ethnic political movement may occur in four stages. The first stage is

the stage of recognition, whereby a group recognises deprivation. In the second stage, a group should share the experience and feel that others do not experience similar wretched conditions. In the third stage, the ethnic group has to develop the feeling that the situation of deprivation in which they find themselves is inequitable and unfair. Finally, ethnic groups must recognise that political action could change the situation in their favour, which leads to a stage of mass political revolt. Thus, realising that a group receives less than it deserves becomes the motivating force for ethnic political movements. Two key elements that combine for resource competition are elite interaction and the politicisation of ethnicity. Brass (1991) shows that elite competition, resource scarcity, and centralising tendencies of states have combined to produce ethnic competition. However, sometimes resource competition becomes a smokescreen for elites to use the issue for their ends.

Articulation of Interests as Ethnic Nationalism

Given the scenario of resource competition, ethnic nationalism could emerge as a point towards mobilisation. The grievances are expressed over the absence of socioeconomic or political values, but the aim is to redistribute the existing scheme of things. Glazer and Moynihan (1975) realised that modernisation places groups differently, resulting in ethnic groups mobilising towards a group or individual interests. Thus, ethnic grievances become a ready means of demanding group rights or providing defence against other groups. Horowitz (1985) utilises the same perspective to explain how groups symbolically counterfeit hurt sentiments. For example, a group's dignity may be jolted by a lack of respect for its language and could become the cause of violent group conflict.