

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.

Goals and Objectives of Ethnic Nationalist Movements

The goals and objectives of ethnic political movements fluctuate according to the sociopolitical conditions. As a group collectively suffers from discrimination in a state and mobilises to promote self-defined interests, historical specificity and the political conditions determine the nature of goals and the change of goals in ethnic nationalist movements. Gurr (1993) uses two terms for politicised groups: national and minority people. National people are the regional groups that retain their cultural and linguistic characteristics during the threats from expansionist states. They desire to maintain some degree of political autonomy. On the other hand, minority people have a definitive position within society and are focused on protecting or improving their status. Therefore, the primary difference between the two lies in goal-seeking behaviour.

National people can be subdivided into two types: ethno-nationalists, regionally concentrated people with a historical precedent of political autonomy, and indigenous movements. Indigenous people, who are primarily peripheral groups and are distinguished from centres of state authority, are concerned mainly about issues of group autonomy. The minority people also have a classification of ethno-classes, militant sects or politically active religious minorities, and linguistic or geographically distinct groups aiming for a more significant share of power. If minority people face or suspect discrimination, they can transform into ethnic-nationalists.

To borrow two terms and ideas from Gurr (1993), inter-group differentials and outright discrimination precisely determine the objectives of the ethno-nationalist movement. He uses differentials as traits that set each group apart in the larger society and are classified as cultural, political, and economic differentials.⁴ On the other hand, outright discrimination is measured through systematic exclusion from desirable

4 Cultural differentials determine whether the groups differed from other groups in an important manner through ethnicity, language, religion, customs, urban-ness or rural-ness. Political differentials are focused on how communal groups varied in access to positions of power and to political associations. Economic