

nically defined groups. Smith (1999:50), for example, describes it as “a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, and one or more common elements of a common culture, including an association with a homeland and some degree of solidarity, at least among the elites.”

Interestingly, the description seeks a compromise between objective attributes, namely common history and culture, and subjective qualities of ethnicity, such as myths and memories. Combining subjective and objective variables makes ethnic nationalism viable and potent in social structures.

Construction of Ethnic nationalism

Ethnic nationalism is a process of construction of an identity negotiated through social practices. Through engaging social processes, actors identify with and commit themselves to a particular vision of nationhood. Smith (1991) identifies fundal elements for constructing ethnic nationalism, a historic homeland, myths and memories, and amassing public culture. Ancestry and historical memories play a crucial role in transmitting the values of nationalism and forming identity. The customs, rituals, and preconceptions shape the content of culture, broadcast it, and formulate behavioural patterns. Popular myths, art, music, and literature provide a bridge with the homeland. A sense of solidarity is manifested through political and popular community institutions or organisations. Yinger (1994) introduces another exciting characteristic of ethnic groups other than segmentality: participation. According to him, ethnic nationalists take part in everyday activities for the valorisation of their culture. So ethnic membership involves not only a possession or a belief in possession of common origin and culture but also requires participating in shared activities, which in turn sustain the belief in common ancestry.

Ethnic nationalism operates in a more extensive social reservoir and ensures interaction with other groups to enhance pseudo-kinship ties. The group then acts or participates in shared cultural activities that not

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