

of governance and the inclusion or exclusion of different actors. As explained, there can be no grand theory of ethnic nationalism; only partial theories concentrate on specific aspects. Various dimensions of modern social, cultural, and political change serve to make both nationhood and ethnicity salient. Ethnicity and nationhood are social problems and political resources often used in various political strategies. Hence, taking cues from differing theories to make sense of our case study is reasonable.

Ethnic Nationalism: A Derivative Discourse of the Contestation Between the Self and the Other

In post-colonial states, nationalism has evolved as a replica of what it once stood against. Chatterjee (1986:42) perceives this problem as a derivative discourse. Postcolonial nationalism adopted a repressive structure shaped by Western capitalism and rationalism. Chatterjee's colonial state model presents an excellent framework for understanding the contestation of self and others in the context of the nation. The West has asserted its superiority through its access to science and technology, while the East pitches its superiority in the spiritual domain, often done by glorifying the golden past. Chatterjee (1986:121) notes that "nationalist thought accepts and adopts the same essentialist conception based on the distinction between 'the East' and 'the West', the same typology created by a transcendent studying subject, and hence the same objectifying procedures of knowledge constructed in the post-Enlightenment age of Western science". Plemenatz (1973) and Greenfeld (1992) also have suggested ways the other gets imitated. Plemenatz (1973:30) distinguished between Western nationalism and the oriental type, where Western domination undermined Western society's structure. He writes that

Drawn gradually, due to the diffusion among them of Western ideas and practices, into a civilisation alien to them, they have had to re-equip themselves culturally to transform themselves. In their

efforts to assert themselves as equals in a society not of their own making, they have had to, as it were, to make themselves anew, to create national identities for themselves.

Thus, Plamenatz suggests a conclusive way of thinking about the sub-nationalisms that emerge in response to the control of others, often from the West. This serves the dual purpose of rejecting the power of the other and traditional ways perceived as hindrances towards progress. A key factor emerges here: resentment, resulting in pressed hatred and not having a vent for expressing hatred. Subnationalism thus emerges on multiple levels as a political doctrine and a movement led by elites against social control. This tussle also reflects groups' adaptive processes to raise their prestige. For example, in India, the precolonial contestation between the self and the other occurred through the nationalist stigmatisation and imitation of the British colonialist. The reformists, rather than rejecting the British onslaught on the private sphere, began to diffuse the Western claims by situating them in the ancient global age. In other ways, the 'self' began to interpret itself through the cultural understanding of the other. Foucault (1984) notes that resistance as a phenomenon is situated within the power which provokes it and not outside this power. I believe that resistance is an aspect of this strategic relationship that involves power.

Building a sub-nationalistic ideology thus creates a new mechanism for coping with the threats of the other. Geertz (1973) explains that sub-nationalist retaliation reacts to socio-cultural and psychological strain. In a way, Geertz supports the point made by Plemanatz regarding the pre-requisite of cultural re-alignment through socio-psychological factors. This re-alignment through political, moral, and economic variables determines the growth of sub-nationalism. Thus, sub-nationalism, at one level, imagines a glorious past and transforms its culture vis-à-vis the outsider. Also, much attention is given to constructing ideology through socio-economic and political factors. Civil society often plays a significant role, and social groups carry out the message of transmitting the values of sub-nationalism.