

effectively use positive inducements like rewards for services and support, as well as negative sanctions against non-compliance to ethnic nationalist demands, may prove pivotal in attracting support from external parties.

Subsequently, lobbying is conducted at the individual, group, state, and systemic levels. At the individual level, lobbying targets are usually influential personalities, intellectuals, artists, religious figures, etc. The purpose is to legitimise ethnonationalism by using their influence.

At the group level, the lobbying targets are neighbouring nation-states eager to provide military and material support, base facilities, and international publicity. Those states that, in the past, supported ethnic nationalist movements elsewhere are approached for support. Ethnic nationalist movements elsewhere are routinely used for solidarity and support. The ethnic diaspora is also used for lobbying, especially if it is economically and politically powerful.

International bodies comprised of former colonial powers and significant powers are another category of states that could be approached for assistance, recognition, or negotiation of the conflict. International government organisations are other bodies that could be called to mediate the dispute, lend legitimacy to the movement, boost members' morale, and have the broader international opinion in their favour.

The appeal for support to ethnic nationalists opens the possibility of external partisan intervention for affective or instrumental motives. Affective motives include reasons for justice, humanitarian considerations, ethnic and religious affinity, and personal ties between the leadership. In contrast, instrumental motives are rooted in *realpolitik* and usually include short- or long-term military strategic considerations.

## Conclusion

This chapter tried to develop an analytical framework for understanding nationalism and how the derivative discourse of ethnic nationalism comes into existence. Nationalism emerged as a political force against colonial rule, having a solid support base within the political elites. The

genesis of nationalism in post-colonial states differed entirely from its evolution in Europe, where geographical, political, social, and religious unity existed. The European model of nationalism held the cultural boundaries of the nation in unity with the political boundaries. In South Asia, the nationalist imagination emerged mainly to claim an independent nation-state. Nationalism required unity of language, faith, and culture in most cases. In cases where it did not exist, bonds of nationalism were forged.

However, the forged bonds of nationalism were challenged soon after by the underlying divisive tendencies. Some of these tendencies were new, while some were historically entrenched. Consequently, different ethnic groups found little in common with other ethnic groups. Many of these groups had to deal with subordinate treatment from the majoritarian groups because such groups were severely treated and hence saw these cultural groups as new colonisers. The ethnic grievances went hand in hand with the growing assertion by the majority ethnic communities to promote and restore their political, economic, and socio-cultural privileges. This was accompanied by the minority ethnic groups calling for special rights or secession. Social fragmentation, civil and institutional discord, and regime instability became other reasons that bolstered multiple claims of ethnic nationalism.

The absence of a robust nationalist spirit and commitment to common political goals led to a culture of non-accommodation and fundamental discord amongst varied social interests. Given the divergent political and ethnic backgrounds, post-colonial states must develop inclusivity and consociational structures based on accommodation and negotiation. Meanwhile, the states primarily relied on centralist and exclusivist rule patterns, resulting in long-term exclusion and blockage of cross-segmentary ties. This resentment gradually evolved towards ethno-political territorial goals when supported by sufficient social support.

In a way, ethno-nationalistic assertion in post-colonial states was determined by varying factors- the most important being the colonial legacy of the ethno-regional policy preferences, state response, and the nature of the social basis for support for ethnic nationalism. The traditional belief system, locally based sources of authority, and kinship

ties reinforced the social basis for support. Some postcolonial states partially redrew their internal boundaries to reduce the perception of exclusion and facilitate a more balanced allocation of benefits to long-ignored regions. However, such examples are limited given the growing ethnic/sub-nationalistic demands. The success of ethnic nationalism also depended on the infrastructure of social communication and the comprehensive institutionalisation of values, roles, and expectations. Modernisation created social mobilisation, leading to greater involvement in mass politics. As social communication outraced assimilation, ethnic competition inevitably results from increased group interaction. Thus, forces of modernisation have a different impact on the consolidation of states with heterogeneous or homogenous populations.

