

Thomas Sowell, *The Economics and Politics of Race* (New York: William Morrow, 1983). Most of these critics have come from the political right, but I have argued for more radical 'affirmative action' based on socio-economic criteria, not race or ethnicity.

Extract 10

JOSHUA FISHMAN: *Ethnicity as Being, Doing, and Knowing*

1. Joshua A. Fishman, 'Language, Ethnicity and Racism', *Georgetown Roundtable on Languages and Linguistics* (Washington, DC: School of Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University, 1977).
2. Joshua A. Fishman and Bernard Spolsky, 'The Whorfian Hypothesis in 1975: A Socio-Linguistic Re-Evaluation', in Haywood Fisher and Rogelio Diaz-Guacresco (eds.), *Language and Logic in Personality and Society* (New York: Academic Press, 1977).
3. Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1964).
4. Joshua A. Fishman, 'The Role of Ethnicity in Language Maintenance and Language Shift', *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*.
5. Jacob L. Talmon, *The Rise of Totalitarian Democracy* (Boston: Beacon, 1952).

Extract 11

WALKER CONNOR: *Beyond Reason: The Nature of the Ethnonational Bond*

1. Valentine Moroz, *Report from the Berta Reserve* (Chicago, 1974), 54.
2. The quotation inter-utilizes translated extracts in Leon Polakoff, *The Aryan Myth* (London, 1974), 287, and the more clumsy translation in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. 20 (1925-6) (London, 1959), 273-4.
3. Carlton Hayes, *A Generation of Materialism, 1871-1900* (New York, 1941), 258.
4. Frank Dikötter, 'Group Definition and the Idea of "Race" in Modern China (1793-1949)', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 13 (July 1990), 427.
5. Walker Connor, 'The Impact of Homelands upon Diasporas', in *Modern Diasporas in International Politics*, ed. Gabriel Sheffer (London, 1985).
6. Cited in Walter Sulzbach, *National Consciousness* (Washington, DC, 1943), 62.

Extract 12

FREDRIK BARTH: *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*

1. e.g. R. Narroll, 'Ethnic unit classification', *Current Anthropology* 5: 4 (1964).
2. W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee* (American Museum of Natural History, New York, 1904-9), vol. 1.
3. G. Gjesing, *Changing Lapps: A Study in Culture Relations in Northernmost Norway*, LSE Monographs on Social Anthropology, no. 13 (London, 1954).
4. Cf. F. Barth, *Models of Social Organization*, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Occasional Papers, no. 23 (1966), for my argumentation on this point.
5. E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York, 1959).
6. J. S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India: A Study in Plural Economy* (Cambridge, 1944).

Extract 13

ABNER COHEN: *Ethnicity and Politics*

1. M. Gluckman, *Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand* (Rhodes Livingstone Institute, Manchester, 1955; first pub. 1940-2).
2. F. G. Bailey, 'Parapolitical systems', in M. Swartz (ed.), *Local Level Politics* (Chicago, 1968).
3. E. R. Wolf, 'Kinship, friendship, and patron-client relationships', in M. Banton (ed.), *The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies* (London, 1966).

Extract 14

PAUL R. BRASS: *Ethnic Groups and Ethnic Identity Formation*

1. Even where it is possible to do so, argues Barth, the use of cultural attributes to identify ethnic boundaries may be superficial, confusing form with content: Fredrik Barth, 'Introduction' and 'Pathan Identity and its Maintenance', in Fredrik Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), 15, 131-2.
2. Barth, 'Introduction', *op. cit.*, and Harald Eideheim, 'When Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma', in Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, *op. cit.*, 15 and 39-57.
3. George de Vos, 'Ethnic Pluralism' in George de Vos and Lola Romanucci-Ross (eds.), *Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Change* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1975), 16.
4. Cf. Joan Vincent, 'The Structuring of Ethnicity', *Human Organization*, 33: 4 (Winter, 1974), 376-7. 'The same remarks apply to the concept of nationality or nation as used here; cf. Benjamin Akzin, *State and Nation* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1964), 36 and Karl M. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality* 2nd edn. (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1966), 23.
5. This point has been made by Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, 'Introduction', in Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan (eds.), *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), 7-10, but they over-generalize their argument to other societies where ethnicity is more than merely interest, and may be a stage on the way to a claim to national status.
6. Cf. Akzin, *State and Nation*, *op. cit.*, 10, 12, 29, 31-4, 46, 81, 133, 143.
7. Since the nation is defined here as a type of ethnic group and ethnic groups have been defined without reference to any specific attributes or set of attributes, it follows that the nation (or nationality) also is not to be defined by any particular attributes such as language, religion, territory, or any others. Cf. Anthony D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 18, 147-50, 181-5; Dinkwart A. Rustow, *A World of Nations: Problems of Political Modernization* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1967), 47-8; Rupert Emerson, *From Empire to Nation: The Rise to Self-Assertion of Asian and African Peoples* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960), 102-87. For contrary views that see a close connection between language and nation or nationality, see Munro Chadwick, *The Nationalities of Europe and the Growth of National Ideologies* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1973; reprint of 1945 edition); Carl J. Friedrich, 'Corporate Federalism and Linguistic Politics', unpublished paper presented at the International Political

Science Association Congress, Montreal (1973), 3-5; and Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 163-5. The predominant European tradition has been to distinguish the terms 'nationality' and 'nation', using the former term for language groups and the latter to define the attachment of people of one or more language groups to a single state. Cf. Peter F. Sugar, 'External and Domestic Roots of Eastern European Nationalism', in Peter F. Sugar and Ivo J. Lederer (eds.), *Nationalism in Eastern Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969), 3-6. Emerson, who considers most other objective criteria unhelpful in defining the nation, insists, however, upon an inseparable relation between a nation and a 'national territory', however loosely defined. *From Empire to Nation*, *op. cit.*, 105-9.

8. This definition follows Akzin, *State and Nation*, in not including independence, statehood, or sovereignty in the definition of the nation. Many definitions do insist on this latter criterion; for example, see Friedrich, 'Corporate Federalism', 4; another statement of Friedrich's definition in Karl W. Deutsch and William J. Foltz (eds.), *Nation-Building* (New York: Atherton Press, 1966), 11-12; and Oscar Jasszi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 26. However, such definitions prepare the way for the confusion of the concept of the nation with that of the state from which much of the existing literature on nationalism suffers. Some leading scholars of nationalism have, however, avoided this confusion; for example, Emerson, *From Empire to Nation*, 95-102 and Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication*, 104-5, who reserve the term nation-state for nations that have acquired sovereignty.

The most troublesome issues arise when the nation is defined in terms of group solidarity without reference to the state, but nationalism is defined as the striving for statehood. Then, any demands made by nations short of that for statehood cannot be analysed in a study of nationalism! See Rusnow, *A World of Nations*, 21.

9. Karl W. Deutsch, 'The Trend of European Nationalism—The Language Aspect', in Joshua A. Fishman (ed.), *Readings in the Sociology of Language* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), 599.

10. *Ibid.* 606.

11. For example, compare T. Zavalani, 'Albanian Nationalism', in Sugar and Lederer, *Nationalism in Eastern Europe*, *op. cit.*, 68; and Paul Shoup, *Communism and the Yugoslav National Question* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 107-9. Of course, the distinctiveness of Islam itself varies in different contexts, but this does not seem to be a significant factor as between Albanian and Yugoslav Muslims.

12. Paul R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 277-86.

13. See, for example, Robert H. Bates, 'Ethnic Competition and Modernization in Contemporary Africa', *Comparative Political Studies*, 4 (Jan. 4: 1974), 457-84; Gellner, *Thought and Change*, *op. cit.*, esp. 166 and 171-2; Chong-do Hah and Jeffrey Martin, 'Towards a Theory of Synthesis of Conflict and Integration Theories of Nationalism', *World Politics*, 27: 3 (Apr. 1975), 373-9; Michael Hechter, 'Towards a Theory of Ethnic Change', *Politics and Society*, 2: 1 (Fall, 1971), esp. 42-3 and 'The Persistence of Regionalism in the British Isles, 1885-1966', *The American*

Journal of Sociology 79: 2 (Sept. 1973), 319-42; Robert Melson and Howard Wolpe, 'Modernization and the Politics of Communism: A Theoretical Perspective', *American Political Science Review*, 64: 4 (Dec. 1970), 1112-18; and Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, *op. cit.*, esp. 116-18, 132.

14. Consider, for example, the case of rural Slovaks even as late as the turn of the twentieth century who, upon emigrating to the United States 'were unaware of their specific national identity', knowing 'only that they were from a certain village in what was called Hungary; they were sternly ruled by people who spoke a different tongue, and they were very poor'. David W. Paul, *The Cultural Limits of Revolutionary Politics: Change and Continuity in Socialist Czechoslovakia* (Boulder, Col.: East European Quarterly, 1979), 195.

Extract 15

MICHAEL HECHTER: *Ethnicity and Rational Choice Theory*

1. T. Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (McGraw-Hill, 1937).
2. M. Hechter and D. Friedland, 'Does rational choice suffice? Response to Adam', *International Migration Review* (1984).
3. It is seldom recognised that the problems of collective action and social order are analytically similar. This similarity rests on the fact that each involves a collective-good situation (Olson 1965; Taylor 1982). Social order is a collective good that no rational egoist has an interest in upholding. Similarly, the rational member of a minority group may well profit from affirmative action legislation on the group's behalf, but will free ride on other people's efforts to attain this collective good. The danger in each case is that the collective good will not be provided at all because of free riding, or deviance, as it is known in the sociological lexicon.
4. T. Sowell, *Race and Economics* (David McKay, 1975), 165-7.
5. J. T. Landa, 'A theory of the ethnically homogeneous middleman group: an institutional alternative to contract law', *Journal of Legal Studies*, 10 (1981), 349-62.
6. M. Hechter, D. Friedland, and M. Appelbaum, 'A theory of ethnic collective action', *International Migration Review*, 16 (1982), 412-34.
7. M. Hechter (ed.), *The Micro Foundations of Macro Sociology* (Temple UP, 1983), and *Principles of Group Solidarity* (University of California Press, 1987).
8. See R. Hardin, *Collective Action* (Johns Hopkins UP, for Resources for the Future, 1982), for a recent review.
9. M. Hechter, 'When actors comply: monitoring costs and the production of social order', *Acta Sociologica*, 27: 3 (1984), 161-83.
10. R. Michael and G. S. Becker, 'On the new theory of consumer behaviour', *Swedish Journal of Economics*, 75: 4 (1973), 378-96; J. Hirschleifer, 'Economics from a biological viewpoint', *Journal of Law and Economics*, 20: 1 (1977); A. K. Sen and B. Williams (eds.), *Utilitarianism and Beyond* (CUP, 1982).
11. A. K. Sen, 'Rational fools: a critique of the behavioural foundations of economic theory', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 6: 4 (1977), 317-44; A. O. Hirschman, *Shifting Involvements: Private Interest and Public Action* (Princeton UP, 1982).
12. Hechter, 'When actors comply'.
13. C. Nordhoff, *The Communist Societies of the United States* (Schocken Books, 1965; first publ. 1875); J. A. Hostetler, *Amish Society* (Johns Hopkins UP, 1963); R. Kanter,