4. Ibid. 2.
5. N. Kasfir, 'Explaining ethnic political participation', World Politics, 31 (1979), 368.
6. J. Spencer, 'Writing within: anthropology, nationalism, and culture in Sri Lanka', Current Anthropology 31: 3 (1990), 287.
7. Kasfir, op. cit., 370.
8. Ibid. 376.
9. B. B. Lal, 'Perspectives on ethnicity: old wine in new bottles', Ethnic and Racial Studies, 6: 2 (1983), 166-7.
10. But see J. Rothschild, Ethnopolitics: A Conceptual Framework (Columbia UP, 1981); S. Olzak, 'Contemporary ethnic mobilization', Annual Review of Sociology 9 (1983), 355-74; J. Nagel and S. Olzak (eds.), Competitive Ethnic Relations (Academic Press, 1986).
11. C. Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures (Basic Books, 1973), 259.
12. Ibid.
13. Kasfir, op. cit.
14. E. Spicer, 'Persistent identity systems', Science, 174: 4011 (1971).
15. G. M. Scott, 'A resynthesis of the primordial and circumstantial approaches to ethnic group solidarity: towards an explanatory model', Ethnic and Racial Studies, 13: 2 (1990), 163.
16. Ibid. 167.
17. J. McKay, 'An exploratory synthesis of primordial and mobilizationist approaches to ethnic phenomena', Ethnic and Racial Studies, 5: 4 (1982), 397.
18. D. L. Horowitz, Ethnic Groups in Conflict (University of California Press, 1985), 57.
19. M. Hechter, 'Theories of ethnic relations', in J. Stack, Jr. (ed.), The Primordial Challenge: Ethnicity in the Contemporary World (Greenwood Press, 1986).
20. Hoben and Hefner, op. cit.
21. Horowitz, op. cit.
22. Scott, op. cit.
23. P. Bourdieu, Outline of a Theory of Practice (CUP, 1977), 87.

Extract 8
STEVEN GROSBY: The Inexpungeable Tie of Primordiality

1. E. Shils, 'Primordial, personal, sacred and civil ties', British Journal of Sociology, 8 (1957), 130-45; C. Geertz, 'Primordial sentiments and civil politics in the New States', in id. (ed.), Old Societies and New States (Free Press, 1963).
2. E. Husserl, Cartesianische Meditationen, Husserliana, Band 1 (Nijhoff, 1950).
3. M. Scheler, Die Stellung des Menschen im Kosmos (Francke, 1928).
4. B. L. Smith (ed.), Religion and Legitimation of Power in Sri Lanka (Anima, 1978); R. Gombrich and G. Obeyesekere, Buddhism Transformed (Princeton UP, 1988).
5. S. Mews (ed.), Religion and National Identity, Studies in Church History, vol. 18 (Blackwell, 1982).
6. T. Parsons, 'The kinship system of the contemporary United States', American Anthropologist, 45 (1943), 22-38; id. and E. Shils (eds.), Towards a General Theory of Action (Harvard UP, 1951), 77-91.
7. Jack Eller and Reed Coughlin, 'The poverty of primordialism: the demystification of ethnic attachments', Ethnic and Racial Studies, 6: 2 (1993), 183-202.
8. F. Tönnies, Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft (American Book, 1940; first pub. 1887).
9. E. Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches (University of Chicago Press, 1981; first pub. 1911).
10. M. Weber, Economy and Society (University of California Press, 1978; first pub. 1922).
11. Parsons and Shils, op. cit.
12. Shils, op. cit.
13. Ibid.
14. Geertz, op. cit.
15. Tönnies, op. cit.
16. Weber, op. cit.

Extract 9
PIERRE VAN DEN BERGHE: Does Race Matter?

1. Nearly thirty years ago, I distinguished race as 'a group that is socially defined but on the basis of physical criteria', from ethnicity which is 'socially defined but on the basis of cultural criteria' (van den Berghe, Race and Racism (New York: Wiley, 1967), 9-10. That definition is widely shared in the social science literature, e.g. E. Ellis Cashmore, Dictionary of Race and Ethnic Relations (London: Routledge, 1988), John E. Farley, Majority-Minority Relations (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1995), John Rex, Race Relations in Sociological Theory (New York: Schocken, 1970), Thomas Sowell, Race and Culture: A World View (New York: Basic Books, 1994), William J. Wilson, Power, Racism and Privilege (New York: Macmillan, 1973).
2. My main statement is contained in The Ethnic Phenomenon (1981), but the book was preceded by my 1978 article in Ethnic and Racial Studies. See also my 1986 piece in the Rex and Mason collection, Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations.
3. The biological basis of nepotism has now been firmly established in hundreds of social species of both vertebrates and invertebrates. Indeed, nepotism is one of the main mechanisms of sociality in all known social organisms. See Martin Daly and Margo Wilson, Sex, Evolution and Behavior (Belmont, Cal.: Wadsworth, 1983); Richard Dawkins, The Selfish Gene (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976); R. L. Trivers, Social Evolution (Menlo Park, Cal.: Benjamin Cummings, 1985); and E. O. Wilson, Sociobiology: The New Synthesis (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), for a few book-length overviews of both the theoretical basis of, and the empirical evidence for, nepotism.
4. My 1979 book, Human Family Systems, was an attempt to reinterpret the conventional anthropology of marriage and kinship in terms of the evolutionary biology of mating and reproduction. More extensive biological accounts of human mating and reproductive systems can be found in Daly and Wilson op. cit., and Donald Symons, The Evolution of Human Sexuality (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).
5. I engage my critics at greater length in 'Ethnicity and the sociology debate', in John Rex and David Mason (eds.), Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
6. Among the many critics of race-based measures to redress past racial inequities, see Dinesh D'Souza, Illiberal Education (New York: Vintage Books, 1992); Nathan Glazer, Affirmative Discrimination (New York: Basic Books, 1975); Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray, The Bell Curve (New York: Free Press, 1994); and

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-Guerreo (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 Beria Reserve* (Chicago, 1974), 54.

2. The quotation inter-utilizes translated extracts in Leon Poloakov, *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 Chuckchee* (American Museum of Natural History, New York, 1904–9), vol. i.

3. G. Gjessing, *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: Frederik 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 Eidheim, '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; Dankwart 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