Table of Contents

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*Ethnicity and Class: A Proto-Theoretical 'Mapping' Exercise**

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Contingency and Theory: The Failure of Grand Theories

Grand theories have not proved useful in the study of interethnic relations. Modernization clearly does not lead to the disappearance of ascriptive criteria, practices and ideologies, particularly not of ethnic or nationalist ones, as modernization theory holds. Furthermore the significance of ethnicity as a basis for social organization does not simply decrease with a high degree of social incorporation, as conventional theory suggests.[1] The development of ethnic identity retention does not merely follow Hansen's pattern in which the second generation removes itself from, or rebels against, its ethnic group and the third returns to it.[2] If there is any consensus among researchers at the moment, it is probably that one must take into account the complexity and the considerable contingency of social phenomena such as ethnic identity retention and social incorporation. Familiar phrases to highlight this are structural indeterminacy, high degrees of variation, it depends, it's all politics, path dependent sequences of change, and history is open (at least much more so than structuralist, evolutionist and Marxist theory would allow for). Sociology clearly has to meet history and history needs, at least, some sociology. The question is which sociology.

Confronted with such problems, researchers in different fields have recently opted for the construction of 'pro-theoretical' or

* This version has been edited by Deirdre Breton

'proto-theoretical' frameworks.[3] To be able to study the *Varieties of Experience* in Toronto, Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach and Reitz (1990) had to separate social incorporation and ethnic identity. I strongly agree with the art of distinction and differentiation, developed in *Ethnic Identity and Equality* (1990). More than ten years ago I started a research project elaborating what I call a proto-theory of social inequalities and collective action such as social movements and conflicts,[4] which can also be used for the design of theories better suited to the field of interethnic relations and, more directly, as a framework for comparative historical and empirical research. Proto-theory has three main aims: conceptual disaggregation and clarifications, distinguishing different levels of analysis, and creating space for more specific, middle range theories. I present below some results using the Toronto study of Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, Reitz (1990) as a point of comparative reference, which may have useful implications for the design of theories and research in the field of ethnic relations.

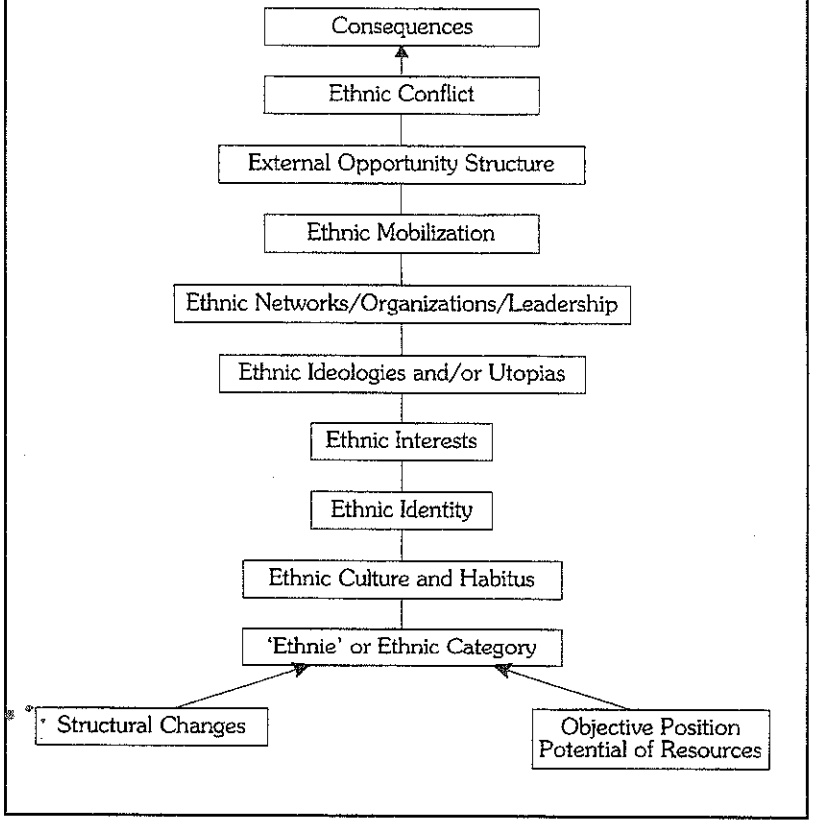
Levels of Analysis

For reasons of space, it is impossible for me to describe in detail my entire approach and show how it differs from the many others in the study of social movements and collective action.[5] In this paper, I focus, therefore, on three levels of analysis: in section 2 on the criteria for constructing 'ethnies'[6]; in section 3 on ethnic culture and habitus or the 'objective' dimension of ethnic communities; and in section 4 on ethnic identity or the 'subjective' dimension of ethnic communities. Lastly, in section 5, I attempt to show how situations involving interethnic relations can be analyzed and how the relationship between class and ethnicity can be categorized, step by step, starting from my prototheoretical framework. I conclude with a few remarks on strategies for theory construction and empirical research.

'Ethnies'

Ethnicity is a highly complex and very much contested concept. Even if one stresses that ethnic groups do not and cannot exist without at least some conscious ethnic identities and boundary-maintenance,[7] often called "subjective" aspects (Isajiw 1990:35f), it nevertheless makes

Diagram 1: Levels of Analysis



sense to start with ethnic categories or 'ethnies' and ethnic cultures, often called objective aspects.[8]

Definitions of the term ethnic group vary, but generally include a sharing of:

> fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms; [making] up a field of communication and interaction; ...[and] a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, constituting a category distinguishable from other

> categories of the same order.... A categorical ascription is an ethnic ascription when it classifies a person in terms of his basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by his origin and background. To the extent that actors use ethnic identities to categorize themselves and others for purposes of interaction, they form ethnic groups in this organizational sense (Barth, 1980:11, 14 f.).[9]

One main problem recognized long ago[10] has always been that the demarcation of ethnicity from other ascriptive categories in general, and from racialized, national, cultural and religious categories in particular, was always unclear, in everyday language as well as in scientific discourse. To understand the enormous variety in the respective historical and empirical mix of ethnic criteria one has to separate the ethnic cluster of characteristics and identify its individual components. "Container-concepts" of ethnicity (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975) are not helpful in this regard. I have, therefore, designed a highly disaggregated list of acriptive criteria, practices and ideologies which may be helpful in three ways (see Table 1).

(1) The distinction between *ascriptive practices* and ascriptive ideologies is a conceptual precondition for any detailed analysis of their complex and varying interrelation: their combinations, crossings or overlap, their shifts and their relative independence. Unchanged racist practices, directed against visible minorities, have been legitimated by a variety of religious, culturalist, nationalist and neonationalist ideologies.[11] For example, discrimination, oppression, exclusion and extinction of Jews has been legitimated by religious, culturalist, racist and neo-nationalist ideologies which all represent different faces of anti-Semitism.

(2) All relations of ascriptive groups and the mechanism of ascriptive practices do have a common core. Ethnic relations situations, for instance, are situations involving scarcity of and competition for or conflict over all different kinds of societal resources and rewards, including positions in dominant hierarchies of prestige. Under such situations ascriptive criteria become relevant. The capacity to make and detect distinctions mushrooms while real or imaginary differences are perceived, experienced, articulated, and ascriptive categories are constituted.

Table 1: Ascriptive Criteria of Allocation; Practices of Discrimination, Oppression, Exclusion. Typical Ascriptive Ideologies

Socially Defined Biological Physiological Phenotypical "Natural" Characteristics	**Criteria of Closure**	**Practices of Closure**	**Typical Ideologies of Legitimation**		
	Kinship/Descent	Clan Domination, Discrimination and Closure	Kinship Ideologies	BIOLOGISTIC LEGENDS	
	Sex	Discrimination, Oppression and Exclusion of Women	Sexist Ideologies		
	Age	Generational Closure, Gerontocracy, etc.	Ageism		
	Colour, etc.	Racist Oppression, Discrimination and Exclusion	Racist Ideologies		
Social Historical Ascriptive Characteristics	**Community/ Membership of:**	**Exclusion, Oppression, Discrimination of:**			NATIONALISTIC LEGENDS
	Territorial Space	Neighbourhoods/ Regions, etc.	Urbanistic/ Regionalistic Ideologies	ETHNOCENTRIC LEGENDS	
	History	Established/ Outsiders	Nativist Ideologies		
	Language	Language Groups	Language Ideologies		
	Culture, Habits, Lifestyle, Gender	Cultural 'Minorities'	Culturalistic Ideologies		
	Religion	Religious Groups	Religious Ideologies		
	Social Class	'Lower' or 'Working' Class	Class Legends and Ideologies		
	Political Culture	Political Communities	Liberal, Republican Ideologies	CIVIC LEGENDS	
	(Forced) Membership of:				
	Hierocratic Institutions (Church) Sects	Members of Churches	Clerical, Papist Ideologies		
	Political Units State Membership	Foreign States, Aliens	Statistic and Imperialistic Ideologies		
	Membership of (Political) Organizations	(Members) of Political Parties, Unions etc.	Political (e.g., Anti-Socialistic Ideologies)		

Once constructed and evaluated, the negative prestige of ascriptive categories can be used as an indirect resource, i.e., as an asset as well as a liability. These differences constitute mechanisms of ascriptive practices. Firstly, access to specific societal fields such as labour, housing, education and marriage can be closed or severely be restricted, although affirmative action may open access to these fields (see Bader, 1995a). Secondly, the opportunities within organizations and the distribution of rewards in various fields can, equally, be affected. Thirdly, ascriptive categories can be marginalized or even excluded from most, or all, societal fields producing "total, all-encompassing negative status".[12]

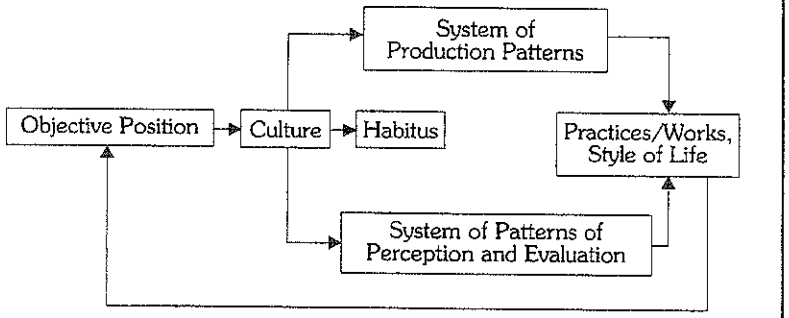
(3) The *functional equivalence* of ascriptive criteria may provide a structural explanation for the often recognized phenomenon of their flexibility,[13] for example, the mix and focus of relevant ascriptive criteria in the ethnic cluster changes and the type of exclusionary ideology changes. All detailed comparative studies of nations and of nation-building,[14] for instance, show extreme variety in the mix of ascripitive criteria in these ethnic clusters and their respective focuses, such as region, race, history, language, culture, religion and class, as well as the relationships between ethnic and civic factors.[15] Analysis of the different processes of nation-building and their historical shifts from ethnic to more civic models, as well as from mono-cultural to multicultural, and from mono-national to multinational models, demands at least the degree of conceptual disaggregation of the ethnic clusters as is shown in Table 1. Such an analysis reveals the high degree of strategic construction and artificiality of the general concept of ethnicity, which is obscured by nationalistic emphasis on the primordial nature and spontaneous growth of ethnic groups and nations.[16]

Ethnic Culture/Habitus

Concepts of Culture, Habitus and Their Relationships

Ethnic culture and ethnic habitus are, of course, contested concepts, and on this topic I follow Pierre Bourdieu, although I disagree with some structuralist and reductionist remnants in his theory.[17]

Diagram 2: Positions—Culture—Habitus—Practices



In this paper I will confine myself to a short explication of terms and relationships.

(1) Social structure (including positions in institutionalized hierarchies of prestige) structurates, rather than determines, culture; both objective position and culture are objective.

(2) Culture (i.e., objectivized habits) structures habitus (i.e., embodied cultures). There is, however, a dialectic of culture and habitus which is ignored by structuralism and by all over-socialized concepts of man: differences of habitus provide a kind of variety pool for cultural change.

(3) Habitus structures practices, habitus acting as practical operator, incorporated program and *modus operandi*. Compared to ethnic values and norms, ethnic habitus is more observable, and compared to personality in normativistic sociology, includes many more dimensions. Compared to abstract value patterns, habitus is a much stronger motivating force: ethnic ethos or supporting ethnic virtues provide a strong foundation of ethnic solidarity and loyalty. Habitus is a more abstract and a more general concept than the concrete practices, styles, perceptions, judgments and actions which are generated by it.

Ethnic Culture

In this paper I use a broad, anthropological concept of culture, including (1) material culture (traditions, ways of life, food, tools, dress, houses, arts, rituals, ceremonies, feasts) and (2) specific symbolic (aspects of language, ethnic cognitive and normative patterns and world-views, i.e., shared values and norms), as well as (3) networks/cohesiveness (including friendship, marriage, ethnic associations and organizations, media, interest-organization and political parties).[18] These three groups of anthropological concepts refer to the so-called objective aspects of ethnic groups (cf. Isajiw 1990:35). Such external, behavioural aspects of ethnic identity do refer to objective ethnic culture in all cases in which (i) they are selected as relevant signals or markers of ethnic identity and (ii) have to do with a positive ethnic identity rather than a negative collective identity of conflict, i.e., the members of the group not only know that others recognize them by certain markers but identify themselves with those traits at least to some degree (cf. Bader 1991:108).

Ethnic Habits and the Constitution of an Ethnicized Subject

A sophisticated concept of ethnic culture and habitus is completely lacking in the fashionable talk about the construction of subjectivity in recent de-constructivism and discourse theory.[19] It could fill an important gap in the analysis of processes of ethnicization:

(1) Habitus is a complex phenomenon with different facets such as somatic hexis, psychic disposition, aesthetic patterns (such as taste etc.), patterns of perception, cognition and evaluation, but discourse analysis focuses only on the latter.

(2) Habitus allows the researcher to focus on the relative stability and unity of the subject without overemphasizing them. The unity of the ethnic habitus remains always problematic. This is evident in individual biographies, particularly in case of migration—the Don-Quixote-effect—as well as in generational perspective—hysteresis. The question of unity also arises in different societal fields: is there one ethnic style in all the various activities in which an individual may engage? And it arises from a class perspective: are there common ethnic habits crosscutting customary class behaviours? If so, one may ask how stable these ethnic habits are and whether there are habitualized ethnic career-patterns and, if so, what positive or negative role they may fulfil.[20] From a collective action-perspective, the problem of the unity of ethnic habitus is evident in the tension between acceptance of the existing order (*amor fati*) or habitualized rebellion.

These and many similar questions may be fruitfully analyzed using a similar approach which has not yet, as far as I know, been systematically applied to ethnic and racial studies.

The Relationship between Ethnic Culture and Ethnic Identity

(a) Why, and how to distinguish between ethnic culture and ethnic identity[21]

Culture is not the main or the only base of identity, as it is in competition and is interrelated with differences in objective social situations and with imagined differences. Furthermore not all aspects of an objective culture are relevant, or serve as markers, signals and symbols of ethnic identity, but the constitution of collective identities involves a process of selective accentuation (cf. Barth, 1980; cf. Bader, 1991:108-09). Cultures could be imagined of in isolation, that is, as if many different cultures in a fictional model existed peacefully beside one another. Collective identities, however, are relational by definition since they cannot even be thought of without processes of inclusion and exclusion, or without boundary definitions, as Barth (1980) has stressed. Furthermore collective identities tend to develop a completely dichotomized pattern, particularly during escalating conflicts (cf. Bader, 1991:110), whereas cultures may exist plurally. Thus cultures may remain in the background, while collective identities require, at least, some minimal relational awareness involving varying degrees of awareness and consciousness (cf. Bader, 1991: 108f). Interestingly though, collective identities do not need real cultural differences at all, but they can be built and sustained upon imagined differences.

(b) The clear conceptual distinction between culture and collective identity is a necessary precondition for discussion of their interrelation and variation

As Isajiw (1990) has shown from his research in Toronto that culture and collective identity can change relatively independently, the one evolving while the other remains stable (again, Barth 32f, 38). Even so, the two do influence each other; not only does culture serve as a base

for definitions of collective identities, but collective identities do, themselves, heavily influence the development of group cultures, their demarcation and stylization, and *La Distinction* (1992), so brilliantly analyzed by Bourdieu, Elias and others, following Mannheim.

Ethnic Identity

Introduction

Collective identities in general, ethnic identities in particular, are "multi-sided, complex social phenomena"(Isajiw 1990: 34). Clearly without some minimal ethnic identity there can be no ethnic group. Ethnic identity may be created by selection of one out of many possible "ethnicities" and by the transformation of ethnic categories into ethnic groups. Recognition of collective identity always includes the drawing of boundaries, the demarcation from and exclusion of others; that is, the "I am/We are" always includes the "I am not/We are not." Thus, identities are the temporary results of specific synthetic, integrated performances, and from the acceptance of identifications with models, ideals and identity patterns coupled with the assertive negation of alternative, competing models.

In order to understand this process of identity formulation, one has to distinguish individual, social and collective identities and to analyze their dialectics. All individuals have many cross-cutting social and collective identities; the we has many names. Collective identities differ from all other social identities by tendentially imposing dichotomous patterns which are often hegemonial or totalizing, particularly in escalating conflicts (Bader, 1991:109f.). It is important, therefore, when analyzing a particular situation, to inquire as to who is defining the collective identity in question. Certainly one must analyze both self or insider definitions and outsider definitions as well as their interrelationships. Such definitions are multi-layered, reflecting the social distance between the identity and its definer. For example, insiders may include parents, relatives, friends, peers, teachers, priests, politicians, historians and others. When considering the content of definitions, one must analyze the relative power balance between the insiders and outsiders who offer definitions of the collective identity in question. Information about the power relationship between parties is important because between equally balanced nations, such as England and France, collective identity definitions differ considerably from those given by parties with structural

power asymmetries such as between Anglo-Canadians and Québécois, or between both of these and native peoples. As we have seen, the root of ethnicization lies in competition for and conflict over all types of resources and rewards, but particularly recognition.[22]

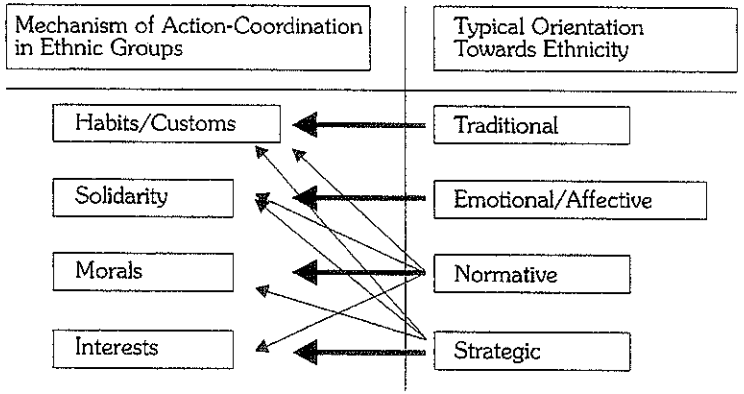
Different Faces of Ethnic Identity

Behavioural or *external* aspects are the objective side of ethnic culture and refer to actual practices. The *internal* characteristics refer to the subjective face of ethnic identity, to self-perception and self-definition. A researcher is tempted to combine these two sides of ethnicity, external culture and internal identity, using various methods. One studies what people say when responding to more or less standardized or open questions in interviews about ethnic identity. One sees what people actually do through participatory observation[23] in an attempt to discover what ethnic habitus people really do have. Then one compares the data and tries to explain discrepancies which always appear because, as common sense indicates, values, beliefs and even attitudes do not cause actions in a simple, straightforward way.

Ethnic culture and collective ethnic identity provide relatively stable patterns of mutual expectations which contribute considerably in solving so-called *coordination* or *collective action problems*. Customs, traditions, habits and collective history, solidarity, loyalty and group morals are systematically ignored in rational choice and resource mobilization theories.[24] On the other hand, so-called identity approaches tend to neglect the important role of interests and strategic orientation in the constitution and development of collective identities. In a critical reconstruction of Max Weber's conceptual framework, I have constructed a model of *mechanisms of action coordination* in ethnic groups and typical orientations towards ethnicity. This is illustrated in diagram 3.

Mechanisms of action coordination[25] involve *ethnic history*, ethnic *customs*, *traditions* and *habits*. Ethnic history and traditions are not primordial nor do they develop spontaneously. They are skilfully constructed and re-constructed. However, only real not imagined histories of communities and real customs, however artificial their origin, can help to solve problems of action coordination. Knowledge of long chains of previous reactions together with information about common customs and traditions are important sources of trust. At the same time, they may promote *ethnic solidarity*: the shared emotional feelings of belonging to an ethnic community. Theses affective bonds are created in processes

Diagram 3: Ethnic Mechanism of Coordination and Types of Orientation Towards Ethnicity



Explication: Constitutive Role versus Type of orientation which, if dominant would weaken or transform the mechanism itself (See Bader & Benschop, 1989).

of primary and secondary socialization and through education, as well as through continuous identification with ethnic culture, symbols (holy icons) and leaders and by expressive practices. This deep-rooted, emotional feeling of togetherness is a second important source of trust which is absent from the Hobbesian world of rational choice. A third source of trust is found in *ethnic morals*, not only shared values and norms, important as they are in rationalistic versions of ethics, but shared ethos and virtues too, together with the recognition of mutual obligations, loyalties and moral commitments. Ethnic (and other) communities provide the foundation of trust that is necessary to overcome free-ride problems and all other "logic of action paradoxes" which cannot be solved by the strategic gamblers, those lonely nomads without history, common allegiances and morals, even if they happen to detect some common interest.

Ethnic interests include not only so-called economic or material interests but, particularly, so-called cultural, political and religious interests, as well as equal recognition. The first three mechanisms are not only found in so-called traditional societies, as the famous dichotomy of *Gemeinschaft* versus *Gesellschaft* in many modernization theories has led many to believe. Modernity creates her own traditions, allegiances, morals and ethos and ethnic communities are not merely beleaguered and fading remnants of a traditional world, doomed to extinction, but living, evolving vital collective bodies, continually renewing and reworking the bonds which link their members to the ethnic community and thus connect them to one another.

Predominant, traditional orientation towards ethnicity constitutes and maintains ethnic customs; emotional orientation creates and strengthens ethnic solidarity; predominant normative agreement secures ethnic morals and ethos; and predominant strategic orientation is the basis of common ethnic *Interessenlage*. But actors are able to align themselves in other *non-congruent* ways towards ethnicity.[26] They can participate in religious rites of an ethnic group for purely instrumental reasons. Indeed they may take part only because, and only insofar as, they expect some sanctions if they fail to comply with the community's norm. Opportunistic leaders of ethnic organizations count on the solidarity of their co-ethnics in planning actions and can be surprised when this expected cohesion is lacking. However, such strategic political manipulation tends to undermine traditions and solidarities. Strictly possessive individualists would only agree to normative rules if these were in their own best interest. If such strategic orientations were to become dominant, traditions and customs would be transformed into pure interest constellations and would thereby lose their capacity to stabilize communities and to solve collective action problems. Solidarity and loyalty would be destroyed; ethnic morals and ethos would diminish into a strictly utilitarian morality. My model allows and encourages an analysis of the mix and the shifts in the respective orientations of members of ethnic groups towards ethnic culture and ethnic identity. No linear development from traditional and affective attitudes towards rational normative and strategic orientations is involved, either at the level of societies or at that of generations or individuals.

The different *types of orientations* towards ethnicity are *not equally distributed* among members of ethnic groups. Indeed class, gender and

generationally specific variations should be expected and analyzed. One must recognize that the orientation of lay persons may differ from that of the leaders of ethnic organizations concerned with ethnic conflicts. These leaders will demonstrate a higher degree of strategic thinking and reflexivity than their constituents. In addition the orientations of different groups of outsiders will differ considerably from those of insiders; furthermore, the attitudes of outsiders who are also opponents of a particular ethnic group will tend to be highly, or even exclusively, strategic.

In spite of the continued reworking and renewing of collective identities, one must remember that the historic, affective and moral dimensions of ethnic cultures and identities imply *limits* to the degree of *strategic manipulation* that either insiders or outsiders can exert. Even if one rightly stresses the enormous importance of strategic thinking and acting by intellectuals, school teachers, politicians, states and churches in the invention and construction of ethnic identities, as Anthony Smith (1981), concerning nations and many others,[27] has convincingly shown, collective identity building and changing cannot necessarily be achieved at will. Certainly it is possible to create traditions,[28] to invent and reconstruct languages,[29] to devise symbols and rituals and to change group morals strategically through education, but it takes a long time to make "peasants into Freudians".

Types of Ethnic Identity

In the construction of types of ethnic identity, one can use any combination of the following criteria:

(1) criteria of ascription, such as territorial, cultural, religious ethnic identities.
(2) predominant mode of orientation towards ethnicity, such as traditional ethnicity (e.g. Isajiw's (1990) ritualistic type), affective ethnicity, ethnicity of normative principles, such as Isajiw's ideological type and strategic ethnicity;
(3) time-perspective, for example, Isajiw's rediscovery type;
(4) degree of reflectivity;
(5) a power/domination perspective, such as rebellious or revolutionary ethnic identity;
(6) variations in types of situations involving ethnic relations (cf. below) in which ethnic identities are articulated.

Time

When conducting research into collective ethnic identities one should distinguish the origin, emergence and development of an identity, including its stabilization, maintenance, persistence, retention and reconstruction, as well as its disappearance or weakening because the conditions of the emergence of identity may differ completely from those of retention and the causes of the changes are not the same. Researchers of the primordialist school tend to ignore the fact that selective attenuation is characteristic of all phases of identity change and not only of ethnic identity retention. Indeed one should make no assumptions about any general pattern of ethnic identity construction for, as already indicated, the emergence and development of ethnic identities is usually not unilinear. However neither does it simply follow a cyclical pattern. On the contrary, it often shows quite unexpected and unpredictable swings: ethnic identity is highly context sensitive; politics do matter; cycles of protest are relevant; and historical events are often of paramount importance. Furthermore, when considering ethnic identity from a chronological perspective, one should not over stress hysteresis, like in general laws of a cultural lag or a lag of identities. Studying changes in ethnic identity, it is important to take qualitative distinctions into account. A short-term perspective (about five years) and a life-time perspective are the most important to analyze individual identity changes. A generational perspective is preferable for the analysis of families and migrant ethnic minorities,[30] while a long-term perspective should be used for studies of the development of ethnic identities of nations.

Ethnic Relations Situations: Class Approaches to Ethnicity

Contexts make all the *difference* to when and how distinctions and identities emerge and develop. A historically informed typology of ethnic relations situations, or inter-ethnic relations, is therefore a kind of prerequisite for all context-sensitive theoretical and empirical studies. In spite of the large amount of intellectual labour devoted to this question, such a typology is still not available. Roughly speaking, however, the following criteria can be used in constructing such a typology: (1) units; (2) kind, density, intensity and fields of interaction; and (3) relative power balance.[31]

The relationship of ethnic groups to the legal and political *units* of decision-making is of paramount importance. Three main types of such

relationships can be identified. Firstly, ethnic groups can be legally independent from one another and be sovereign in the international relations between so-called ethnically homogeneous nation-states. Secondly, they can be legally independent of one another but under the jurisdiction of higher sovereign political units, such as nations in a federal state or states, which in an imaginable future might be legally and politically under the jurisdiction of a powerful United Nations. Thirdly, one ethnic group can claim or enact legal and political jurisdiction over another, as is the case with colonial situations, either outside or inside states.[32]

Interactions between ethnic groups can, themselves, be analyzed from different perspectives.[33] Firstly, the kind of *interactions* can be mutually beneficial, especially in situations involving roughly equal power, or they can be to the disadvantage of one party as in situations of structural inequalities (cf. below). The kind of relationship depends, furthermore, on the territorial patterns of the ethnic communities involved. For example, whether the two groups occupy highly segregated territories (concentration) or live and/or work in an intermingled environment (dispersion)[34] makes a difference. Secondly, the density and intensity of interactions can be quite high, involving broad networks of economic, social, cultural and political relations or very low, manifesting only sporadic interactions on specific issues, particularly competitive ones. Thirdly, the depth and breadth of interactions can vary from being highly selective in only one specific field to being broad and deep and encompassing all societal fields.

From many sociological studies of conflict the consequences of these differences for *power-relationships*, strategic options, kinds of conflicts and the types of conflict resolution are well known. Highly explosive, violent and escalating ethnic conflicts, for example, tend to develop when the relations between territorially segregated groups are predominantly, or exclusively, those of neatly overlapping discrimination, oppression, exploitation or exclusion, and in which the power balances shift so that collective action does not, from the outset, seem hopeless (cf. Bader, 1991:307).

The analysis of relative power balances is, for all its widely recognized importance, still a most confusing and tricky task. I believe this topic deserves a bit more discussion partly because I think that my new proto-theoretical treatment of structural power asymmetries offers a

much more fruitful and detailed approach than either mainstream sociology or the fashionable multi-oppression jargon of recent post-marxism. Relationships of equality or inequality between ethnic groups contain many levels, dimensions and facets. Their analysis is, accordingly, complex. However, for the sake of simplicity, I stress here only three points. Firstly, one should clearly distinguish "'ethnicity' in non-exploitative, non-oppressive situations,"[35] that is, in 'roughly equal' ethnic relationships from 'ethnicity' in situations of structured inequality because such situations differ not only from a descriptive and explanatory[36] but also from a normative perspective.[37] Secondly, in order to obtain a detailed picture of the relative objective position of different members and sub-categories of ethnic groups, one should analyze their respective control of a huge variety of societal resources and rewards.[38] Ethnicity can, itself, be analyzed as a resource in different ways: by being categorized as having negative or positive attributes of social prestige; ethnic culture/habitus and ethnic identity; ethnic networks, organizations and leadership as important mobilization-resources.[39] The mix and relative weight of those resources determines the objective power potential of different ethnic groups.[40] In order to achieve a more aggregated view of the kind of asymmetrical relations of power between groups, I have elaborated a model of basic types of positional inequality (see Table 2).

Table 2: Basic Types of Positional Inequality

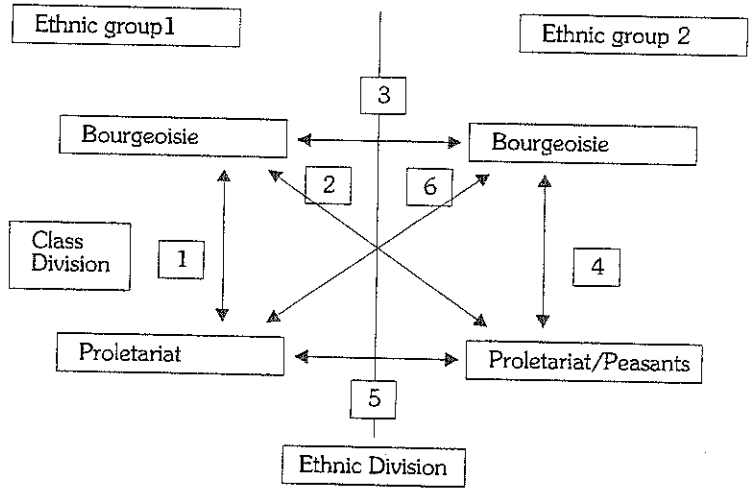
Level of Societal Relations	Positional Structure	Potential Collectivity	Type of Structurally Asymmetrical Power
Relations of work/Labour	Class Position	Classes	Exploitation
Organizations	Elite Positions	Elites/Dominated Groups	Oppression
Interactions	Interaction Positions	Selective Associational Groups	Selective Association/ Discrimination
Relations of Prestige	Positions in Hierarchies of Prestige	Prestige Groups	Collective Discrimination

Exploitation, illegitimate domination, oppression and discrimination represent the distinct but interrelated types of basic structurally asymmetrical positional power. To these important types of asymmetrical power relations one should add complete or incomplete social closure or allocational power (inclusion and exclusion) on the basis of ascriptive criteria. Social closure does allow some individuals or groups to monopolize privileged positions to the exclusion of others (cf. Table 1). Processes of closure do generate and/or stabilize barriers of vertical mobility between, for instance, class and elite positions.

Constraints of space prevent the elaboration of the different possible combinations of interethnic relations typologies and the typologies of positional inequalities. However, focusing on classes and exploitation, and using a simple dichotomous pattern of *ethnic and class division*, Edna Bonacich (1970) has constructed a model distinguishing different forms of ethnic relations in specific objective situations: a) nation-building, b) super-exploitation, c) split labour market, d) middleman minorities, and e) national liberation.

Class relationships within ethnically homogenous imperialist nation-states (Arrow 1) are the basis of national mobilization in the case of 'nation-building', and of 'nationalism' in the case of 'super-exploitation'. Relationships between imperialist bourgeoisie and colonized workers (Arrow 2) form the basis of racism in situations of super-exploitation with capitalist penetration of the periphery and different forms of colonial and neo-colonial systems of forced labour. Such relationships also form the basis of super-exploitations in situations of split labour markets producing exploitation of immigrant workers. The opposite is the case under situations of national liberation. The relations between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the colonized ruling classes (Arrow 3) in both competitive and cooperative forms support national antagonism in situations of nation-building and of racism (Arrow 3) in middleman minorities situations and form the basis of unequal exchange in situations of national liberation. The relations between the colonial ruling classes and workers (Arrow 4) form the basis of a national mobilization in situations of nation-building, middleman minorities and of national liberation. Relationships between proletariat and colonized workers (Arrow 5), on the other hand, provide a foundation for racism 2 in situations of super-exploitation and of ethnically split labour markets, as well as of racism 3 in middleman minorities situations. The relations between the proletariat and the colonized ruling classes form the basis of racism 3 in middleman minorities situations.

Diagram 4: Ethnicity and Class in the Capitalist Mode of Production



Without any further explication or discussion of this model,[41] I would like to stress three points. First of all, there are many class-specific forms of nationalism, racism and ethnocentrism stemming from specific objective roots, all with different content for which one can develop explanatory theories. Second, for all classes and class-factions there always exist non-nationalist, non-racist, non-ethnocentrist options. Third, it makes sense to start an analysis of ethnic group formation, ethnic identities, ethnic organization and mobilization, and ethnic conflict with an analysis of the structure and development of class relations. Non-reductionist versions of Marxism still can produce fruitful research programs.

One could use such simple models for controlled, step by step differentiations which, of course, are absolutely necessary to bridge the gap between theory and the overwhelming complexity of social reality. One could, and should, differentiate the model of the class structure.[42] One should introduce the other dimensions of positional inequalities, and one should differentiate the simple picture of a dichotomous ethnic

division. However, one would quickly reach the limits of our recent capability to reduce complexities theoretically, in a controllable manner. This is discussed further in the conclusion.

Processes of *incorporation* usually designate different aspects of temporary or permanent settlement in new areas by various migrants, including refugees, either within the same state or in a new state, in the case of cross-boundary migrations. Incorporation itself is a complex process subject to heavily politicized debate, the central concepts of which remain unclear and contested. There is an old and ongoing discussion about such terms as assimilation, adaptation, acculturation, enculturation, or in-culturation, integration, incorporation and inclusion, as well as about their respective negative counterparts, segregation, marginalization, retention, etc. However, if one takes social incorporation as the roof concept, names become less important so long as the different dimensions and the criteria of incorporation are clearly distinguished.

Incorporation is a two-sided process with internal and external facets (cf. Isajiw, 1990:7f.; Penninx, 1988). One must ask whether migrants, ethnic or other minorities really want to be incorporated and, if so, how. Furthermore, the settled majority, in itself highly differentiated, may or may not want them to incorporate. When incorporation does take place it may be formally enforced through legal and political channels or voluntary, either culturally and socially coerced or freely willing to integrate.[43] Therefore analysis of incorporation should employ a continuum running from formal enforcement to almost completely voluntary. This scale should incorporate the following levels of incorporation (see for a more detailed treatment Bader, 1995, 1997):[44]

(a) Economic: comprising among other factors: labour market, employment, income, promotion, leading positions in organizations, ethnic employers, ethnic concentration or "niches" in sectors of production, services, credit, consumer-markets (cf. Reitz, 1990; Marger, 1997);
(b) Territorial: from ghettoization to dispersion;
(c) Friendship and Relational Networks: from ethnically closed selective associations and patronage relations to relatively freely mixing and intermingling;
(d) Nuptial (including other intimate relationships): interethnic matching, marriages, etc.
(e) Cultural (including language, food and ritual): retaining and strengthening and change or loss of ethnic group culture, such as attitudes towards cultural incorporation (assimilationists, concerned or satisfied pluralists, integrationists, cf. Breton et al., 1990:216);
(f) Collective Prestige: recognition of persons and groups to be treated with equal respect and concern, however different they may be, or emergence, maintenance and strengthening of collective discrimination (even if legally sanctioned);
(g) Legal: degrees of political and legal equality and citizenship status[45] as well as special group rights for disadvantaged acriptive groups or native peoples;
(h) Political: ethnic organizations such as political parties, communication media and actual active and passive participation in various parts of the dominant political system.

Conclusion: Levels of Complexity

There are good reasons to believe that no grand or super theory of ethnic groups, identity, organization, mobilization and conflict can be constructed that would embrace all the different contexts of ethnicity. Explanatory theories do have to answer explanation seeking why-questions (cf. Humphreys, 1989). If one rejects a loose concept of theory which would allow one to call all conceptual and analytical clarifications and all explanation sketches theory, it becomes obvious that a useful theory has to drastically reduce the overwhelming complexity of ethnic phenomena. A proto-theoretical frame, such as I have outlined in this paper, can help in the selection of the levels of complexity adequate for the construction of middle-range theories:

i) of specific objective ethnic relations situations,
ii) of the relation between ethnic culture and ethnic identity,
iii) of the conditions in which ethnic identities become predominant,
iv) of patterns of change of ethnic identities,
v) of the specific role of ethnicity as a resource in relation to all other power and mobilization resources,
vi) of strategies of ethnic mobilization and strategic dilemmas,
vii) of ethnic conflicts and types of ethnic conflict resolution.

And such a proto-theoretical frame also may indicate some of the relevant causal variables one has to take into account. It may help to keep other problems and levels in control and, by this, help to prevent untenable qualifications.

The construction of theories is, however, not a privileged avenue of research. Proto-theoretical frameworks can be used directly as guides and checklists in historical, comparative and empirical case studies. Fortunately one does not have to wait until theorists have done their work.

Notes

1 Isajiw cs. (1990): 6,10, 261.

2 Isajiw (1990): 38, 263f. 5. result: "different groups do not exhibit the same pattern of retention and incorporation. General propositions about the evolution of ethnic minorities have a very limited validity, if any."

3 Wiehn (1968), Eckstein (1980), Unger (1987); cf. for a further going treatment and more literature Bader & Benschop (1989), Bader (1991), (1992).

4 Bader & Benschop (1989), Bader (1991), both studies not translated into English.

5 Bader (1991), ch.I. For reasons of shortness, I've excluded quotes and notes as far as possible. Cf. the respective chapters of my book (1991) on *Collective Action* for extensive treatment of the respective literature.

6 "Ethnie" — a group of people (usually with a common language, territory and/or genome) who share traditions, practices, mores and norms.

7 Cf. for ethnic groups: Barth (1980); for nations: Anthony Smith (1981, 1984, 1986,1989), Hobsbawm (1990).

8 Anthony Smith (1981) in analogy with the old logic of classes *'an sich'* and *'fur sick'*; cf. for all collective conflict-groups Bader (1991).

9 Anthony Smith (1981:66ff). Cf. 1989:344f.: "1. a common name for the unit of population included; 2. a set of myths of common origins and descent for that population; 3. some common historical memories of things experienced together; 4. a common 'historic territory' or 'homeland', or an association with one; 5. one or more elements of common culture - language, customs, or religion; 6. a sense of solidarity among most members of the community."

10 Max Weber 1964: 201, 242; cf. Bader & Benschop 1989:232, 240.

11 Cf. Bader (1985), (1994).

12 Bader & Benschop 1989:230f. Cf. Barth (1980) for ethnic status as an 'imperative' 'status of statuses.'

13 This is true for individual biographies and for the history of ethnic groups; cf. in 'strategic terms:' Barth 1980:34.

14 Seton-Watson (1977), Anthony Smith (1986, 1989), Benedict Anderson (1983), Eric Hobsbawm (1990).

15 A. Smith (1989) for 'vertical' and 'lateral ethnics'; cf. Brubaker (1992) for France and Germany.

16 Cf. for a balanced approach of 'primordialism'/'realism' vs. 'constructivism'/'modernism' of nations: A. Smith 1984:45, 60; (1986), (1989). History, however artificial, makes a difference! Cf. the widely different comments by Meadwell (1989); Zubaida (1989). Cf. Bader 1991:118 for the two different perspectives: individual biography vs. history of communities.

17 Cf. Bader 1991: ch.111.

18 Cf. for the latter: Bader (1991) ch. VII.

19 My critique in: Bader (1991): ch. VI.

20 Cf. for labour-market orientation: Reitz (1990).

21 In Bader (1991), this pant is not treated clear enough: cf. 95f., 108 f. and 424 note 77.

22 Bader 1991: 112 ff. with Simmel (1968), Coser (1956) and many others.

23 This aspect is systematically neglected in the study of Breton et al. (1990).

24 Cf. Bader 1991:17-20 and ch. V.

25 Cf. Bader & Benschop (1989), Bader 1991:117-124.

26 Bader 1991:122-4.

27 See Anthony Smith (1981) concerning nations; Barth 1980:33 for all ethnic groups.

28 Hobsbawm for sport 1990:142 f.

29 Cf. Anderson 1983: 132, 140 et pasim, Hobsbawm 1990: passim.

30 Cf. Isajiw (1990) 37, 48f. for variations.

31 Here I combine the ideas of Kriesberg (1973), Barth (1980), Rex (1986), Bonacich (1970) in a way which is a little different from Bader (1991).

32 Kriesberg (1973):16; Bader 1991: 306 f; cf. Barth (1980) with regard to 'regional security' polycentric, colonial, anarchic situations. Cf. Miles (1993) for the important distinction between 'colonial situations' and 'migrant labour' for the analysis of racism.

33 Perhaps one should also include a typology of the different 'origin' of interethnic relations: formally free vs. enforced (economic, religious etc.) migration (within/between states) cf. Page-Moch (1992), Zolberg (1983) et al., conquest and the formation of empires, trade etc. See Bader (1995).

34 Barth's four types in an 'ecological perspective' (1980:19f.), mixing territorial patterns and cooperation/competition for resources. The importance of patterns of territorial segregation is obvious for nations as well as for urban segregation of ethnic groups.

35 Rex 1986:72, 80; cf. also Mason 1986:8f.; Solomos & Back 1994:145.

36 Critically versus Wallman (1986); cf. Barth (1980) versus a longstanding tradition among social anthologists.

37 For the normative consequences cf. Kymlicka 1989:145 f., 186 ff. 240 f. I neglect all problems of specifying what 'rough equality' means, but it should not be confused with the notion of 'simple equality' criticized by Walzer. For the situation of ethnic immigrants it would mean "full integration" (Isajiw 1990: 198).

38 Bader & Benschop 1989: Schema 5 and 6. C:f. the short and summarizing treatment of the most relevant power-resources and mobilization-resources: Bader 1991:258-279. Cf. for 'numbers' in a 'demographic perspective': Barth (1980).

39 Breton et al. (1990): 5-12, 258 as an 'asset'.

40 The concepts of 'minorities' and 'majorities' usually try to aggregate all these dimensions in a simple and dichotomized picture of the distribution of resources and rewards.

41 Cf. Skipping also the discussion of the respective influence on collective identities and on organizational/mobilization etc. Cf. Bader (1991) and (1994).

42 Cf. for modern capitalist mode of production: Benschop (1993).

[43] For a very concise discussion of the normative problems: cf. Kymlikca (1995).

[44] As a checklist for a much more detailed treatment: cf. Bader & Benschop (1989): Schema 4c, p. 111.

[45] Bader (1995). Cf. Soysal (1997) (conference paper).

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Ethnos, Race and Nation: Werner Sombart, the Jews and Classical German Sociology

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How did classical German Sociology address the question of ethnos and nation and of ethno-national solidarities? It might be argued that the founders of German sociology, Weber, Simmel, Sombart and Tönnies, also among the founders of the German Sociological Society, together with Robert Michels and Franz Oppenheimer had to confront and deal with two different traditions which, in turn, were at variance with a bourgeois, nationalist German sociological tradition at the turn of the century. The first tradition they had to deal with was what Werner Sombart later attacked as "proletarian socialism:" an "anti-national," "anti-German" and "rootless," "Jewish dominated" movement, for Sombart best represented by Heinrich Heine's enthusiasm for republican France (Sombart, 1924: 45 and passim), Marx and Engels' internationalism and the internationalism of much of the early German labour movement which originally had used the *Marseillaise* as its own anthem; this internationalism was in the tradition of the European spirit of the Napoleonic period between about 1804 and 1814 (Michels 1913: 396). Marx and Engels' dismissal of the "peoples without history," a rejection of ethno-national bonds in favour of a European-defined cosmopolitanism centring around the "historical" peoples of France, Germany and England was, however, and still is, the most notewc expression of this internationalism.

A second tradition that confronted classical German so was that of racial hygiene and a large and varied body of rac that had spread throughout Europe, but particularly