
UNIT 55 ETHNICITY AND SUB-ETHNICITY AS MARKERS OF GROUP IDENTITY

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55.0 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the meaning and concepts of ethnicity and sub-ethnicity.
- Know about the approaches to look at ethnicity.
- Comprehend the difference between, ethnicity, race and nationality.
- Appreciate the interlinkages between ethnicity, sub-ethnicity and group identity.
- Familiarize with the major ethnic and sub-ethnic groups in India and world.
- Know the interlinkages between ethnic identity and diaspora.

55.1 INTRODUCTION

Group identity is an individual's consciousness that he/she belongs to a certain group and feels emotionally attached to that group. Markers of the group identity are the features on the basis of that people define the position of a social group in the society. For instance, in terms of ethnicity social and cultural markers are relevant in the formation of ethnic boundaries. However, like social groups, markers are also not fixed and keep on changing with the passage of time. Ethnicity, is a highly debated concept in social sciences as ethnic communities have been present in every era of human history. Ethnicity like other group identities is also defined in terms of "we" and "other" binary. It has political, social, cultural and psychological dimensions. More often ethnic groups exist peacefully, the politicization, unequal distribution of resources etc. give rise to ethnic conflicts. In general, ethnic groups are understood as number of people who share common cultural and biological features. There are scholars who believe that ethnicity is a social construct. The origin of ethnic groups has several sources and migration is one of the sources.

Sub ethnic groups are the categories that have either fallen apart from the larger ethnic groups or they are the outcome of age-old process of migration. Added to this, anti-essentialists anthropologist and others have sought to deconstruct ethnicity itself, suggesting not only all ethnic communities are deeply divided, but also that ethnicity in itself is an optional identity and is often overshadowed by other (gender, class and regional) identities (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996). For instance, in Malaysia there are three main ethnic groups and several sub-ethnic groups.

There are concepts like race and nation which are often used interchangeably with ethnicity, however there are two school of thoughts in this regard; the first one believes that ethnicity, race and nation are different from each other and have their separate boundaries, however, the second school of thought does not recognize this differentiation and argues that all the three influence and get influenced by each other, moreover, sometimes one comes out of the other.

55.2 MEANING AND CONCEPT OF ETHNICITY, SUB-ETHNICITY AND GROUP IDENTITY

The term ethnicity does not have a fixed meaning, however the term ‘Ethnicity’ first emerged in 1950s in English language. More often it is understood in term of ‘self-other’ distinctions. Scholars like Chapman (1989), Eriksen (1993) have endorsed this view. According to Malesevic (2004), Although the term ‘ethnicity’ has its roots in the Greek term *ethnos/ethnikos*, which was commonly used to describe pagans, that is non-Hellenic and, later, non-Jewish (Gentile) or non-Christian, second-class peoples, its academic and popular use is fairly modern. Sociologically speaking, the term was coined by D. Riesman in 1953 and it gained wider use only during the 1960s and 1970s.

In general, an ethnic group is understood as a collectivity of the people within a society that has common ancestors, history, culture, memories and symbolic elements in the form of; common totems, kinship bonds etc. Sometimes old ethnic groups get dissolved, existing one get transformed and new come into existence owing to changes occurring in the socio-cultural environment. Multiplicity of identity is also found as one particular group has connections with several other groups formed on the basis of region, class, gender etc. Ethnic identity can be said to be composed of three integrated elements: the cognitive, the affective, and the behavioural (Fishbein, 1965) in Cohen(2004);

Elements of Ethnic Identity	Type
The Cognitive	Psychological
The Affective	Psychological
The Behavioural	Sociological

All the three put together constitute an ethnic group’s identity.

55.2.1 Defining Ethnicity and Sub-ethnicity

Although classical sociologists did not pay much heed to the concept of ethnicity except Weber, however the reflections of this concept can be observed in the writings of Marx and Angels, Durkheim and Simmel. Marx talked about the emancipation of Jews ethnic community in his famous work *On the Jewish Question* (1844), similarly in Durkheim’s works collective cultural ties and ethnic solidarity are at the core of the

thinking. Micro sociologist George Simmel provided theory of ethnic relations which is based on;

1. ethnicity as a form of sociation.
2. the nature of social (and thus ethnic) interaction
3. the decline of ethnicity through social differentiation.

Max Weber (1978, p. 389), described ethnic groups as those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent... it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists.

Succinctly, there are following features of Ethnicity;

1. Common belief
2. Belief in Common descent
3. Cultural and physical similarities.

Hutchinson and Smith (1996) has defined the features of ethnicity in terms of Surface Indicators (primary markers) and Secondary and Tertiary Indicators;

Surface Indicators	Secondary and Tertiary Markers
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dress 2. Language 3. Physical Features 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. House Architecture 2. Ritual Calendar 3. Specific Taboos 4. Special Medical Practices 5. Economic Practices

Source: Hutchenson and Smith, 1996

Where there is a group there is a boundary and consequently, efforts are made to maintain that boundary. These boundaries are often helpful in maintaining group identity. Most important marker of ethnic boundary is kinship. According to Jenkins (2008), there are following characteristics of ethnicity;

- Ethnicity is a matter of cultural differentiation – although, identification always involves a dialectical interplay between similarity and difference.
- Ethnicity is centrally a matter of shared meanings – what we conventionally call ‘culture’ – but is also produced and reproduced during interaction.
- Ethnicity is no more fixed or unchanging than the way of life of which it is an aspect, or the situations in which it is produced and reproduced.
- Ethnicity, as an identification, is collective and individual, externalized in social interaction and the categorization of others, and internalized in personal self-identification

As far as sub ethnicity is concerned, it has been observed by the scholars that the sub-ethnic groups are the outcome of boundary dynamics viz a viz ethnicity. Sub-ethnic groups are ethnic groups that forms part of a larger ethnic group. These sub-ethnic groups are formed either by immigrants or they are the outcome of socio-cultural changes which over a period of time give rise to new ethnic groups. Thus, migration also plays defining role in constituting sub-ethnic groups.

55.2.2 Group Identity

The concept of *Group* is considered very important in the study of any discipline in social sciences. In general terms, group is defined as a collection of individuals who have frequent interaction, common feelings and sense of unity. Group identity or Groupness as named by Brubaker (2004) is a contingent identification with a group and it is a dynamic process. According to Brubaker, ‘Identity’ is both a category of practice and a category of analysis. As a category of practice, it is used by “lay” actors in some (not all) everyday settings to make sense of themselves, of their activities, of what they share with, and how they differ from, others. It is also used by political entrepreneurs to persuade people to understand themselves, their interests, and their predicaments in a certain way, to persuade certain people that they are (for certain purposes) “identical” with one another and at the same time different from others, and to organize and justify collective action along certain lines

55.3 MAJOR APPROACHES TO ETHNICITY

There are several approaches to look at ethnicity and its characteristics. Each approach defines ethnicity in a different perspective and provides a new insight to comprehend the most idea of ethnicity.

Approach	Features
Primordial	Social bonds like; personal, primordial, civic ties etc are important
Instrumentalist	Social, political and cultural resource for different interest and status groups, thus socially constructed
Three Alternative Traditions of Enquiry are;	
1. Barth’s Transactionalist approach	1. Barth treats ethnic groups as units of ascription. Social boundaries and symbolic border guards viz. language, dress and food perpetuate the community. However, he considers boundary as permeable and transactions across the boundary occur.
2. Horowitz’s Social Psychological Approach	2. Horowitz uses group psychology and emphasises that collective stereotype works in terms of kinship myths and sense of honour in terms of other groups.
3. Armstrong’s and Smith’s Ethno-Symbolic Approach	3. Armstrong and Smith agree on the point that myths and symbols play very crucial role in the persistence of ethnic identity.

Source: Hutchenson and Smith, 1996

In his book Karner (2007) has provided comparative analysis about the approaches to study ethnicity. Succinctly, he sites that primordial approach to ethnicity was

emphasized by Clifford Geertz (1973) who gave importance to ascribed status. However, Richard Jenkins (1997) has argued that the strength of bonds varies across individual's, social formations and historical eras. Instrumentalist like Cohen (1969) put emphasis on social and symbolic resource mobilization in pursuit of economic and political goals as a collective strategy of survival. Similarly, Fenton (2003) who talks about situational/circumstantial accounts observes that, an individual's actual identity deployed or made relevant changes according to social situations' and that 'ethnic identity is important in some contexts and not in others.

If we analyze the approaches regarding the ethnicity, it is evident that prior to Barth, ethnic group was defined as inside out i.e. a group's bonds and primordial ties defined it, however Barth onwards ethnic groups are defined in terms of 'other group', therefore ethnic boundaries became important.

55.4 ETHNICITY AND THE NEIGHBOURING CONCEPTS

More often the term ethnicity is interchangeably used with 'race' and 'nationality'. As Malesevic (2004) writes, 'in the British context, a label such as 'Asian' often refers to an ethnic collectivity whose descent can be traced to some geo- graphical location in the Indian subcontinent (Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashtun, Baloch, etc.). It can also, simultaneously, be a 'racial' description referring to an individual with markedly darker skin colour, brown eyes or glossy black hair. This label is also used for making reference to nationalities such as Pakistani or Bangladeshi. For the most part it also indicates a specific religious denomination, and it is regularly employed to denote Muslims. And finally the very name designates a particular, non-European continental location. Similarly, people from Northern Ireland are sometimes labelled as religious groups (Catholics or Protestants), sometimes in terms of their nationality, that is loyalty to a particular nation-state and the passport they hold (Irish or British), sometimes in terms of their geographical origin (Ulstermen or Northern Irish), and sometimes they are categorized in ethno-political terms as Republicans and Loyalists or Unionists and Nationalists.

However according to the scholars conceptual difference exist among these concepts. For instance, 'Race' is primarily associated with physical features, but now it has been proved that race is a social construct rather than biological one and are often politically misused to condone exploitation, dehumanization and injustice.

'Nation' now a days known as nation-state is defined in terms of territory, state authority and common cultural histories. In this regard, the definition of Gellner (1983) is very relevant;

Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent.

Whereas, 'Ethnicity' as a concept is more often defined in terms of descent, culture, histories and language. Despite of these difference, one common factor to ideas about nations, ethnicity and race is that all the three tend to draw boundaries and hence to attribute group membership.

Ethnicity	Race	Nationality
Defined in terms of descent, culture, histories and language.	A social construct rather than biological one. (earlier it was seen as a biological phenomenon)	Defined in terms of territory, state authority and common cultural histories.

Check Your Progress 1

Note : a) Write your answer in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1. Define the concept of ethnicity and sub-ethnicity.

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2. What are the major approaches to understand ethnicity?

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55.5 ETHNICITY AND SUB-ETHNICITY AS MARKER OF GROUP IDENTITY

As far as the issue of ethnicity and sub-ethnicity as markers of group identity is concerned, the scholars like Gellner (1983) argue that owing to homogenizing tendencies of industrialization and nationalism there are very few spaces left for sub national identities like ethnicity. Moreover, globalization has also undermined the importance of ethnic identity. Similarly, scholars like Miller (1995), Breton (1988) argue that in postindustrial societies and immigrant states ethnic identities play very crucial role in ensuring their participation in the mainstream.

Before we venture into the interlinkages between ethnicity, sub-ethnicity and group identity it is imperative to understand the concept of group identity. Social Identity Theory emphasizes that people tend to classify themselves into different social groups. This social classification is made due to following reasons; *First*, it provides individuals a way to define others. As the group he/she belong to is identified with certain prototype

characteristics. *Secondly*, Social classification provides a mechanism to define himself/herself in social environment they live in.

Social Identity Theorists have defined the concept of group identity as well. For instance; Tajfel first defined social identity as “the individual’s knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership” (Tajfel, 1972, p. 292). Groups, as collections of people sharing the same social identity, compete with one another for evaluatively positive distinctiveness.

Here it is important to understand that group identity is different from personal identity as personal identity is self-interpretation in terms of peculiar personality traits of a person that are not shared with anyone. Personal identity has very little to do with group identity however, group identity may provide the context which influences one’s personal identity.

Ethnicity and sub ethnicity are the examples of group identity as the very important attribute of ethnic and sub-ethnic identity is based on we and other binary. Thus the prototype features of an ethnic and sub ethnic group function as marker of that particular group’s identity. As described by the scholars ethnic identity is an ascribed status and it is maintained through its surface markers defined in terms of Dressing patterns, language and physical features and these surface markers are reinforced by secondary and tertiary markers like House architecture, Ritual Calendars, Specific taboos, medical and economic patterns etc., In contemporary world, the debate is going on among the scholars regarding the relevance of ethnicity and sub-ethnicity as a marker of group identity. According to Malesevic (2004, p.3),

The dominant modernist paradigm of post-World War II sociology has traditionally viewed ethnicity as a parochial leftover from the past that will largely disappear with intensive industrialization, urbanization, universal national education systems and modernization. Ethnic difference was understood in rather narrow particularist terms. On the other hand, even the staunch critics of the modernization paradigm maintained this particularistic view of ethnicity. While trying to discredit the modernization thesis by drawing on the re-emergence of ethnicity in 1970s’ and 80s’ America, they have been equally responsible for confining ethnicity to minority groups. . . In other words, as long as there is a social action and cultural markers to draw upon (religion, language, descent, etc.), there will be ethnicity.

In today’s world, ethnic identity is very much relevant, however it has not remained very cohesive as due to globalization, media and internet revolution all cultures of the world are influencing and getting influenced by each other, therefore, ethnic features, in terms of cultural indicators, sometimes get diluted. According to Rudolph (2006, 1-2);

Traditionally, ethnicity was largely defined in terms of shared genetic, racial, and sometimes linguistic traits, usually visibly apparent and hence detectable by outsiders. Moreover, these definitions of ethnic communities were not limited to those of geneticists and linguists. Statesmen too got in the act, most famously at Versailles after World War I, when the joining of the northern Slavic lands and the southern lands formerly ruled by the Austrian-Hungarian empire into, respectively, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were celebrated as triumphs of the principle of national self-determination for Slavs. Ethnicity, however, is self- as well as other-defined, and the Czechs and the Slovaks in the north, and the principal groups in the south (the Serbs and Croats) saw themselves as separate ethnic entities

possessing distinct histories, linguistic nuances, and religions, and in the world of ethnic politics what matters is how a group sees itself, not how others define it. Consequently, unless otherwise noted, and recognizing that a broad and inclusive definition of ethnicity does raise issues pertaining to analytical precision, we will be defining an ethnic group broadly—as opposed to narrowly in terms of biological similarities—as a people “who identify themselves or are identified by others in cultural terms, such as language, religion, tribe, nationality, and possibly race.

Succinctly, with certain differences in perspectives the scholars have identified language, religion, tribal traits, descent as the markers of ethnic identity consequently the markers of group identity as well, because ethnicity often tends to constitute feeling of group on the basis of these markers. Thus, these features of ethnicity help in defining a group as "we" and also help in distinguishing with "the other".

According to Rudolph (2006), so viewed, ethnicity has long been a basis of political as well as social association, defying both the predictions of the Marxists who a century and a half ago foresaw social class replacing such primordial bases of political association as ethnicity and language, and the post-industrial theorists of the mid-twentieth century, who saw such concerns being eclipsed by quality of life issues. Moreover, in postmodern world where universalism is being denied and localism is being recognised owing to the failure of the modernism to solve the problems of the world through universal principles, ethnic identity is being entertained by the scholars and policy makers. The only difference is that earlier primordial ties and rules were imposed; whereas in contemporary world, people voluntarily form associations on the basis of primordial ties in order to achieve their socio-economic and political goals.

55.6 INTER-LINKAGES BETWEEN ETHNICITY, SUB-ETHNICITY AND DIASPORA

Notwithstanding several disagreements regarding the definition and relevance of ethnicity and sub-ethnicity, ethnicity continues to influence the domestic as well as foreign policies of the countries of the world. Ethnic and sub-ethnic groups are now politically interpreted and ethnic conflicts are also a reality today. Therefore, the debate on ethnicity and sub-ethnicity is now focusing on diaspora as well.

Diaspora is seen as an alternative approach to look at ethnicity and transmigration relations. According to Cohen (2004), the experience of being scattered across the globe while attempting to maintain a connection with other members of an ethnic group and with the country of origin is now commonly referred to as "diaspora", a term which once referred almost exclusively to the Jewish people. It is used today to describe practically any population . . . which has originated in a land other than which it currently resides, and whose social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nation-states, or, indeed, span the world.

Diaspora is a transnational movement and it goes beyond the notion of national solidarities. It develops a connection among the groups who come across the nation states and have a specific kind of consciousness and identity. According to Gautam (2013); The term "Diaspora" is derived from a Greek word, meaning dispersion. It was used by the Jewish people, denoting their world-wide dispersion outside their homeland, the Land of Israel. In Hebrew it was called Golah or Galut, meaning "Exile". Since the Jewish people refused to assimilate and were confronted with repression,

they moved out of Israel. Jews survived due to migration, adaptation to the new countries and clung to their faith and traditions. Migration also extended the boundaries of the Jewish Diaspora. The model of Jewish Diaspora was followed by the Armenian, Chinese, African (slavery) and Indian communities.

Anthias (1998), has argued that the concept of diaspora, while focusing on transnational processes and commonalities, does so by deploying a notion of ethnicity which privileges the point of 'origin' in constructing identity and solidarity. According to Anthias (1998), the writings of Stuart Hall (1990) and Gilroy (1993) have played very crucial role in defining diaspora in terms of ethnic ties. Hall's work is useful in historicizing ethnic and cultural identity, whereas Gilroy's work provides the most sustained theoretical defense of the concept of diaspora and tries to break the discrete national dynamics. However, according to Cohen (1997) sense of unease faced by members of diasporic groups causes them to identify with co-ethnics in other countries. Thus, a notion of primordial ties can also be observed in case of diaspora communities. However, scholars like Clifford (1994) argue that diaspora groups develop transethnic and transnational connections leading to shifting and fluid identities.

In international politics the ethnic groups have played very crucial role. Since ethnic identity cannot be confined to the boundaries of the sovereign nation-states; as a diaspora it has been instrumental in the socio-economic development of their home countries, at the same time; ethnic conflicts have gradually eroded the relevance of the state boundaries to a certain extent. Moreover, ethnic conflicts have led to genocide and other human rights violations as well. In this regard, the infamous Hutu-Tutsi Conflict in Rwanda and Burundi are known to everyone. Added to this, other examples are; the Chechnya conflict in Russia, the Tamil separatist conflict in Sri Lanka, two separate wars in Sudan (one against southern Christians, another in Darfur), and the Kurdish insurgency in Turkey.

Basically, ethnic identity helps in the formation of associations and other such types of organization which gives vent to the suspended identity of the people having similar ancestral ties, kinship relations, common language of communication, historical and imaginary memories and religious beliefs, thus becomes a shield to protect, preserve and maintain the ethnic culture. When such association are formed by the people coming from same ethnic group from different parts of the world to the outside of their homeland; they give rise to diasporic identity which sometimes reinforces ethnic ties. Thus Ethnic and sub-ethnic identities and diasporic identity reciprocate each other.

For instance, Jews lobby in USA has always portrayed its allegiance to Israel. There are several other examples of ethnic and diasporic identity reciprocating each other. According to Shain (1994, 187), with the outbreak of World War I, ethnic Americans became increasingly preoccupied with their native countries. Woodrow Wilson's proclamation of principles of self-determination further ignited the political commitment of Poles, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Armenians, Albanians and Croats. They all lobbied vigorously for American recognition of and support for post-war independence, carefully blending into their campaigns the homelands agenda and the interests of the United States. . . North American Sikhs' campaign for an independent Sikh country Khalistan, Palestinian and Arab-American for Palestinian Self determination are the example of the interlinkages between ethnicity and Diaspora worldwide.

The relevant illustration of the interlinkages between ethnicity and diaspora is the example of Armenian Diaspora, that has been very coherent and dynamic worldwide. Armenian

diaspora has emerged as a strong one owing to their resilience and reverence towards their common ethnic ties.

Armenian Diaspora

In the beginning you hardly notice them: little lapel buttons in purple, yellow and black to mourn the dead and a lost homeland. But then there are the posters, T-shirts, umbrellas, bumper stickers, even cakes, all bearing the same forget-me-not flower designed to commemorate the tragedy of a nation.

It is the symbol of the centenary of the Armenian genocide of 1915, being marked in solemn ceremonies in Yerevan and wherever in the world this ancient people fled in the wake of the mass atrocities suffered in the dying days of the Ottoman empire.

This newly invented tradition, a poppy-like throwback to the killing fields of eastern Anatolia, has triggered complaints about commercialisation. But it has caught on. Across Armenia, in schools and homes, and as far away as the diaspora community of Glendale, California, children have picked up crayons and scissors to make their own paper flowers or have planted the real thing in remembrance of the horrors that beset their forebears.

The Guardian; Wed 22 Apr 2015 11.13 BST

Check Your Progress 2

- 1. How does ethnicity and sub-ethnicity are understood as marker of group identity?

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- 2. List the major ethnic groups in India and the world.

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- 3. How do you link ethnicity with Diaspora?

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55.7 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we discussed the meaning and concept of ethnicity, sub-ethnicity and group identity and also discussed major approaches to understand ethnicity. The different schools of thought have also been taken a care of. We also comprehended the basic differences between the ethnicity and neighboring concepts viz. race and nation. As part of discussion, we saw how ethnicity and sub-ethnicity pave the way for group identity. Added to this, the inter-linkages between ethnic identity and diaspora have also been explored.

55.8 KEY WORDS

- Ethnicity** : Ethnicity is defined in terms of group identity defined in terms of kinship, commensuality and religious unit as boundary markers.
- Sub-ethnicity** : Sub-ethnic groups is an ethnic group that forms part of a larger ethnic group.
- Group Identity** : Group identity is understood as a person's sense of belonging to a particular group.
- Race** : A race is a grouping of humans based on shared physical or social qualities. However, now it has been established by the scholars that race is a social construct often misused by politicians and other dominant groups to fulfil their vested interests and to condone exploitation injustice etc.
- Nationality** : According to Gellner (1983) Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent. Nationality is defined in terms of common territory, history and culture etc.
- Diaspora** : Diaspora is a transnational movement and it goes beyond the notion of national solidarities. It develops a connection among the groups who come across the nation states and have a specific kind of consciousness and identity.

55.9 REFERENCES AND SELECT READINGS

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55.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS- POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1. Ethnicity is defined in terms of group identity defined in terms of kinship, commensuality and religious unit as boundary markers. In general, an ethnic group is understood as a collectivity of the people within a society that has common ancestors, history, culture, memories and symbolic elements in the form of; common totems, kinship bonds etc.

As far as sub ethnicity is concerned, it has been observed by the scholars that the sub-ethnic groups are the outcome of boundary dynamics viz a viz ethnicity.

2. There are following approaches to study ethnicity;
 1. Primordial,
 2. Instrumentalist,
 3. Three Alternative Traditions of Enquiry are;
 - i) Barth's Transactionalist Approach
 - ii) Horowitz's Social Psychological Approach
 - iii) Armstrong's and Smith's Ethno- Symbolic Approach

Check Your Progress 2

1. As far as the idea of ethnicity and sub-ethnicity as marker of group identity is concerned there is a difference of opinion among the scholars. For instance, scholars like Gellner argue that there are very few spaces left for sub national identities like ethnicity as globalization has undermined the importance of ethnic identity. However, scholars like Miller, Breton argue that in postindustrial societies and immigrant states ethnic identities play very crucial role in ensuring their participation in the mainstream.

However, ethnic identity is an ascribed status and it is maintained through its surface markers defined in terms of Dressing patterns, language and physical features and these surface markers are reinforced by secondary and tertiary markers like House architecture, Ritual Calendars,

2. There are several ethnic communities in India and world who are playing very crucial role in shaping the domestic and foreign policies of the countries of the world. In India major ethnic communities are; Indo-Aryan (72%), Dravidian (25), Mongoloid and Other Minority Groups (3%).

Similarly, at world level are; Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda and Burundi known for their infamous conflict, the Chechnya conflict in Russia, the Tamil separatist conflict in Sri Lanka, two separate wars in Sudan (one against southern Christians, another in Darfur), and the Kurdish insurgency in Turkey.

3. Ethnicity and diaspora are seemed to be sharing links together as both recognize primordial ties to a certain extent. Ethnic identities have been decisive in determining the diasporic identity to a large extent.

For instance, if Armenian Diaspora or say Indian diaspora have been successful, their ethnic pride has been instrumental in their consolidation. In the same way, Diasporic identity also provides a platform wherefrom people of a particular ethnic group can thrive on.