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# Cultures of Integration and Patterns of Exclusion: An Introduction

Holger Weiss

The Sixth European Congress on Global History convened online in Åbo (Turku), Finland, in June 2021. Convening under the theme “Minorities, Cultures of Integration and Patterns of Exclusion,” the aim of the Congress was to address the exposure to and challenges of historical and contemporary mechanisms and policies of minoritization, marginalization, and exclusion in its relation to past and present cultures of integration from a global perspective. Initially, the organizers proposed the theme as it reflected one of the core activities—minority research—of the host university. Already using the name Åbo instead of Turku articulates this perspective—Åbo is the Swedish name of Turku, and the host university Åbo Akademi University is the Swedish university in Finland. According to universities act of 2009, Åbo Akademi University is to serve the needs for higher education of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland, currently about 5 percent of the population who mainly live in the southern and western coastal areas and on the Åland Islands.

However, the congress theme intended to challenge the participants for opening up and addressing patterns of inclusion and exclusion from a global historical perspective. Minorities exist of different types, some are visible with established rights, such as the Swedish-speaking population in Finland, and others—in light of Black Lives Matters and multiple other past and present movements addressing the rights of gender, sex, age, religious, ethnic minorities, and Indigenous people—are still invisible. They are not seen in mainstream (call it dominant, hegemonic, or majority) articulations of the past, present, and future, and are still fighting for their rights and their history to be addressed and respected. An attempt to put their voice on the table was made a few years ago in Finland when the association “Historians without Borders—Finland” (HWB-F) published its assessment, titled “Whose History? A Report on the State and Challenges of Historical Research, Teaching and Dialogue in Finland.”<sup>1</sup> The report scrutinized and critically addressed the absence of the voices of old and new minorities in Finland other than the Swedish-speaking one (such as the Sámi, Romani, Tatars, and Jews alongside the Vietnamese, Somali, Estonian, Arabic, Kurdish, or Russian) in Finnish schoolbooks and university syllabuses. The question we then raised—and that our congress will do, too—was how to integrate their voices, experiences of

exclusion, and feelings of invisibility. Our discussion sparked a critical dissemination and research by Finnish historians of the colonization of Sápmi—the land of the Sámi people—by the Finnish state,<sup>2</sup> encounters between majority and minority populations such as Russian and Jewish peddlers in Finland,<sup>3</sup> and of the Finnish involvement in colonization projects all over the world.<sup>4</sup>

The Finnish case illuminates the relationship between majority and minority populations, especially in the analysis of historical and contemporary conditions and processes of being and making a minority. Following the independence of Finland in 1917, the Finnish Parliament granted the Swedish-speaking population the position as a national linguistic minority and made Swedish as the second national language. However, before 1809, when Finland became part of the Russian Empire as a Grand Duchy, Swedish was the official language of the Kingdom of Sweden and the Finnish and Sami populations constituted the minority populations within the kingdom but the majority ones in the eastern and northern parts of the kingdom. Religious minorities, such as Roman Catholics or Jews, were outlawed in the Evangelical Lutheran kingdom until the late eighteenth century and remained so in Finland until the Russian period when Jewish and Tatar alongside Catholic and Russian Orthodox population settled in the Grand Duchy. After 1809, the Swedish-speaking population in Finland became a minority in the Grand Duchy but the Swedish-speaking aristocracy and burghers remained in their dominant political and cultural positions. This situation slowly changed during, as part of the national awakening, the latter part of the nineteenth century when Finnish gradually became the official language of the state, largely as an outcome of political and educational reforms that were initiated through the Diet of Finland and supported by the Russian imperial authorities. For the Sámi population, the only Indigenous population in Europe, the situation did not change. As late as 1995, the status of the Sámi was written into the constitution of Finland; since 1996, they have had constitutional self-government in the Sámi homelands in the spheres of language and culture.

The core issue not only in Finland but all over the world, as minority researchers underscore, is the role of the political entity and its position toward minority groups, be it a premodern empire or a modern nation-state, alongside various processes of territorialization and minoritization. The focus is on processes of marginalization and the creation of minority communities,<sup>5</sup> on attitudes toward languages and cultures of minority groups and Indigenous peoples,<sup>6</sup> and the exclusion of groups through processes of minoritization that render them marginal such as women, ethnic and religious minorities, migrants, or people in lower economic classes.<sup>7</sup> Others include politics of assimilation as a form of state-enforced “otherization” and marginalization of minority groups and Indigenous people.<sup>8</sup> These questions translate for global historians into scrutinizing the various concepts defining and describing minorities and minority positions as well as practices and narratives of inclusion, belonging, and protection or exclusion, discrimination, and segregation with a focus on transnational and transregional constellations as well as comparative perspectives.<sup>9</sup> At best, minority groups are tolerated, though most of them have been victims of subordination and marginalization.<sup>10</sup> Sociologist Louis Wirth already in 1945 remarked that discrimination marked a minority group, “...because of their physical or cultural characteristics

are singled out from the others in society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination.”<sup>11</sup>

Critical reflections on stateless, poor, and marginalized nations’ experiences of colonial and postcolonial atrocities alongside state and government policies to dominate them made George Manuel to describe them as the Fourth World.<sup>12</sup> In 1975, the World Council of Indigenous People adapted the term as the generalizing term for Indigenous people.<sup>13</sup> Since then, the concept as well as the so-called Fourth World Theory are used to designate both the poorest and most underdeveloped states of the world and to describe any oppressed or underprivileged victim of a state.<sup>14</sup> Some authors use it as a generic term to embrace “subpopulations existing in a First World country, but with the living standards of those in a third world, or developing country,”<sup>15</sup> or “the poorest of the poor.”<sup>16</sup> Others, in turn, define the “Fourth World” as a generalization for thousands of self-identifying nations, regions, and even city-states with territorial aspirations.<sup>17</sup>

Moreover, a fundamental challenge for historical and contemporary research on minorities is how to define a minority. Historically and globally, religious communities and ethnic/ethnolinguistic minorities were the core targets of local dominant groups and territorial regimes.<sup>18</sup> The first attempt to define what constitutes a national minority was made in the draft version of the Supplement of European Convention on Human Rights in 1950 (European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, 1953). Subsequent documents embrace a wide spectrum as vulnerable groups, including children, teenagers, elderly, ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities, Indigenous peoples, irregular migrants, persons with disabilities, LGBT persons, stateless persons, travelers, and women. Reflecting the genocidal atrocities and state-led violence against subordinate groups during the twentieth century, the 1992 UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities alongside the Permanent Court of International Justice combines territory and identity-markers (race, religion, language, cultural traditions) in its definition of a minority community. Such a narrow definition of a minority group, however, excludes age and gender groups, persons with disabilities, irregular migrants, and stateless persons as well as Indigenous peoples. Consequently, the Indigenous people, who earlier had been treated as a subcategory of minorities, were covered by the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention of the ILO (1989) and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) whereas the rights of persons with disabilities are addressed by a UN convention adopted in 2006. However, the rights of LGBT people (the Yogyakarta Principles of 2006, supplemented in 2017) initially were launched as a global charter at the United Human Rights Council in Geneva in 2007 but were rejected by the UN General Assembly.<sup>19</sup>

The fourteen contributions in this volume, most of them being rewritten texts originally presented at the 2021 ENIUGH Congress,<sup>20</sup> further deepen our understanding of past and present processes of minoritization and experiences of minority and subordinated groups. Grouped into four thematic parts, the present volume opens up for global historians to address the unequal relationship between dominant and subordinated groups. Taken together, the various case studies are an

answer to Angelika Epple's theoretical and methodological reflections on global history as relational history with a special focus on the temporal "relationing" and "making of" entities: "Entities come into existence through relations but both are in constant flux. However, relations are not abstract and 'out there' but are made by actors. Thus, global historians should bridge the gap between the micro-level of individual actors and the macro-level of global structures."<sup>21</sup>

The first part of the volume discusses concepts and contexts in processes of minoritization: Jane Burbank's chapter focuses on the making of the peasants as the "other" in the Russian Empire through the formulation of their distinctive legal treatment after 1861. Her case study is a distinct example of how the conceptualization of "otherness" is formulated by a dominant and hegemonic minority group and expressed and enacted in law. Kwangmin Kim's chapter analyzes how Chinese imperial authorities developed the concept of territorially based rule in response to (unauthorized) Korean settlers in the Sino-Korean borderlands in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Mats Wickström and Jonas Ahlskog address in their chapter the challenges of Finnish communists to come to terms with the Leninist-Stalinist concept of nationality and national self-determination and its application to the Finland-Swedish minority in the interwar period. Mohammad Shameem Chitbahal, in turn, highlights the fate of the Chagossians, the inhabitants of the Chagos Archipelago in the Indian Ocean, as an uprooted exile community in Mauritius after their deportation from Diego Garcia when the island was transformed into a US air base in the 1970s.

The second part focuses on strategies and activities of minority communities and Indigenous people under colonial and postcolonial conditions. This topic has a long historiography in anthropology, ethnography, and sociology, as well as imperial/colonial, business, economic, and social history, among others focusing on the experiences of entrepreneurial/trading minorities in Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific.<sup>22</sup> Other studies have highlighted the complex relationship between comprador intermediaries, commercial brokers, local elites, and colonial authorities (who themselves could be defined as a minority or dominant/hegemonic subgroup in their respective colonial territory).<sup>23</sup> Helena F. S. Lopes's chapter sheds light on the transimperial encounters and global entanglements of the Portuguese communities in Hong Kong and Shanghai during the Second World War. The chapter by Eva Kocher and Francis Daudi, in turn, illuminates the strategies of Afro-American entrepreneurs in West Africa on developing local financial markets in Ghana and contrasts them with state-led initiatives of Africanizing the insurance market in Tanzania.

For many minority communities and Indigenous peoples, however, modern processes of territorialization, not least in combination with their stigmatization, disempowerment, and exclusion,<sup>24</sup> in the modern nation-state emerged as a "lethal polity," although, as Mark Levene notes, "empires were racist, hierarchical and often practiced retributive genocide when challenged ... but were not inherently genocidal."<sup>25</sup> Various studies on the consequences of premodern/modern colonization projects, be it in the Americas, Asia, Australia, or Europe, have underscored their negative if not devastating effects on minority communities and Indigenous peoples.<sup>26</sup> Jonas Monié Nordin's chapter adds to the discussion by presenting a case study on early modern metal

extraction in northern Fennoscandia and the conflicts it generated between private enterprises and the local Sámi population in the upper parts of the Torne River Valley. Jerzy Rohoziński, in turn, focuses on the deported Catholic underground minority in Soviet Kazakhstan and their struggle for legalization and official registration during the 1970s. May-Britt Öhman's and Henrik Andersson's chapter brings the discussion to the contemporary era as their case study sheds light on the experiences of a Sámi reindeer farmer in northern Sweden during the Covid-19 pandemic.

The third part addresses the emergence and articulation of minority rights and their politicization. The weakness of national and, from the nineteenth century, international protection of minority rights is, among others, highlighted by Javaid Rehman. The Final Act of the Congress of Vienna in 1814/15 included clauses for the protection of national as well as religious minorities. The final act of the Congress of Paris in 1856, in turn, included clauses on the status of Jews and Christians in the Ottoman Empire, and the final act of the Congress of Berlin in 1878 had clauses on the status of Jews in Romania, Serbia, and Bulgaria. However, these clauses did not protect the Jewish population in the Russian Empire and neither was there an international outcry against the Jim Crow Laws and discrimination of the Black population in the United States. Although US president Woodrow Wilson's ideals of self-determination contained clauses on minority rights, the final version in the Covenant of the League of Nations did not articulate his ideas. Instead, the League of Nations upheld a patchwork for the protection of minorities, including Minority Treaties with five Eastern European states between 1919 and 1920, special chapters on minorities in the Peace Treaties of 1919–23, as well as some subsequent treaties and unilateral declarations by various states in the early 1920s. However, many regions of the world remained under the shadow of legalized/legitimized racial oppression, and the League of Nations' rudimentary minority protection collapsed in the wake of the Second World War, the Holocaust, the European postwar refugee crisis, and exodus of minorities after the partition of India in 1947. On the other hand, the devastating consequences of state-led mass violence and genocidal policies against minorities paved the way for a new international order for protecting minorities, spearheaded by the United Nations, and the adoption in 1948 of both the Declaration on Human Rights and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.<sup>27</sup>

Minority and human rights have since then become integrated in the agenda of international organizations. Andreas Weiß's chapter highlights how the European Communities (EEC) and its associated European institutions that aimed to protect minorities extended its protection to groups in Southeast Asia, notably in Indonesian-occupied Western Papua and East Timor, during the Cold War Era. In the post-Cold War Era, the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM), passed by the Council of Europe in 1995 and active since 1998, notes that "the upheavals in European history have shown that the protection of national minorities is essential to stability, democratic security and peace in this continent." The FCNM highlights that "a pluralist and genuinely democratic society should ... respect the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of each person belonging to a national minority." Finally, it stresses the necessity to create a climate of tolerance and dialogue "to enable cultural diversity to be a source and a factor, not of division,

but of enrichment for each society.”<sup>28</sup> Targeted national policies among EU member states address patterns of exclusion and marginalization but, as Craig Willis and David Schweikard note in this volume, have a limited effect and are often accompanied by an increase in stigmatization and the creation of welfare traps. As a potential remedy, Willis and Schweikard evaluate the potential of a Universal Basic Income as a tool to break recurring marginalization and exclusion in the EU.

Parallel to the emergence of minority rights was the fight for women’s rights during the twentieth century. In some cases, minority and women’s rights overlapped, as Laura Frey’s case study on the experience of marital denaturalization by German and British women and the international campaign for equal nationality rights of married women, resulting in the 1957 UN Convention on the Nationality of Married Women. Yulia Gradszkova’s chapter highlights another aspect on the interlinkages between the fight for women’s, human, and minority rights in countries outside Europe during the Cold War; her study scrutinizes the international mobilization through and transnational networks by the Women’s International Democratic Federation.

The fourth and final part focuses on the representation of minorities in national history curriculums.<sup>29</sup> Several researchers have highlighted the need to embrace an inclusive and multiperspective history education as to counteract intolerance, racism, homophobia, and xenophobia and to promote dialogue, diversity, and multicultural education.<sup>30</sup> However, most school textbooks in European countries are silent on minorities,<sup>31</sup> although one could argue this to reflect the situation of any history curricula that used the framework of the nation-state and reflects the ideas and notions of the dominant and/or hegemonic group.<sup>32</sup> The Finnish history curriculum, for example, Tanja Kohvakka notes, builds on the idea of a homogenous Finnish nation and often lacks adequate representation of old and new minorities in Finland.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, Andrew Mansfield underscores the need to diversify the history subject curriculum in English secondary schools by including the multiple viewpoints of various ethnic minorities when teaching the history of the British Empire. In his mind, global history serves as a potential perspective to counteract the hitherto hegemonic White Anglocentric perspective.<sup>34</sup> Some national history curricula make room for minorities, though. In Egypt, for example, although the Christian (Coptic) minority figures in school textbooks, the Copts are largely portrayed as a persecuted and victimized group of people,<sup>35</sup> whereas Turkish school textbooks preserve an ethno-religious national identity.<sup>36</sup> This situation therefore poses a positive challenge for (global) historians, as there is a need for inclusive national history curricula. Of equal importance is the need for revision of the history curricula in postconflict settings, as Rosalie Metro underlines in her observation on interethnic reconciliation among Burmese migrants and refugees in Thailand.<sup>37</sup> Denise Bontrovato’s chapter in this volume on competing memory politics and opposing historical truths around collective victimhood in postcolonial Rwanda and Burundi makes a similar plea. Her investigation draws attention to dissident discourses on intergroup history and social identities and the problematic mechanisms for their construction, preservation, and transmission especially in the history curriculum as part of concurrent government-sponsored reconciliation and nation-building projects.

Ultimately, the various case studies in the four parts open up for a theoretical and methodological discussion about the potentials and challenges of studying the history and experience of minorities from a global historical perspective. Among the forerunners in this field is Philip D. Curtin's *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* that focused on trading relationships and ethnolinguistic diaspora (minority) or intermediary groups,<sup>38</sup> while Subaltern Studies opened up for a critical debated on the relationship between dominant and subordinated groups.<sup>39</sup> Since then, historical research on minorities has branched out into a myriad of subthemes, often in combination of, inspired by, or conducted within the fields of Minority Studies, Genocide Studies, Human Rights Studies, Migration Studies, Black/African American Studies, Indigenous Studies, and, not least, Women and Gender Studies as well as Postcolonial and Critical Race Studies. Researchers have scrutinized the challenges that processes of territorialization, modernization, and homogenization within both empires and nation-states have posed on cultural, linguistic, and religious minorities and Indigenous peoples ranging from the early premodern to the late modern/present era, in the Global North as well as in the Global South.<sup>40</sup> Research on the history of minorities has unearthed experiences and policies of not only discrimination, stigmatization, marginalization, and segregation alongside forced assimilation, racism, persecution, ethnic cleansing, resettlement, and physical, cultural, and ecological extermination but also protection, dialogue, and tolerance.<sup>41</sup> Homogeneity has proven to be an illusion,<sup>42</sup> whereas the categorization and classification of languages and populations was an integral part of minoritization of inhabitants in empires as well as nation-states.<sup>43</sup> State-enforced minority politics have generally had a negative, at best a tolerating, at worst a devastating, effect on minorities although, as Roy Bar Sardeh and Lotte Houwink ten Cate suggest, minority politics provided a framework for intellectuals in colonized Asia and Africa to question European powers' treatment of marginalized communities and became a rubric for sociopolitical emancipation.<sup>44</sup>

## Notes

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2. Rinna Kullaa, Janne Lahti, and Sami Lakomäki, eds., *Kolonialismi Suomen rajaseuduilla* (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2022).
3. Jutta Ahlbeck, Ann-Catrin Östman, and Eija Stark, eds., *Encounters and Practices of Petty Trade in Northern Europe, 1820–1960: Forgotten Livelihoods* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).
4. Raita Merivirta, Leila Koivunen, and Timo Särkkä, eds., *Finnish Colonial Encounters: From Anti-Imperialism to Cultural Colonialism and Complicity* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021).
5. See, for example, Bridget Anderson, Sara Araújo, Laura Brito, Mehmet Ertan, Jing Hiah, Trudie Knijn, Isabella Meier, Julia Morris, and Maddalena Vivona, "Reference



- Document on the Histories of Minoritisation in Austria, Hungary, Netherlands, Portugal, Turkey and the United Kingdom” (Ethos Working Paper, July 2018), accessed November 6, 2023, [https://ethos-europe.eu/sites/default/files/5.2\\_minoritisation\\_histories\\_29-07-18.pdf](https://ethos-europe.eu/sites/default/files/5.2_minoritisation_histories_29-07-18.pdf); Heather Sharkey and Aline Schlaepfer, “Roundtable: Minoritization and Pluralism in the Modern Middle East,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 50, no. 4 (2018): 757–85.
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  8. For example, Markus Dressler, “Historical Trajectories and Ambivalences of Turkish Minority Discourse,” *New Diversities* 17, no. 1 (2015): 9–26; Krista A. Goff, *Nested Nationalism: Making and Unmaking Nations in the Soviet Caucasus* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2020); Jonas Monié Nordin, Lotta Fernstål, and Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius, “Living on the Margin: An Archaeology of a Swedish Roma Camp,” *World Archaeology* 53, no. 3 (2021): 517–30.
  9. See, for example, Carl H. Nightingale, *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).
  10. See, for example, Sadia Saeed, *Politics of Desecularization: Law and the Minority Question in Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Ilyse R. Morgenstein Fuerst, “Minoritization, Racialization, and Islam in Asia,” in *Routledge Handbook on Islam in Asia*, ed. Chiara Formichi (London: Routledge, 2021).
  11. Louis Wirth, “The Problem of Minority Groups,” in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. Ralph Lindon (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), 347.
  12. George Manuel and Michael Posluns, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, [1974]2018).
  13. Chadwick Allen, “Blood as Narrative/Narrative as Blood: Declaring a Fourth World,” *Narrative* 6, no. 3 (1998): 236–55.
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19. Further, see Ugo Caruso and Rainer Hofmann, eds., *The United Nations Declaration on Minorities: An Academic Account on the Occasion of Its 20th Anniversary (1992–2012)* (Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 2015).
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- and Nathan Taylor, "Bringing LGBTQ Topics into the Social Studies Classroom," *The Social Studies* 105, no. 1 (2014): 23–8.
31. See, for example, Linn Normand, "From Blind Spot to Hotspot: Representations of the 'Immigrant Others' in Norwegian Curriculum/Schoolbooks (1905–2013)," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 53, no. 1 (2021): 124–41.
  32. Sirkka Ahonen, "Politics of Identity through History Curriculum: Narratives of the Past for Social Exclusion – or Inclusion?," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 33, no. 2 (2001): 179–94; D. Kim Reid and Michelle G. Knight, "Disability Justifies Exclusion of Minority Students: A Critical History Grounded in Disability Studies," *Educational Researcher* 35, no. 6 (2006): 18–23. For the situation in multiethnic counties such as Canada and China, see Bing Wang, "A Comparison of the Portrayal of Visible Minorities in Textbooks in Canada and China," *Comparative and International Education* 35, no. 2 (2006): 76–94; Fei Yan and Edward Vickers, "Portraying 'Minorities' in Chinese History Textbooks of the 1990s and 2000s: The Advance and Retreat of Ethnocultural Inclusivity," *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 39, no. 2 (2019): 190–208.
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  37. Rosalie Metro, "Postconflict History Curriculum Revision as an 'Intergroup Encounter' Promoting Interethnic Reconciliation among Burmese Migrants and Refugees in Thailand," *Comparative Education Review* 57, no. 1 (2013): 145–68.
  38. Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, Studies in Comparative World History Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). See also Walter P. Zenner, *Minorities in the Middle: A Cross-Cultural Analysis* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).
  39. For critical reflections, see Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Has 'Minority' History Transformed the Historical Discourse?," *Perspectives on History*, American Historical Association, November 1997, accessed November 6, 2023, <https://www.historians.org/research-and-publications/perspectives-on-history/november-1997/has-minority-history-transformed-the-historical-discourse>, and Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Minority Histories, Subaltern Pasts," *Perspectives on History*, American Historical Association, November 1997, accessed November 6, 2023, <https://www.historians.org/research-and-publications/perspectives-on-history/november-1997/minority-histories-subaltern-pasts>.
  40. See, for example, the contributions of the research group The Myth of Homogeneity, "The Myth of Homogeneity: Minority Protection and Assimilation in Western Europe, 1919–1939," accessed March 30, 2023, <https://themythofhomogeneity.org/>. For global perspectives, see Ken S. Coates, *A Global History of Indigenous Peoples* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230509078>; Sophie Croisy, ed., *Globalization and "Minority" Cultures: The Role of "Minor"*

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41. See, for example, Panikos Panayi, *Minorities in Wartime: National and Racial Groupings in Europe, North America and Australia during the Two World Wars* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016); Matthew Frank, *Making Minorities History: Population Transfer in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Philipp Ther, *The Outsiders: Refugees in Europe since 1492* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019).
  42. Michael Weiner, ed., *Japan's Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity*, 2nd edn. (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2009).
  43. See, for example, Fuat Dundar, "Empire of Taxonomy: Ethnic and Religious Identities in the Ottoman Surveys and Censuses," *Middle Eastern Studies* 51, no. 1 (2015): 136–58.
  44. Roy Bar Sadeh and Lotte Houwink ten Cate, "Toward a Global Intellectual History of 'Minority,'" *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 41, no. 3 (2021): 319–24.

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