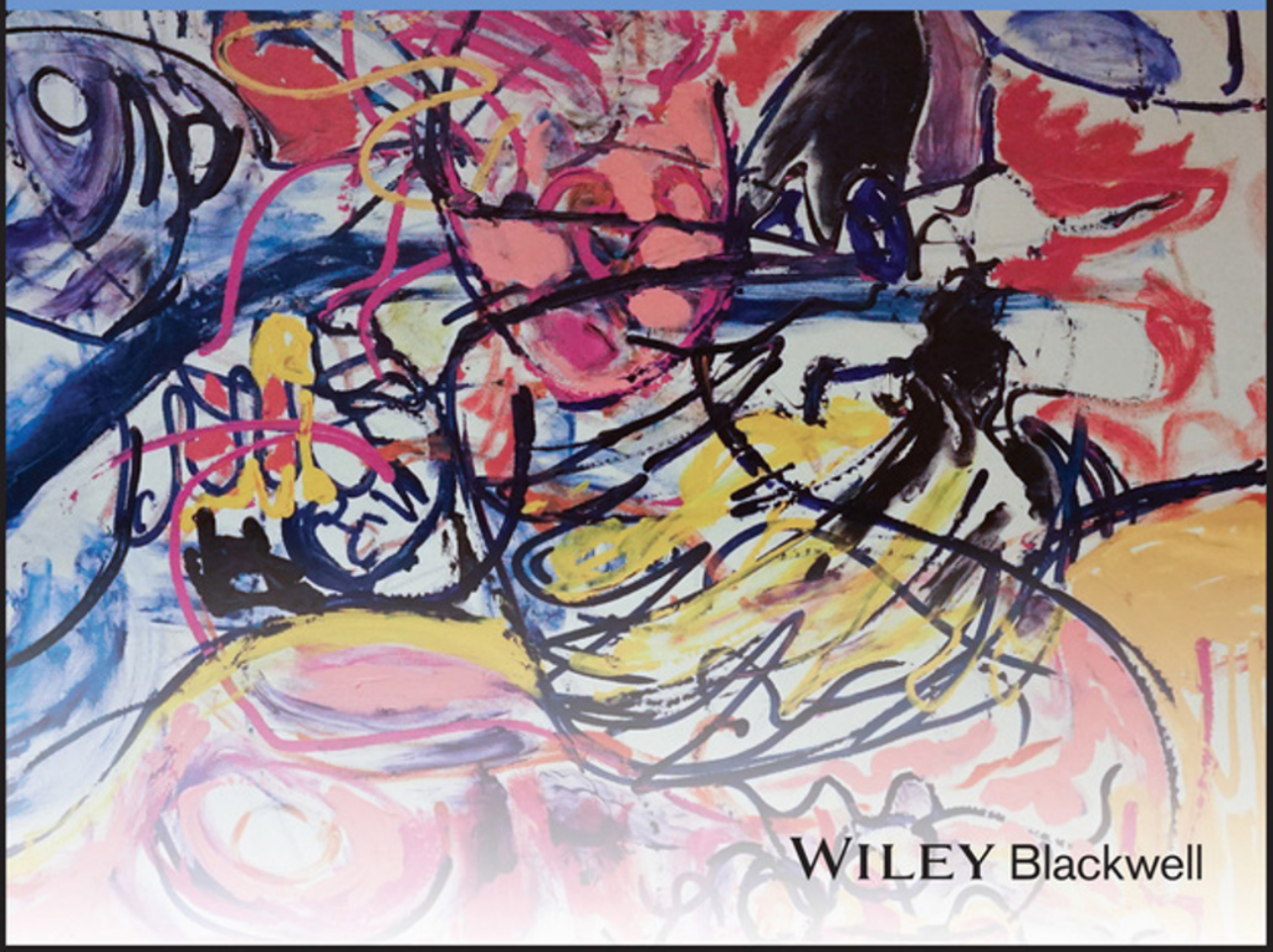
THE WILEY BLACKWELL COMPANION TO

RACE, ETHNICITY, AND NATIONALISM

EDITED BY
JOHN STONE | RUTLEDGE DENNIS
POLLY RIZOVA | XIAOSHUO HOU



WILEY Blackwell

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This edition first published 2020

Registered Offices
John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 111 River Street, Hoboken, NJ 07030, USA
John Wiley & Sons Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

Editorial Office
9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Stone, John, 1944– editor. | Dennis, Rutledge M., editor. | Rizova, Polly S., editor. | Hou, Xiaoshuo, 1982– editor.
Title: The Wiley Blackwell companion to race, ethnicity, and nationalism / edited by John Stone, Rutledge Dennis, Polly Rizova, Xiaoshuo Hou.
Other titles: Companion to race, ethnicity, and nationalism
Description: Hoboken, NJ : Wiley-Blackwell, 2020. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2020018146 (print) | LCCN 2020018147 (ebook) | ISBN 9781119430193 (cloth) | ISBN 9781119430308 (adobe pdf) | ISBN 9781119430407 (epub)
Subjects: LCSH: Race relations–Case studies. | Ethnic relations–Case studies. | Nationalism–Case studies. | Populism–Case studies. | Emigration and immigration–Social aspects–Case studies.
Classification: LCC HT1521 .W5329 2020 (print) | LCC HT1521 (ebook) | DDC 305.8–dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020018146
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020018147

Cover Design: Wiley
Cover Image: © Roleen Hazel Abrams "Diversity"

Set in 10/12.5pt Sabon by SPi Global, Pondicherry, India

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Race, Ethnicity and Nationalism

Dedication: To the memory of Anthony D. Smith (1939–2016) and Walker Connor (1926–2017), two fine scholars of nationalism and ethnic conflicts, wonderful friends and generous colleagues.

Introduction: Global Trends in a Field of Increasing Complexity

As we move toward the end of the second decade of the twenty-first century it is important to explore a series of inter-connected, but at times quite contradictory, trends in the global development of national, ethnic, and racial relationships. We are confronted by a series of complex factors working to re-define the ever-changing patterns of human relations throughout the world. Such changes can be seen as crucial in shaping the probable direction of world history as they have been in previous centuries. However, the particular evolution of such trends have posed some fascinating, and often completely unexpected, challenges to conventional interpretations of social, economic, and political changes on all five continents.

The current dispute between neo-Marxist and neo-liberal views of modernity is merely a continuation of the conflict between such thinkers as Karl Marx and Herbert Spencer. Not only are these two nineteenth century theorists ironically buried facing each other in Highgate Cemetery in North London, but they also symbolized the debate between capitalism and socialism that has endured ever since. During the twentieth century, different developments have tended to underline the alternating fortunes of each ideological camp throughout the period and this division has persisted into recent times. The Bolshevik Revolution, The Great Depression, Two World Wars, Liberation struggles seeking to end colonialism, the Chinese Communist Revolution, the Cold War, and a second global Industrial Revolution at

The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism, First Edition.
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the end of the 1980s, have all provided ammunition for each ideological camp. These fundamental events have transformed global societies and released data that can be interpreted using either ideological perspective. By the twenty-first century, a new world order appeared to be settling into a model of stabilized global capitalism, albeit described by contrasting political labels, as globalization seemed to be increasing the integration of economic systems and, politically, most societies were linked by treaties and other types of agreements designed to mitigate severe political conflicts. Nevertheless, this neat balance showed signs of contradictory forces that might not be as severe as "the clash of civilizations" predicted by Samuel Huntington at the end of the last century but clearly had important consequences, whether linked to global terrorism, environmental destruction or the widespread appeal of populist nationalism. All these developments raise vital questions about the future of race, ethnicity, and nationalism in our current era.

In the First Section of the Companion, we explore the importance of some of the recent trends in the United States, the growing significance of populism in major societies around the world, and overall developments in race and ethnic relations and nationalism.

Rutledge and Kimya Dennis set out to explain the importance of the "Black Lives Matter" movement in the United States and how it fits within the on-going struggle for racial justice that has been constantly changing over the past two centuries. After reviewing the history of black social movements in the United States and their contrasting strategies for advancing towards the goals of equal justice and social equality, the authors examine the evolution of the Black Lives Matter movement which both resembles and differs from previous civil rights strategies. The central role of women in the movement and the focus on a non-hierarchical leadership style are two of the most distinctive characteristics of this approach to racial justice. Underlying this unusual organizational structure is a resurrection of what the authors call "the art and theory of confrontational politics" which shares certain features of anarchist approaches towards social change and social order. An analysis of the Vision Statement of the movement reveals a range of controversial plans and radical objectives that some would regard as unrealistic and utopian, while others may feel are completely necessary if the American Dream is ever to achieve a non-racial fulfilment.

John Stone and Polly Rizova focus on shifts in American race relations highlighted by the changes reflected in two unanticipated political events. These were the arrival of America's first African American president in 2008, and his re-election to a second term of office in 2012; and his successor, Donald Trump, in his equally unexpected political campaign in 2016. Stone and Rizova relate these dramatic and unexpected shifts in American race relations to wider global movements particularly those linked to the rapid expansion of economic and political aspects of globalization. Like so many other processes – modernity and technological innovations – the social and political implications of such transitions have proven to be enormously complex and unpredictable. While the spread of Facebook and other types of Internet connectivity were initially credited with the democratic revolutions of the Arab Spring – at least in the minds of the optimistic young pioneers of such products in Silicon Valley – the subsequent collapse of these revolutions by autocrats who soon mastered the ability

of technology to be used in counter-democratic directions, resulted in a more sober re-evaluation of such changes. The activities of Russian troll farms on the 2016 American election, and other Western democratic campaigns, raises once again the old adage "technology is neutral between good and evil".

Daniele Conversi considers the variety of perspectives scholars have employed to understand the essence of nationalism and its links to views about modernity, industrialization, and developments in science and technology. He then looks at the connections between the forces of neo-liberal globalization and their complex impact on contemporary forms of nationalism. Finally, he speculates on the future trajectory of nationalist ideas and politics in a new era of unprecedented human impact on the planet – what has been called the era of the Anthropocene – and reveals the paradox that "as nationalism thrives, nations risk vanishing".

In a parallel analysis to Conversi's assessment of nationalism, **John Solomos** reviews the theories and research focusing on racism and ethnic forms of identity over the past half century. Drawing on his work as a co-editor of the journal *Ethnic and Racial Studies* for the past three decades, he demonstrates the varying emphases of influential ideas and models in this field. These include the paradoxical use of so-called "postmodern racism" that employs the language of anti-racism and multiculturalism to construct new forms of xenophobic national identity in the name of defending the nation against a variety of supposed enemies. The "slippery nature" of contemporary racisms and the characterization of racism as a "scavenger ideology" reveals the nebulous nature of modern xenophobia.

In his chapter, **Rogers Brubaker** examines the fundamental question of "Why Populism?" Seeking to explore the various meanings of populism as it has been used in both the academic and general literature, he focuses particularly on recent European and North American trends. Examining the concept itself and whether it is appropriate to apply it to the recent political developments on either side of the Atlantic is another critical issue. Using the repertoire metaphor, he seeks to account for both "the democratic energies populism may harness and for the anti-democratic dangers it may represent." As usual, Brubaker's concern with clear definitions and conceptual clarity adds important understanding to these increasingly important social and political phenomena. He shows the complex and diverse character of contemporary forms of populism that may emanate from both the right and the left along the political spectrum; he demonstrates how there are often both a vertical (elite versus "the people") and horizontal ("us" versus "them") dimensions in populist rhetoric leading to the intersection of the two axes of hate; and he reveals the multiple definitions of who "the people" actually are. Taken together these ideas and questions refine our understanding of populism in the world today.

Ian Law considers many of the issues concerning our understanding of racism from a very broad comparative and historical perspective. Using the concept of polyracism he sets out to challenge the more conventional assumptions concerning the "linear development of Western racisms" into a global pattern of racial hierarchy. Drawing on a vast range of sources, both historical and archeological, Law suggests that we need to move beyond an emphasis on Western modernity to fully appreciate the multiple origins of race and racialization, and to grant greater agency to actors and states outside the West.

In the Second Part of the Companion we switch our attention to some major regional variations in race, ethnicity, and nationalism and how these have been influenced by the global changes outlined in the first section.

In her chapter, **Xiaoshuo Hou** considers the blurring boundary between nationalism and globalism in contemporary China under the leadership of Xi Jinping. On the one hand, a nationalist discourse is created around the "China Dream" and the resurgence of Chinese nationalism. On the other hand, the "one belt, one road" initiative aims to recreate and reinvent the Silk Road by connecting more than sixty countries across Asia, Europe, and Africa with both a physical and digital infrastructure. How these two developments will work out in practice will be a major influence on nationalism and the global order in the twenty-first century.

The huge population groups, constituting almost one fifth of the number of human beings on the planet, and the major societies in the East Asia region receive careful analysis by **John Lie** and **Jeffrey Weng**. Focusing on three of the most important societies in the region, China, Japan, and Korea, they explore the complex history of each societies' relationships with diverse peoples within their ever-shifting political boundaries. Many of the current concepts of nationalism and ethnic identity resulted from political pressures introduced into the region by outside colonial and imperialist forces during the nineteenth century and the subsequent ever-changing political balances of power during the twentieth century. The authors conclude that the shifting notions of belonging in all three societies have resulted in "one of the great historical ironies". That is to say, the very idea of a nation-state has become closest to being "attained and widely believed" to be true in this part of the world, rather than in societies of the West, where modern ideas of nationalism have been most vociferously advocated.

In his chapter, **Kit Man** traces the development of the idea of a specific Chinese nation in the early twentieth century writings of Liang Qichao. Known by some as "China's Gobineau", Liang struggled to formulate a concept of the Chinese nation at a time when Western and Japanese imperialism was seen as a major threat to a society undergoing fundamental internal transformations. The ideas and debates generated by Liang's influential writings at the outset of the twentieth century shed important light on contemporary concepts of Chinese society as it emerges as one of the critical world powers of the twenty-first century.

Another example of yet other forms of identity is discussed in **Jennifer Murtazashvili**'s chapter on Central Asia. Viewing the region for some two centuries, from the time of Russian Czarist influence, to the era of Communist policies following the Russian Revolution, and then into the post-Soviet years, she points to the importance of the concept of *qawm*. This very flexible idea of group solidarity is based on a variety of characteristics and can be associated with membership in a range of groups including kinship, tribe, clan, region, language, or other aspects of ethnicity. As a result, this makes for a highly fluid system, but one profoundly influenced by the Soviet nationalities policies that had interesting unintended consequences for the post-Soviet era. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early nineteen nineties, the three major states of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Kazakhstan failed to descend into major group conflicts as many outside observers had predicted. In fact, the post-Soviet era saw the emergence of new republics that have, by and large, managed to adapt to the new environments employing these flexible forms of

identity to establish new patterns of ethnic accommodation. The continuing war in Afghanistan remaining an important exception.

Turning our attention to that other major society in Asia – India – **Sonali Jain** and **Arun Swamy** trace the origins of Hindu nationalism and show how it has evolved over the years since Independence in 1947. While the Congress Party of Gandhi and Nehru dominated the political scene for the first few decades following independence and strove to develop an inclusive concept of national identity, a more pronounced emphasis on Hinduism has played an increasingly dominant role in contemporary Indian politics. This has evolved further with attempts to integrate members of the diaspora into a resurgent development of nationalism and national identity in recent years. The electoral victory of Prime Minister Narendra Modi in May 2019 and the move to end regional autonomy in Kashmir, further confirms the continuing appeal of Hindu nationalism in contemporary Indian politics.

In assessing the ethno-racial dynamics in Latin America, **Stanley Bailey** examines the particular ideology of *mestizaje* that has characterized so many of the societies in such a vast region. This ideal of racial mixing has always seemed to be in stark contrast to the black-white racial divide in North America. Using both the scholarly literature on the region and a quantitative analysis of differing racial conceptions, particularly as revealed in the changing Census data using self-classification, Bailey points to the paradigm shift coming out of the multi-cultural turn in recent years. While whites have topped the ethno-racial hierarchies in 14 of the 17 countries of Latin America, only in a couple of cases, Panama and Honduras, has there been evidence suggesting black advantage in racial hierarchies. As the case studies of Mexico and Brazil suggest, these trends are in part a result of social movements but also shifts in international norms concerning racial classifications. While the "statistical invisibility" of populations of African descent is no longer standard practice, the extent to which these changes translate into policy changes with respect to land rights, the allocation of state resources and affirmative action remains an open question.

Jerome Teelucksingh explores the literature on race and ethnicity in the Caribbean region. Among the specific factors contributing to race relations in this part of the world are those related to culture and sport – "calypso and cricket" – and how labor relations played a vital part in fostering nationalism and revolution for the diverse peoples of the many countries around the Caribbean. The potent influence of certain black ideologies, such as Rastafarianism and Garveyism, and the role of leaders, like Forbes Burnham in Guyana and Fidel Castro in Cuba, have given the area its diverse destinies. As the author mentions, the important feminist contributions to the evolution of these societies, under colonialism and in the post-colonial periods, have received less scholarly attention than they deserve.

Since the era of *apartheid*, South Africa has been seen as a critically important example of a society based on explicit racial divisions and fundamental inequality. Two scholars who have played a central role in explaining the dynamics of racism in that society for half a century have been **Kogila Moodley** and **Heribert Adam**. In their chapter they turn their attention to a critical assessment of the changes in South African society more than two decades since Nelson Mandela's election to be the first democratic President of the country. The authors place these changes in post-Apartheid South Africa within the wider context of "settler colonialism". The failure

of the country to realize the goals of a non-racial democracy needs to be placed in a comparative perspective of post-colonial societies of this type. The difficulties of achieving such a revolutionary transformation are carefully explored stressing the multiple ethnic components and divisions of current-day South Africa. The rapid emergence of a black bourgeoisie far removed from the still impoverished lives of those Africans living in the urban townships and rural parts of the country, challenge the rhetoric that sees South Africa's future solely through the former lens of racial discrimination and disadvantage.

The rise of The Golden Dawn movement in Greece is linked by **Ioanna Christodoulaki** to the economic policies of the European Union and the role that these factors play in the growth of far-right political parties. After considering the debates between Keynesian and neo-classical economists, she shows how the dominance of the latter perspective resulted in the collapse of the Greek economy in the wake of the 2008 Global financial crisis. In what appears to be a repetition of the predictions Keynes made in his book *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1920), following the Versailles Treaty after World War 1, sustained austerity far from automatically correcting economic problems actually resulted in severe political outcomes. The appeal of the Golden Dawn movement has some disturbing parallels with the rise of fascism in the 1930s.

In their chapter on nationalism and European Art and Architecture, **Athena Leoussi, George Payne** and **Dalibor Sulak** look at another aspect of nationalism revealed in the architecture of modern European parliament buildings. After reviewing the classic studies of nationalism, particularly drawing on the seminal work of Hans Kohn and Anthony Smith, they focus on the two competing themes of modern nationalisms, those that emphasize the rule of the people linked to ideas about democracy and universal human rights, and those that stress the special identity of particular peoples found in ethno-nationalist ideologies. Such variations are traced back to the earlier political ideas of ancient Athens and the traditions derived from Judaic political philosophy. These competing elements are seen in the ideal types of civic and ethnic nationalism that have been contrasted in the literature and which, in reality, often overlap and inter-penetrate each other in the nationalist discourse. The authors then compare and contrast a wide range of European and North American architectural buildings designed to house government institutions and show how these variable structures reflect a range of views about democracy and nationalism in the Western experience over the past two centuries.

Section Three focuses on migration patterns and related questions in our increasingly transnational world.

The central theme of family reunification is explored in **Nazli Kibria**'s chapter examining its changing interpretation in North American and European immigration policies. While provisions to facilitate immigrants' ability to petition to allow spouses, children, and close relatives to join them have long been available, the manner in which this right has been implemented and the complex motivation behind such programs is by no means simple. In recent years, growing restrictions on immigration in both North America and throughout the European Union in general, and the entry of family and relatives in particular, have been subject to a variety of additional tests and barriers. These have included such requirements as DNA testing, a process that has had a differential impact on migrants from the developing world,

and increasingly intrusive interviews and testing procedures to address what has been termed "forced" and "fake" marriages in order to restrict entry of more "outsiders" in an increasingly populist-nationalist political climate.

Jon Eastwood reviews a wide range of recent studies examining the relationships between migration, cooperation, and trust. While in some cases diversity does seem to be associated with certain strains on social cohesion, this is a highly complex issue and one that provides few simple causal relationships. On balance, Eastwood's review of the relevant literature suggests that few problems concerning social cohesion and trust can be laid at the feet of immigrants. This is true despite the vociferous claims of populist nationalist leaders who focus on immigration as a prime source of so much of their rhetoric. They find immigrants to be a valuable political scapegoat disguising other challenges created by increasing economic inequality that appears to be a common feature of the contemporary global economy.

While migration across state boundaries has been the focus of so much of the populist debate, particularly linked to border security and fears about national identity, other forms of migration are also of paramount significance in the world today. **Xiaoping Luo** looks at aspects of the most important example of current internal migration, what might be called "urbanization with Chinese characteristics". The *hukou* system, a form of internal passport that plays a major role in determining who gets what in contemporary China, has been a key instrument shaping the country's industrial revolution. Just as the "one child" policy has been relaxed in the wake of vast economic progress, so too has the *hukou* system been subject to change. However, these changes, while strengthening the new middle class and educated skilled workers, have done little so far to improve the lives of the urban migrant poor. Internal migration's impact on Chinese minorities – small in percentage terms but large in absolute numbers – shows much the same divisions. The chapter concludes by comparing China's internal migration with theories of international migration and argues that only enhanced social mobility and increasing gains in social capital amongst the migrants themselves will bring about a significant change in the outcome of current policies.

In their analysis, **Mathias Czaika** and **Albert Kraler** consider the situation of refugees – "people in fear of persecution, war or generalized violence" – who seek greater security by moving to safer locations. Defining who is a refugee is by no means a simple matter and millions who can be categorized in this manner may be shifting their locations *within*, as well as between, different states. The authors consider the main drivers of forced displacement and some of the "durable solutions" at the centre of political and academic debates. They then examine the evolution of the European Union's policies aimed at harmonizing the distribution and burden of responsibilities for refugee protection among the various states in the Union.

Another important aspect of migration that raises fundamental issues concerning national sovereignty and human rights, is that of asylum policies. **Olga Jubany** traces the evolution of these ideas to the period following the end of the First World War in Europe. While the principles of shared humanity enshrined in the Geneva Convention appear to some as a vital move towards global justice, for others it is often defined as an assault on states' rights, if not an outright threat to their very existence. Jubany points to the social construction of asylum seekers, refugees, and migrants as "the Other" and how this is linked to the current obsession with border controls, walls

and other means of keeping such people out of the society. This leads to the paradoxical situation where "anyone can ask for asylum, but no country is obliged to give it." The post-Cold War era has seen the growth of a "Fortress Europe" narrative combining neo-colonial assumptions bolstered by Islamophobia, terrorism, and other perceived threats, whether real or imagined.

Yet another aspect of the increasing complexity of modern societies is the changing nature of inter-racial unions. Taking the marriage between Prince Harry and Meghan Merkel as her starting point, **Miri Song** points not only to the growth of multi-racial marriages and relationships in societies like Britain and the United States, but to understanding the categories used to capture what is actually taking place once multiple generations are introduced into the analysis. As notions of "race" are clearly highly subjective and culturally variable these are both dynamic over the lifetime of individuals and increasingly complex as more and more generations enter the picture. As Song points out, the diversification of the mixed race category raises questions not only about the direction and levels of tolerance of specific societies, but also has important implications as far as policy decisions and programs are concerned.

A somewhat different perspective on migration can be seen in **Hideki Tarumoto**'s analysis of border policies and citizenship roles in an era of globalization. Considering a range of examples, but focusing particularly on the special characteristics of the Japanese experience, Tarumoto explores the implications of a theoretical model of social borders and how this can be used to better understand national variations in relation to global capitalism. The significance of undocumented immigrants, temporary visitors, returning peoples who have lived abroad for several generations, and health care immigrants – in the Japanese case particularly important due to an ageing population combined with a declining birth rate – are all considered within a social border studies perspective. Many political devices are used to get around the traditional reluctance to permit the entry of unskilled, foreign migrants to work in Japan's vibrant economy in the face of a rapidly declining birth rate, the reluctance of the educated younger generation to seek unskilled employment and the urgent need for such labour to meet major construction projects and the demands of health care.

The Fourth Section examines a variety of aspects of conflict and violence from the extremes of warfare and genocide, to the more routine processes of the escalation of social movements, urban riots, and inter-state boundary disputes.

In her analysis of genocide, **Susanne Karstedt** sees such actions as "a crime committed against collectives" as outlined in the Genocide Convention of 1948. This defines the target groups for such massive violence as national, ethnic, racial, and religious communities. Today, genocide as an international crime is included in the framework of atrocities along with Crimes against Humanity and War Crimes. Drafted in the shadow of the Holocaust, the Genocide Convention has shaped our understanding of genocide as a "hate/state" crime. Karstedt's chapter assesses the conditions, precursors, and dynamics of contemporary genocidal events against ethnic, national, and religious groups, and evaluates evidence for prevention and intervention.

Chares Demetriou looks at the radicalization of social movements and its relationship to a range of theories used to better understand the dynamics of conflicts central to racial, ethnic, and national divisions in contemporary societies. This far-ranging analysis examines the many competing interpretations of a complex area including the process of de-radicalization and the many controversies surrounding

such commonly used, but often poorly defined, concepts as 'terrorism" and other forms of violence perpetuated by social movements and the state. The wider implications of the dynamics of ethnonationalist contention can also affect, as Demetriou demonstrates, the whole "landscape of societal divisions".

The role of warfare and its impact on nationalism in an era of increasing globalization is the subject of **John Hutchinson**'s chapter. For some scholars, wars have been the creators of nations, for others, the causation works in the reverse direction. Hutchinson examines a number of arguments concerning the role that armed conflicts between and within states have played, and particularly the hypothesis that in modern times, warfare has been a significant factor in the erosion of nation-states. Although certain trends in Europe might appear to support such an argument, he finds that globally this is far from the case. Profound changes in the ways that modern wars are fought, shifts in national sentiments in the meaning attached to such conflicts, and the manner in which wars can still act as a mobilizing tool for political leaders, all suggest the continuing relevance of such conflicts for nations and ethnic groups in modern society. Hutchinson concludes that while "contemporary global contexts may be transforming states and national identities, they are not eroding their centrality in World politics."

In his chapter, **Dusko Sekulic** focuses the analysis on the important distinction between states and nations and stresses that the two are rarely synonymous. The tension between the two almost inevitably results in outcomes that are frequently unexpected. Taking the complex history of the Balkan region as his backdrop, the author examines the creation and break-up of the former Yugoslavia as a source of many relevant lessons. Sekulic demonstrates that it is so often the nationalist leaders who are the primary agents creating ethnic, linguistic, and other boundaries between groups, rather than the other way around. The national history of the states that made up the former Yugoslavia provides insight into the dynamics of identity creation; how dormant nationalities can be re-awakened and mobilized; how modernization rarely results in the extinction of national sentiments; how democracy is so often defined in "tribal" terms and manipulated to reduce the influence of minorities; and how the borders of states are a continual source of debate and strife between national groups.

The Final Section of the Companion concludes with different aspects of the policy debates arising from these changes around the world. **Daniel Monti** looks at the history of violence in relation to the urban experiences of racial and ethnic minorities in the United States. Starting with Alexis de Tocqueville's impressions of American race relations and racial hierarchies at the start of the 1830s, he considers the ever-changing fortunes of African Americans right up to the present day. Violence is a key element in the story which includes rioting and racially biased policing and other forms of blatant racial discrimination. However, Monti shows that the experiences of cities like St. Louis and Boston reveal changing patterns of race relations that are not always uniformly vicious and confrontational as has been the case in the past. Without diminishing the role of violence and rioting – Martin Luther King's "language of the unheard" – as factors in the struggle for greater economic and civic equality, Monti agrees with scholars like Steven Pinker and Donald Horowitz that the trend in contemporary America, despite the Trump presidency, is moving in the direction of less violent methods for blacks to achieve the American Dream.

In their analysis of the way management and organizational studies have so often neglected the central role of race, ethnicity, and nationalism in this important field of knowledge, **Koen Van Laer** and **Patrizia Zanoni** explain how traditional approaches have managed to either ignore or sidestep the importance of race, ethnicity and nationalism in their work. The use of psychological explanations of conflicts in organizations have de-politicized such matters whether in national or international business settings. Many of the avowedly "universal" theories are totally biased towards Western experiences and underestimate colonial power relations that still permeate international business arrangements. The authors argue that the neo-liberal assumptions and the rise of populist nationalism are closely linked to flexible work patterns and the insecurity and instability that these foster. The idea that new forms of technology should improve the position of diverse groups in the labor market is one that has little evidence to support it.

In his contribution, **Mikhail Lyubansky** reviews the record of the United States' movement towards greater racial justice against the evidence that there are still huge discrepancies in the way black and white lives are experienced in contemporary America. The failure of the school system to provide equal opportunities to African-American and other minorities and the notorious School-to-Prison pipeline for so many young black men are clear indications of the need for renewed action to reduce continuing pervasive barriers blocking progress to anything approaching racial equity. In a majority white society movement in this direction needs innovative measures to address these fundamental societal divisions. Lyubansky reviews certain strategies described within the *restorative justice movement* as another response to 'harm and conflict' but one that may also help to eliminate or, at least, greatly reduce the racial disparities associated with school discipline and the criminal justice systems. The complex and often controversial methods used in such approaches are seen as another way to make further progress on these fundamental challenges.

Conflict resolution is a field that has expanded greatly over the past thirty years and has enormous relevance for race, ethnicity, and nationalism. **Kevin Avruch** makes a critical assessment of three influential models often used to understand the dynamics of "intractable conflicts" in many global settings. All of these approaches recognize the limitations of much International Relations scholarship that is often too closely focused on inter-state conflicts and rivalries without recognizing sub-state actors and social and psychological factors. Avruch considers the contributions of Azar, Burton, Galtung, and other leading figures in the conflict resolution field that helps to explain the difficulty of trying to resolve such conflicts by traditional methods. What is needed is a far more sophisticated analysis that fully recognizes the true complexity of such conflicts: the impact of basic human needs, how violence transforms identities and how groups and individuals develop an investment in continuing conflicts; how outside parties play a vital role in preventing compromises and conciliation; and how "wicked problems" may take on a life of their own defying any rational resolution. All these forces help to explain why certain conflicts are so very difficult to resolve.

Part I

Revising the Agenda: Race, Ethnicity and Nationalism in the Twenty-First Century

1

Confrontational Politics: The Black Lives Matter Movement

Rutledge Dennis and Kimya Dennis

Introduction

The history of black social movements in the United States is a history replete with organizations created by blacks, including in some cases white supporters, crafting programs, tactics, and strategies to address the pressing problems confronting a black dispossessed and oppressed population. Although blacks in local communities often created organizations and institutions which catered to their local immediate problems and needs, in the nineteenth century blacks began to view themselves as a national socio-political racial unit, thus the issue of slavery and social, political, educational, and economic restrictions and exclusions prompted the creation of national black organizations. The Knights of Liberty (1846), The National Council of Colored People (1853), and The National Negro Convention (1864) represented this emerging national black socio-political consciousness in the nineteenth century.

The Civil War, the Reconstruction and its aftermath, the emergence of white terrorist groups, and the institutionalization of Jim Crow laws and the official and unofficial policy of racial segregation and discrimination, both north and south, accelerated the need to create organizations which would serve, as Du Bois suggested, as weapons in the struggle for justice. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, The Niagara Movement (1905), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) 1909, the National Urban League (1911), and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (1916) were formed. The 1954 Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, while focusing on education, broadened and called attention to the fact that blacks were excluded from a host of social, political, cultural, economic, as well as educational opportunities then

The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism, First Edition.
Edited by John Stone, Rutledge Dennis, Polly Rizova, and Xiaoshuo Hou.

available to whites. One cannot help but tie the Brown Decision, the flight of whites from urban areas to avoid integration, the aftermath of World War II and the victory of the allied forces and the black soldiers who fought in the war, and the ongoing Pan-African and anti-colonial movements which intensified throughout the 1950s and 1960s, spearheaded by Du Bois and others, led to the quickened pace by blacks for freedom, justice, and equality. The Montgomery Bus Boycott Movement and the emergence of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. as the leader and symbol for the movement and later the leader and symbol of a national civil rights movement took the issue of segregation and exclusion to yet another level, this time to international and global dimensions as the US national civil rights problems became entangled with national liberation struggles in Africa and Asia, especially in Vietnam. The civil rights to human rights issues in the 1950s and 1960s intensified with the criticisms of Dr. King and the civil rights movement by Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam from outside the movement. Changes were also taking place inside the movement: the formation of The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957 became yet another organizational link, the ministerial link, in the movement along with the NAACP. Black college and university students were dissatisfied with the pace of racial and social change, and dissatisfied with the older ministerial leadership, pulled out and formed The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1960, while in Oakland, California Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale formed The Black Panther Party. Another phenomenon which emerged in the middle and late 1960s was the Black Student Union Movement, initially formed to argue for the institutionalization of Black Studies and African American Studies programs and departments at predominately white colleges and universities. Later, the movement was forced to address the increasing number of racist issues and problems which emerged on predominately white campuses as the number of black student enrollment increased even infinitesimally.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. leading the Montgomery Bus Boycott Movement, Malcolm X taking over the everyday leadership of the Nation of Islam, the college and university students who broke away from the NAACP and SCLC to form SNCC, the black students who formed Black Student Unions chapters on dozens of predominately white campuses, and Huey Newton and Bobby Seale who created the Black Panther Party, were all black men and women in their twenties who believed they were ushering in a new era of black life and progress. A part of the new way of thinking required a rejection of the ways and the world of an older generation of blacks. For each of these groups, the new ways demanded the transformation into, not the New Negro of an Alain Locke's generation but a New Black who wanted freedom now and were unwilling to wait as previous generations of blacks had done. It is this impatience with ongoing injustice and the lack of racial and social justice progress that prompted a rejection of previous institutions and organizations and a, it seems, lurch into unknown social avenues and the quest for new and contentious allies and philosophies that prompted many to question the direction as well as wisdom of these highly energized new warriors and freedom fighters. A description and assessment of the contemporary Black Lives Matter Movement forces an assessment of it and how and why it may be linked to previous organizations which sought comparable changes in the black community and in the larger dominant white society.

Blacks Lives Matter – The Beginning

The Black Lives Matter movement is similar to previous predominately black movements in American socio-political history. Yet it is different in many fundamental ways. It was born in controversy as charges and counter charges surrounded its very name, "Black Lives Matter." For months, if not years, critics attacked the name, suggesting that a better public relations strategy and more acceptable name would be "All Lives Matter." It was the debate over the name which offended many and provided the impetus for their opposition to the concept, while many among those opposing the name stated their support for the cause and the ideas and ideals they represented. Those opposing the term insisted that the focus on "Black" in the title suggested an exclusionary ideal not consistent with uniting and bringing together a multicultural and multiethnic society. This is reminiscent of the highly charged debate over the concept of Black Power in the mid-1960 and 1970s. Similar to the Black Power concept, endless debates have, and are still occurring, over the meanings, dimensions, and philosophy and politics of this new, fast rising, and for many, ill-defined movement.

Black Lives Matter's emergence parallels that of previous black movements created by, and led by younger blacks, such as SNCC and the Black Panthers. These organizations emerged out of the turmoil of the 1950s and 1960s when the promises and hopes of the recent past went unfulfilled, i.e., the promises and failures of school desegregation, open housing ordinances, and the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Bills. Older blacks were used to waiting it out, biding time, and hoping for a better day in the future. The generation of young blacks in the 1960s were much more adamant about unfulfilled promises and the urgent need for change and wanted "freedom now." A similar kind of urgent energy appeals to young blacks today, especially those who have joined the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. And it is to their credit and wisdom that the titular head and organizers of the movement, Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi, have wisely chosen, unlike the leaders of SNCC and the Black Panther Party of the 1960s, not to launch frontal attacks against older established civil rights leaders and their organizations. Perhaps a part of the trenchant assault on older organizations and leaders by SNCC and Black Panther leaders in the 1960s was the involvement of many SNCC organizers who worked with the NAACP and SCLC. They were convinced that no new policies and strategies would emerge from these groups which would permit a more direct confrontation with racism and inequality in the US. Plus, Carmichael (Ture) and the other young Turks began to see and define racism and economic inequality in more global, and increasingly Marxist, terms. The poverty and racism in Oakland, California prompted Huey Newton and Bobby Seale to first focus their attention on local issues such as feeding hungry schoolchildren and addressing police transgressions against local citizens. Later, they too, like SNCC, moved to a more Marxist internationalist class-based approach to poverty, racism, and economic inequality, while incorporating a host of Marxist–Leninist individuals such as Mao, Ho Chi Minh, Castro, Guevara, and Lumumba (Forman, 1985; Ture, 2003)

The BLM movement began in 2012 with the murder of Trayvon Martin in Sanford, Florida (Cobb, 2016), but when the not guilty verdict was given to George Zimmerman in July 2013, Alicia Garza posted a message on Facebook saying,

"Black People, I love you, I love you. I love you. Our loves matter," the movement was launched. Added momentum was given to the BLM movement when a later series of black male deaths occurred due to actual commission, Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, or gross neglect, Freddie Gray in Baltimore. But crucial to the movement's organization, and perhaps its early success is the founders and their relations. Garza is a labor union organizer, Cullors is a community organizer, and Tometi is an immigrant-rights activist. They identified themselves as outside the traditional gender terrain as issues of gender and transgender concerns are intricately linked to their overall movement objectives. That a much talked about, and an up and coming organization which would not define itself as a traditional civil rights organization was unique in itself, and that the three leaders would be females, was one thing. But that its organizers would have gender and sexual issues as central themes in the movement's agenda, was yet another story, a surprising one given the conservative sexual views of many Black Americans. There is, however, no indication that the sexual themes have dampen blacks' enthusiasm for the movement. This uniquely female-headed movement is in sharp contrast to traditional forms of leadership in black life. Not only is the gender leadership unique, but that leadership has vowed to reject a top down hierarchical pyramid style leadership as has been the historical examples of black civil rights groups in the past.

The civil rights leadership coalition, called the Big Six, was male, though occasionally Dorothy Heights, the president of the Council of Negro Women, would be invited to join the group. Roy Wilkins represented the NAACP, Whitney Young, the Urban League, James Farmer, CORE, A. Philip Randolph, labor union organizer, Dr. Martin Luther King, SCLC, and John Lewis, SNCC. All of the organizations had top down leadership structures, though as each organization participated in various phases of the civil rights movement, strategies and tactics differed in various localities. When these organizations were confronted with different issues and interests in different localities the strategies and tactics were altered to fit divergent situations. They, and their organizations, epitomized the type of leadership exemplified by W.E.B. Du Bois's concept of "the talented tenth," a concept the three BLM organizers would, no doubt, reject. Both Cullors and Garza addressed their support for the bottoms up leadership style in the article by Jelani Cobb (2016: 37) in which Cullors opposed the Du Boisian Talented Tenth idea because it requires that the leader "be the one who's the spokesperson and the organizer, who tells the masses where to go, rather than the masses understanding that we can catalyze a movement in our own community." Garza, too, addressed the issue when she suggested "the model of the black preacher leading the people to the promised land isn't working right now."

The neglect and the lack of recognition of women in the major civil rights organizations, and even in the radical political organizations, had become all too familiar, as Ella Baker, Septima Clark, Fannie Lou Hamer, Elaine Brown and many others have attested, and others have verified. However, these women defined and redefined their roles in conjunction with what they viewed as important collective goals to be achieved and projects to be completed. That this history was well known to the BLM initiators can be surmised from both their views on the need for a bottom up organization, and from their own deeply held views on gender and transgender equity.