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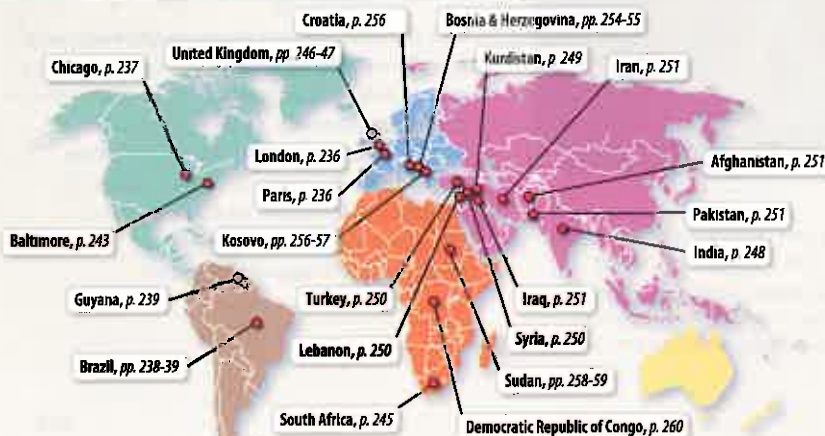
Ethnicities

Ethnicity is a source of pride to people, a link to the experiences of ancestors and to cultural traditions, such as food and music preferences. The ethnic group to which one belongs has important measurable differences, such as average income, life expectancy, and infant mortality rate. Ethnicity also matters in places with a history of discrimination by one ethnic group against another.



World Cross Country Championship senior women's race, Amman, Jordan.

LOCATIONS IN THIS CHAPTER



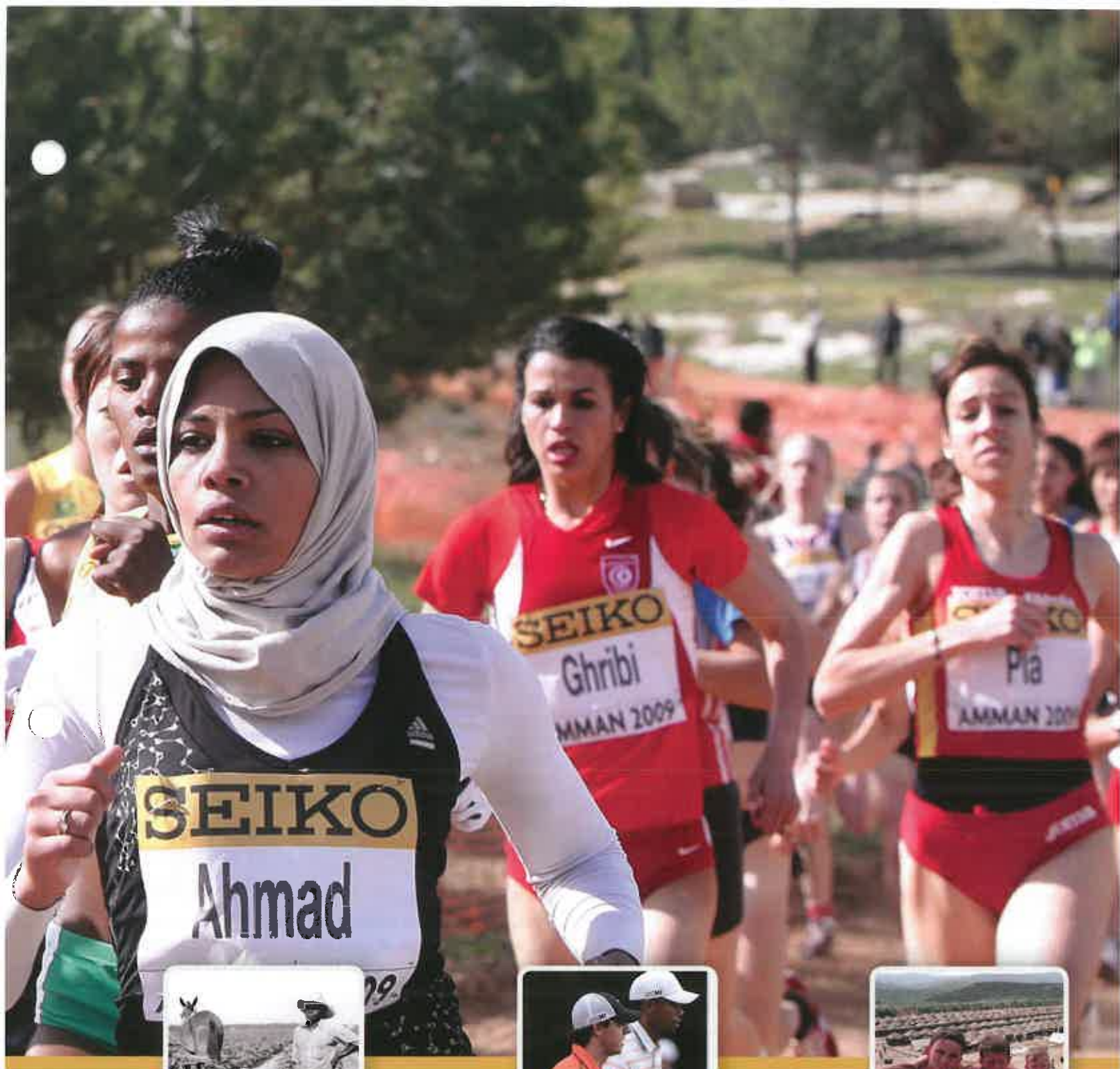
KEY ISSUES

1

Where Are Ethnicities Distributed?

Ethnicities are distributed in distinctive *places*, including in the United States.





2

Why Do Ethnicities Have Distinctive Distributions?

Ethnicities display distinctive spatial distributions that derive from patterns of **connections** and isolation.



3

Why Might Ethnicities Face Conflicts?

Geographic factors underly conflicts among ethnicities. Conflicts result in many places when more than one ethnic group fights to occupy the same **space**.



4

Why Do Ethnic Cleansing And Genocide Occur?

In some **regions** of conflicts among ethnicities, **large-scale** forced migration and killings have resulted.



Where Are Ethnicities Distributed?

- **Introducing Ethnicities**
- **Ethnicity and Race**
- **Distribution of U. S. Ethnicities**
- **Ethnic Enclaves**
- **Ethnically Complex Brazil**

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.1.1

Introduce the principal ethnicities in the United States.

The meaning of *ethnicity*, the subject of this chapter, is frequently confused with definitions of *race* and *nationality*:

- **Ethnicity** is identity with a group of people who share the cultural traditions of a particular homeland or hearth.
- **Race** is identity with a group of people who are perceived to share a physiological trait, such as skin color.
- **Nationality** is identity with a group of people who share legal attachment to a particular country.

In principle, the three cultural traits are distinct: Nationality is a person's country of citizenship, race is a person's skin color, and ethnicity is a person's place of cultural heritage. In actuality, differences among the three concepts are not always clear-cut. Some individuals are not in a position to identify one or more of their personal traits. For example, an individual's two parents may identify with different ethnicities, races, and nationalities. Furthermore, many societies muddle the three concepts, either through unclear language or deliberate decisions.

The title of this chapter is "Ethnicities," because it is the cultural feature that is place-based. "Nationality," which is also place-based, is introduced in this chapter and is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8. Though not place-based, "race" is an important concept because it is often misused as a synonym for "ethnicity."

President Barack Obama illustrates the complexity of designating ethnicity, race, and nationality (Figure 7-1). President Obama's father, Barack Obama, Senior, was born in the village of Kanyadhiang, Kenya. He was a member of Kenya's third-largest ethnicity, known as Luo. President Obama's mother, Ann Dunham, was born in Kansas. Most of her ancestors migrated to the United States from England in the nineteenth century. President Obama's stepfather—his mother's second husband, Lolo Soetoro—was born in the village of Yogyakarta, Indonesia. He was a member of Indonesia's most numerous ethnicity, known



(a)



(b)



(c)

▲ FIGURE 7-1 ETHNIC DIVERSITY: BARACK OBAMA'S FAMILY

Barack Obama with (a) his mother Ann Dunham, (b) his father Barack Obama, Senior, and (c) his stepfather, mother, and stepsister.

as Javanese. The son of a white mother and a black father, President Obama has chosen to identify as African American.

PAUSE & REFLECT 7.1.1

President Obama has self-identified his ethnicity as African American. Based on his parents' ethnicities, what other ways might his ethnicity be identified?

Introducing Ethnicities

Ethnicity is an important cultural element of local diversity because our ethnic identity is immutable. We can suppress our ethnicity, but we cannot change it in the same way we can speak a new language or practice a different religion. If our parents come from two ethnic groups or our grandparents from four, our ethnic identity may be complex.

Geographers are interested in where ethnicities, like other elements of culture, are distributed. An ethnic group is tied to a particular place because members of the group—or their ancestors—were born and raised there. The cultural traits displayed by an ethnicity derive from particular conditions and practices in the group's homeland.

The significance of ethnic diversity is controversial in the United States:

- To what extent does discrimination persist against minority ethnicities, especially African Americans and Hispanics?
- Should preferences be given to minority ethnicities to correct past patterns of discrimination?
- To what extent should the distinct cultural identity of ethnicities be encouraged or protected?

Ethnicity is especially important to geographers because in the face of globalization trends in culture and economy, ethnicity stands as the strongest bulwark for the preservation of local diversity. Despite efforts to preserve local languages, it is not far-fetched to envision a world in which virtually all educated people speak English. And universalizing religions continue to gain adherents around the world. But no ethnicity is attempting or even aspiring to achieve global dominance, although ethnic groups are fighting with each other to control specific places. Even if globalization engulfs language, religion, and other cultural elements, regions of distinct ethnic identity will remain.

ETHNICITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

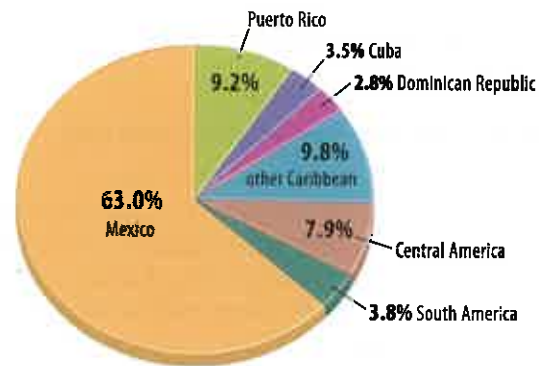
The three most numerous U.S. ethnicities are Hispanic American, African American, and Asian American. Approximately 17 percent of Americans say they are Hispanic, 12 percent African American, and 5 percent Asian American. In addition, 2 percent of Americans identify their ethnicity as American Indian, Native Hawaiian, or Alaska Native.

HISPANIC AMERICANS. A Hispanic or Hispanic American is a person who has migrated (or whose ancestors have migrated) to the United States from a Spanish-speaking country in Latin America. The terms *Latino* (for males) and *Latina* (for females) are generally used interchangeably with Hispanic. The U.S. government adopted the term Hispanic in 1973 because it was considered an inoffensive label that could be applied to all people from Spanish-speaking countries while avoiding the gender-specific limitation of the term *Latino*. The 1980 U.S. Census was the first to classify some Americans as Hispanic.

A 2013 survey by the Pew Research Center found that 33 percent of Americans of Latin American descent preferred the term Hispanic and 15 percent *Latino/Latina*, leaving 52 percent who didn't care. The Pew survey found that only 20 percent of Americans of Latin American descent actually used either of the terms to identify themselves.

Instead, most Americans of Latin American heritage prefer to identify with a more specific ethnicity or national origin. Nearly two-thirds come from Mexico and one-fourth from Caribbean islands (Figure 7-2). Mexican Americans are sometimes called *Chicanos* (males) or *Chicanas* (females). Originally these terms were considered insulting, but in the 1960s Mexican American youths in Los Angeles began to call themselves *Chicanos* and *Chicanas* with pride.

ASIAN AMERICANS. The term Asian American encompasses Americans who trace their heritage to a number of countries in Asia. Only 19 percent of Asian Americans identify their ethnicity as Asian American, whereas 62 percent identify with their ethnicity as the country of origin of themselves or their ancestors (Figure 7-3).



▲ FIGURE 7-2 HISPANIC AMERICANS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

AFRICAN AMERICANS. It is harder to pinpoint more precisely the ethnic origins of African Americans. The ancestors of most African Americans arrived around 300 years ago from places in Africa that were not yet organized into independent countries. Records were not kept of the ethnic origin of African Americans who arrived as slaves.

DNA testing is now helping to narrow the ethnic heritage of African Americans. The ancestors of most African Americans came from three areas in West Africa. The modern-day countries of these three areas are:

- Senegal, Mali, Gambia, Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Liberia.
- Southern Ghana, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria and southeastern Côte d'Ivoire.
- Western Democratic Republic of Congo and Angola.

DESCENDANTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES. The descendants of people who lived in North America prior to the arrival of Europeans comprise numerous ethnicities. They are grouped in the United States into three principal ethnic identities: Native American, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian. The most numerous are Native Hawaiians, Cherokee, Navajo, Chippewa, Sioux, and Choctaw. The largest numbers of Native Americans, however, do not specify a group.

Indigenous peoples comprise 4 percent of the population of Canada, where they are known as *aboriginals*. Canada's *aboriginals* are grouped into three main ethnic identities: First Nations, Inuit, and Métis. The Inuit settled in northern Canada around 3,000 years ago, and the First Nations peoples further south around 2,500 years ago. Métis are descendants of indigenous peoples who married Europeans beginning 400 years ago.



▲ FIGURE 7-3 ASIAN AMERICANS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Ethnicity and Race

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.1.2

Clarify differences between ethnicity and race.

Ethnicity is often confused with race. A person's ethnicity is derived from a place on Earth's surface. The traits that characterize race are not place specific. Rather, race relates to physiological features of humans, such as skin color, hair type, and shape of head.

Features of race were once thought to be scientifically classifiable into a handful of groups. Contemporary geographers and other scientists reject the entire biological basis of classifying humans into a handful of races. These biological features are so highly variable among members of a race that any prejudged classification is meaningless. Perhaps many tens or hundreds of thousands of years ago, early “humans” (however they emerged as a distinct species) lived in such isolation from other early “humans” that they were truly distinct genetically. But the degree of isolation needed to keep biological features distinct genetically vanished when the first human crossed a river or climbed a hill.

However, one feature of customary racial classifications is of interest to geographers: the color of skin. The identification of persons by skin color matters to geographers because it is one factor by which people in many societies sort out where they reside, attend school, spend their leisure time, and perform many other activities of daily life.

At worst, biological classification by race is the basis for **racism**, which is the belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial differences produce an inherent superiority of a particular race (Figure 7-4). A **racist** is a person who subscribes to the beliefs of racism.

RACE AND ETHNICITY IN THE UNITED STATES

The U.S. census shows the difficulty in distinguishing between ethnicity and race (see Doing Geography feature and Table 7-1a). The three most numerous U.S. ethnicities—Asian American, African American, and Hispanic American—illustrate the difficulty. The census regards Hispanic American as an ethnicity, but it regards Asian American and African American as races even though the two are also logically place-based ethnicities.

Hispanics and African Americans face special challenges in completing the census. Because the census considers Hispanic to be an ethnicity, Hispanics also get to identify with any race they wish. Many Hispanics have a difficult time doing so. In 2010, 53 percent of Hispanics picked white, 37 percent some other race, 6 percent more than one box, and 4 percent one of the 13 other categories.

Nearly 10 million Americans changed their answer to question 8 or 9 between 2000 and 2010. The most



▲ FIGURE 7-4 ANTI-RACISM MARCH, LONDON

frequent changes involved Hispanics who changed their race from white to something else or from something else to white.

African Americans also face a distinctive challenge in responding to the census. Although African American is an ethnicity—for a person whose ancestry can be traced to Africa—the 2010 census grouped “Black, African Am., or Negro” as a race. Most black Americans are descended from African immigrants and therefore also belong to an African American ethnicity. Some American blacks, however, trace their cultural heritage to regions other than Africa, including Latin America, Asia, and Pacific islands. The term African American identifies a group with an extensive cultural tradition, whereas the term black in principle denotes nothing more than dark skin. Because many Americans make judgments about the values and behavior of others simply by observing skin color, black is substituted for African American in daily language.

Today, many Americans are of mixed ancestry and may or may not choose to identify with a single race or ethnicity. Other Americans trace their heritage to places in Europe, such as Ireland and Italy, that are not included in the two race and ethnicity census questions.

PAUSE & REFLECT 7.1.2

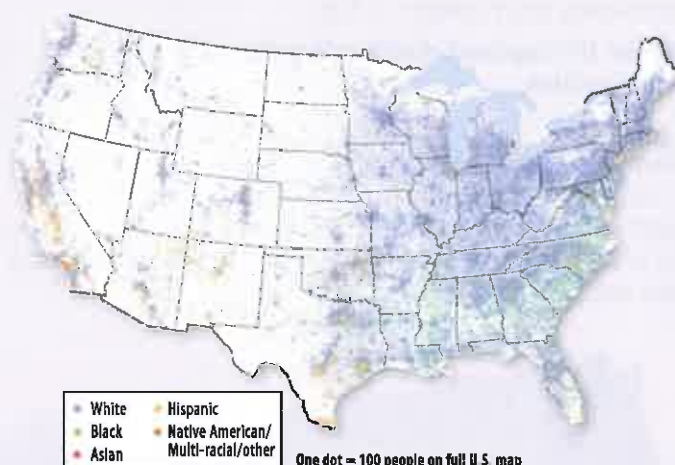
What might be benefits and challenges of changing the census questions about ethnicity and race from multiple choice to short answer format?

DOING GEOGRAPHY Ethnicity and Race and the Census

Every 10 years, the U.S. Bureau of the Census asks people to classify themselves according to the ethnicity and race with which they most closely identify. Americans are asked to identify themselves by answering two questions (Table 7-1a).

The U.S. census shows the difficulty in distinguishing between ethnicity and race. Note that while the census uses the term *race* for question 9, the options in that question are a mix of skin color and ethnicity (that is, place of origin). The census permits people to check more than one box, and 3 percent did that in 2010. “Other race” was selected for question 9 by 6 percent of respondents in 2010; according to Census Bureau research, most were Hispanics.

Census officials have concluded that many Americans can’t find themselves in questions 8 and 9. One option under consideration for the 2020 census is to combine the two ethnicity and race questions into one (Table 7-1b).



▲ FIGURE 7-5 ETHNIC MAP OF THE UNITED STATES 1 dot equals 1 person on this map based on 2010 Census Block Data.

TABLE 7-1 U.S. Census Questions About Race and Ethnicity

(a) These questions were asked on the 2010 census.

8. Is Person 1 of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

- ☐ No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
- ☐ Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano
- ☐ Yes, Puerto Rican
- ☐ Yes, Cuban
- ☐ Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin

9. What is Person 1's race?

- ☐ White
- ☐ Black, African Am., or Negro
- ☐ American Indian or Alaska Native
- ☐ Asian Indian
- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Filipino
- ☐ Japanese
- ☐ Korean
- ☐ Vietnamese
- ☐ Other Asian
- ☐ Native Hawaiian
- ☐ Guamanian or Chamorro
- ☐ Samoan
- ☐ Other Pacific Islander
- ☐ Some other race

(b) This question is being considered for the 2020 census.

8. What is Person 1's race or origin? Mark one or more boxes and write in the specific race(s) or origin(s).

- ☐ White [for example, German, Irish, Lebanese, Egyptian, and so on]
- ☐ Black, African Am., or Negro [for example, African American, Haitian, Nigerian, and so on]
- ☐ Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin [for example, Mexican, Mexican Am., Puerto Rican, Cuban, Argentinian, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadorian, Spaniard, and so on]
- ☐ American Indian or Alaska Native [for example, Navajo, Mayan, Tlingit, and so on]
- ☐ Asian [for example, Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on]
- ☐ Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander [for example, Native Hawaiian, Guamanian or Chamorro, Samoan, Fijian, Tongan, and so on]
- ☐ Some other race or origin

What's Your Ethnic Geography?

- Are you able to answer questions 8 and 9 on the 2010 census? Are you able to answer the questions for your mother? For your father?
- Does the proposed 2020 census form change the ease of answering for you? Why or why not? Does the proposed form change the answers for your mother and your father?
- What changes would need to be made to the 2010 census to clarify the difference between ethnicity and race, as defined by geographers? Does the proposed

2020 census help to clarify or muddle the difference between ethnicity and race? Why?

- Figure 7-5 depicts the most prevalent ethnicity or race in each location in the United States. Does the color on the map for where you live correspond with your race/ethnicity?
- You can zoom in on the dot map at demographics.coopercenter.org/DotMap. As you zoom in on where you live, how does the map change? When you zoom in all the way, does the map reflect your race/ethnicity?

Distribution of U. S. Ethnicities

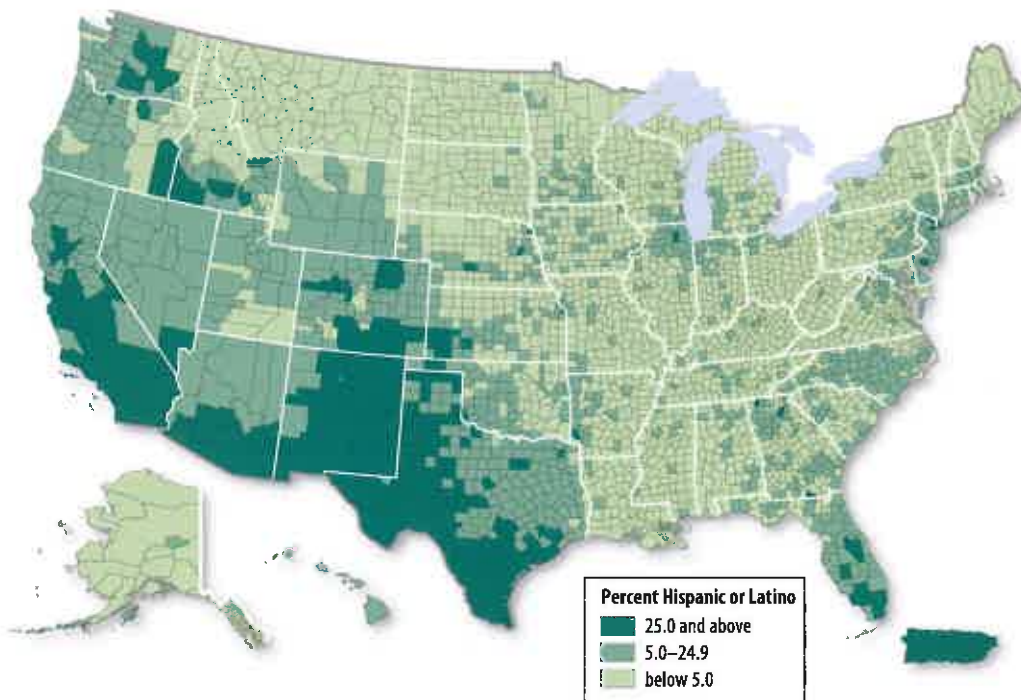
LEARNING OUTCOME 7.1.3

Describe the regional distribution of major U.S. ethnicities.

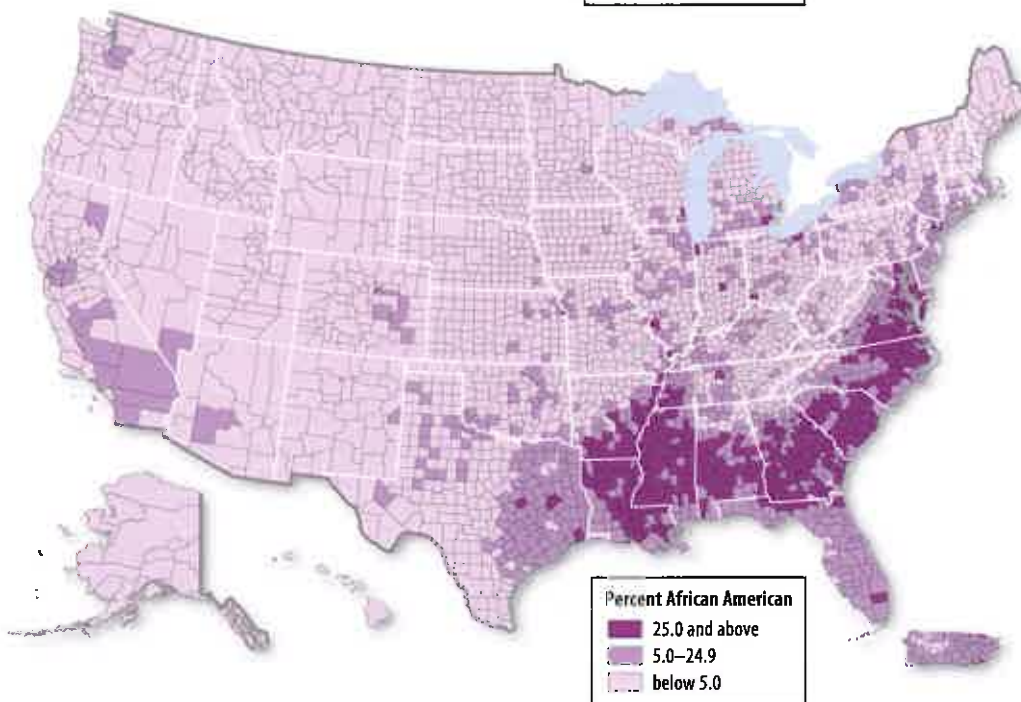
Within a country, clustering of ethnicities can occur on two scales. At the regional scale, ethnic groups may live in particular regions within the country or a state. At the local scale, they may live in particular communities within urban areas.

Within the United States, ethnicities are clustered at both the regional and urban scales. On a regional scale, ethnicities have distinctive distributions within the United States:

- **Hispanics.** Clustered in the Southwest, Hispanics exceed one-third of the population of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas and one-quarter of California (Figure 7-6). California is home to one-third of all Hispanics, Texas one-fifth, and Florida and New York one-sixth each.
- **African Americans.** Clustered in the Southeast, African Americans comprise at least one-fourth of the



◀ **FIGURE 7-6 DISTRIBUTION OF HISPANICS IN THE UNITED STATES** Hispanics are clustered in the Southwest, near the Mexico border.



◀ **FIGURE 7-7 DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE UNITED STATES** African Americans are clustered in the Southeast.

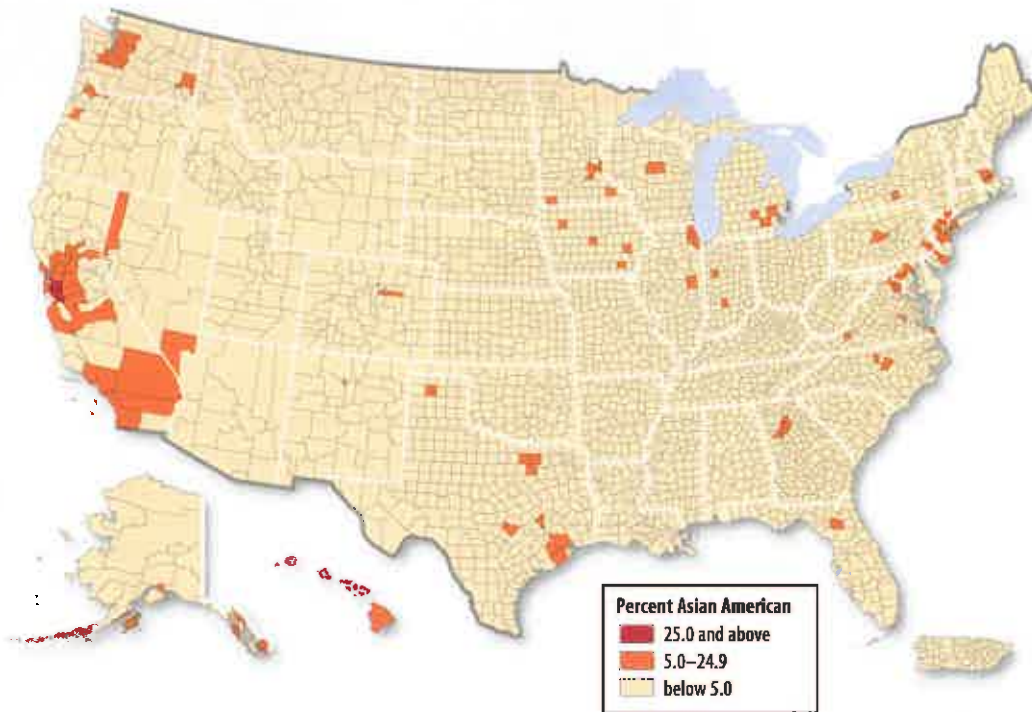
population in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, and South Carolina and more than one-third in Mississippi (Figure 7-7). Concentrations are even higher in selected counties. At the other extreme, nine states in upper New England and the West have less than 1 percent African Americans.

- **Asian Americans.** Clustered in the West, Asian Americans comprise more than 40 percent of the population of Hawaii (Figure 7-8). One-half of all Asian Americans live in California, where they comprise 12 percent of the population.

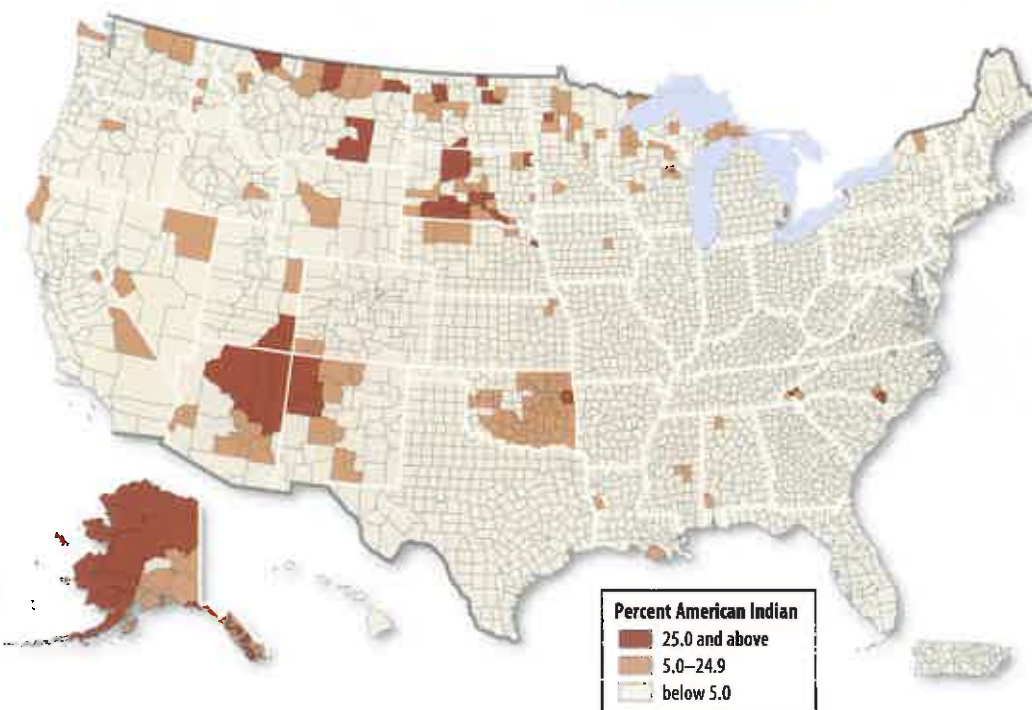
- **Native Americans.** Clustered in the southwest and north-central regions of the United States, as well as Alaska (Figure 7-9), Native Americans exceed 10 percent of the population of Alaska, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and South Dakota.

PAUSE & REFLECT 7.1.3

What region of the United States has low concentrations of all four of the ethnicities?



◀ **FIGURE 7-8 DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN AMERICANS IN THE UNITED STATES** Asian Americans are clustered in the West.



◀ **FIGURE 7-9 DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVE AMERICANS IN THE UNITED STATES** Native Americans are clustered in the Southwest and north-central states.

Ethnic Enclaves

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.1.4

Describe the distribution of ethnicities within urban areas.

An **ethnic enclave** is a place with a high concentration of an ethnic group that is distinct from those in the surrounding area. Most ethnic enclaves are neighborhoods within large cities. Ethnic enclaves with distinctive physical appearances and social structures typically form through migration.

Ethnicities are defined in part by their possession of distinct cultural features, such as languages, religions, and art. These cultural features can influence the creation of a place with the physical appearance and social structure reflective of a particular ethnicity.

As immigrants arrive in a new country, many follow the process of chain migration, discussed in Chapter 3. That is, new immigrants often locate in places where people of the same ethnicity have already clustered. In an ethnic enclave, newcomers can find people who speak the same language, practice the same religion, and prepare the same foods. They can also get help from people who know how to fill out forms, obtain assistance from public and private agencies, and adapt to the culture of the receiving country. Most importantly, ethnic enclaves offer newcomers economic support, such as employment opportunities, affordable housing, and loans.

URBAN ETHNIC ENCLAVES

The clustering of ethnicities is especially pronounced at the neighborhood scale. An example is the Goutte d'Or neighborhood in Paris (Figure 7-10). One-third of the residents belong to ethnicities who have emigrated from former African colonies of France.

In the United Kingdom, London has developed a number of ethnic enclaves. One-third of London's inhabitants were born outside of the United Kingdom, including 18 percent in Asia, 7 percent in Africa, and 6 percent in the Caribbean. These ethnic groups have formed enclaves in various parts



▲ **FIGURE 7-10 ETHNIC ENCLAVE IN PARIS** Muslims pray in the street in the Goutte d'Or neighborhood of Paris because the local mosque is too small to accommodate all of the worshippers.

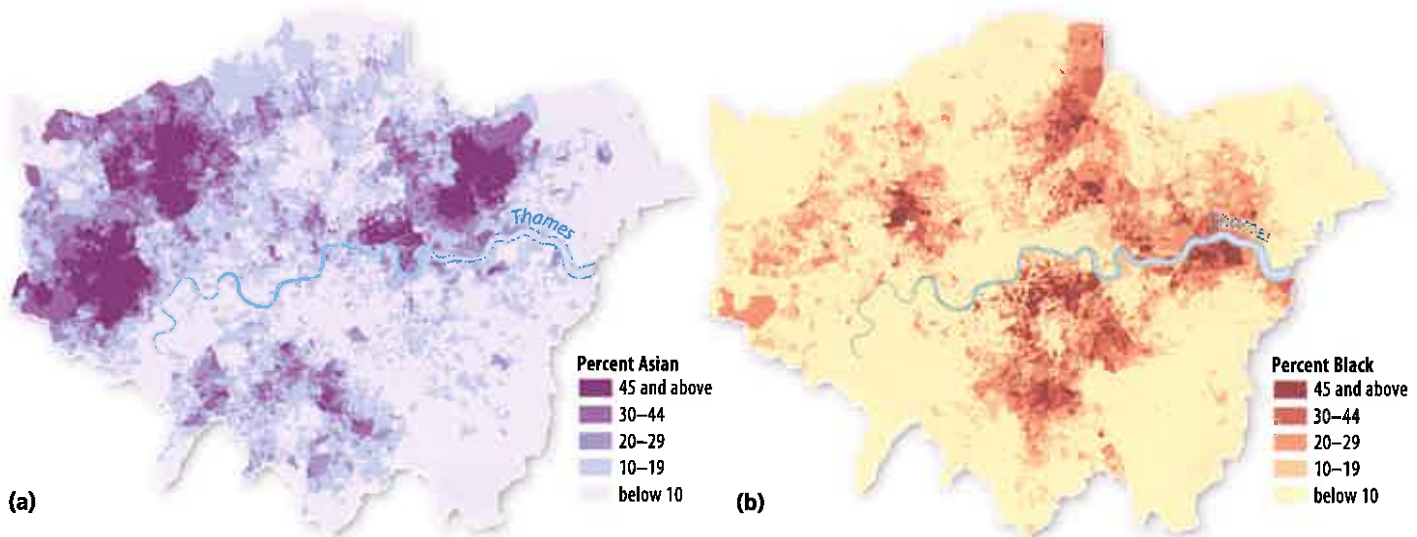
of London. South Asia Indians have clustered in the west, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in the northeast, African blacks in the east, and Caribbean blacks in the north and south (Figure 7-11).

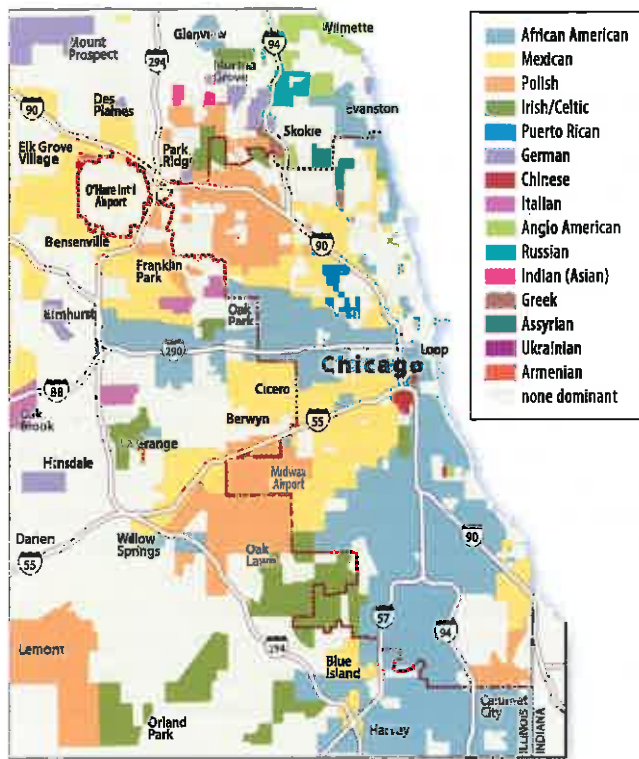
In the United States, African Americans and Hispanics are highly clustered in urban enclaves. Around 90 percent of these ethnicities live in metropolitan areas, compared to around 75 percent for all Americans. The City of Chicago, for example, consists of roughly equal numbers of whites, African Americans, and Hispanics. Whites cluster on the North Side, African Americans on the South and West sides, and Hispanics on the Northwest and Southwest sides (Figure 7-12). Urban ethnic patterns are discussed in more detail in Chapter 13.

CHANGING URBAN ETHNIC ENCLAVES

The areas occupied by ethnicities have changed over time. In the early twentieth century, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and

▼ **FIGURE 7-11 ETHNIC ENCLAVES IN LONDON**

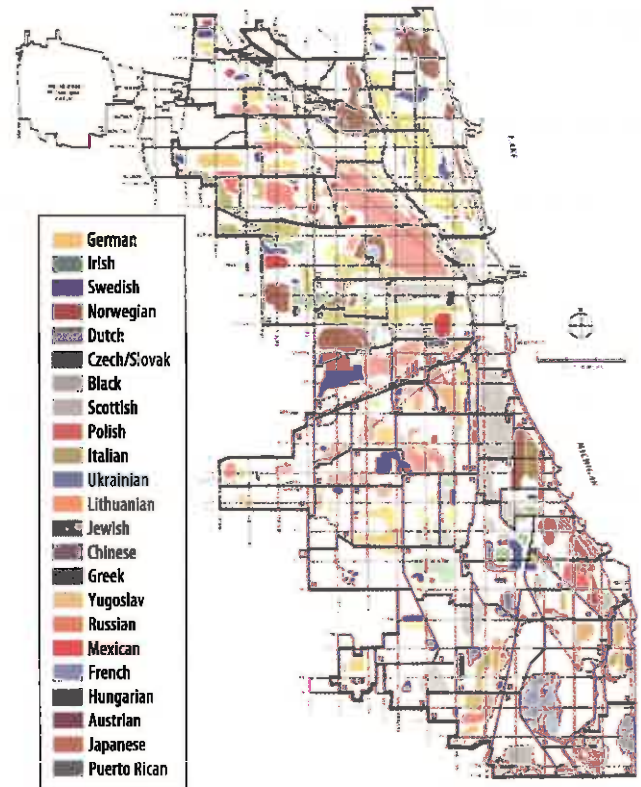




▲ FIGURE 7-12 ETHNIC ENCLAVES IN CHICAGO, 2000

other Midwest cities attracted ethnic groups primarily from Southern and Eastern Europe to work in the rapidly growing steel, automotive, and related industries. In 1910, when Detroit's auto production was expanding, three-fourths of the city's residents were immigrants and children of immigrants. Southern and Eastern European ethnic groups clustered in neighborhoods named for their predominant ethnicities, such as Detroit's Greektown and Poletown.

As recently as the middle of the twentieth century, large U.S. cities still had ethnic enclaves established by European immigrants (Figure 7-13). By the late twentieth century, most of the children and grandchildren of European immigrants had moved out of the inner-city enclaves to suburbs, in some cases forming **ethnoburbs**. An **ethnoburb** is a suburban area with a cluster of a particular ethnic population. For descendants of European immigrants, ethnic identity is more likely to be retained through religion, food, and other



▲ FIGURE 7-13 ETHNIC ENCLAVES IN CHICAGO, 1950

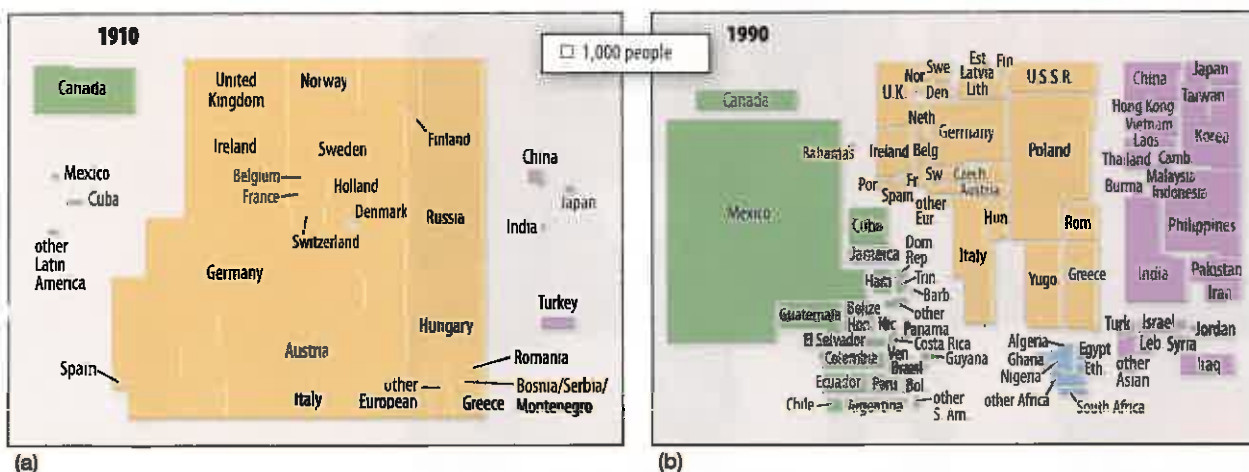
cultural traditions than through location of residence. A visible remnant of early-twentieth-century European ethnic neighborhoods is the clustering of restaurants in such areas as Little Italy and Greektown.

Cartograms depict the change in Chicago. In 1910, most residents of the city were descendants of immigrants from Europe, but by 1990, descendants of immigrants from Latin America and Asia were comparable in number (Figure 7-14).

PAUSE & REFLECT 7.1.4

Can you give an example of an ethnoburb in or near your community?

▼ FIGURE 7-14 CARTOGRAMS OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN CHICAGO (a) In 1910, most immigrants were from Europe. (b) In 1990, origins were more diverse.



Ethnically Complex Brazil

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.1.5

Describe the distribution of ethnicities within urban areas.

Brazil struggles with defining its population by race or ethnicity. Like the United States, Brazil is composed of people whose ancestors emigrated from many places. Portugal and West Africa have been the leading places of origin, but large numbers have come from other European countries, Japan, Southwest Asia, and elsewhere. In addition, a large number of indigenous people inhabited Brazil prior to the emigration of people from other continents.

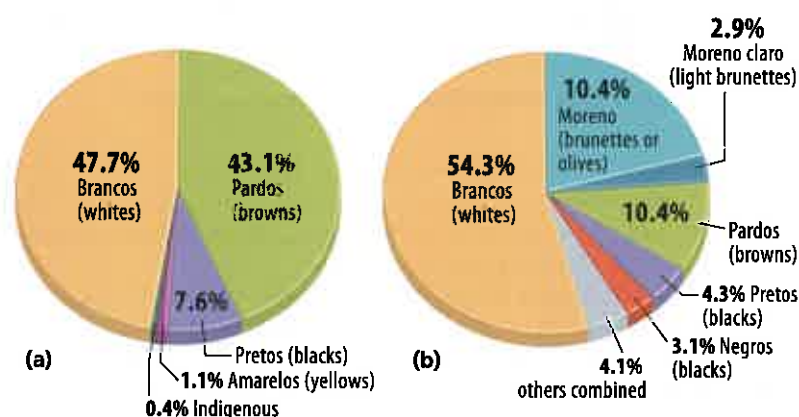
BRAZIL'S RACES AND ETHNICITIES

Brazil's census classifies people according to skin color. The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, a government agency that conducts the official census, asks Brazilians to identify themselves as belonging to one of five so-called races: branco (white), pardo (brown), preto (black),

amarelo (yellow), and indigenous (Figure 7.15a). Brancos and pardos each comprise more than 40 percent of Brazil's population and together account for more than 90 percent.

Further complicating Brazil's racial classifications, Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics researcher José Luiz Petrucelli found that Brazilians don't care for the census choices. When asked an open-ended question about their race, Brazilians responded with 143 different answers. Most significant were the large numbers who identified themselves as moreno (brunette or olive) or moreno claro (light brown), races not even included in the census. A number of Brazilians also identified with two races that both translate into English as (black) preto and negro. On the other hand, few Brazilians considered themselves pardo, which the official census uses for brown (Figure 7.15b).

Genetic studies show that roughly 70 percent of Brazilians have predominantly European ancestry, 20 percent predominantly African, and 10 percent predominantly Native American (Figure 7-16). However, through many generations of marriages and births, most Brazilians have a mix of backgrounds.



◀ **FIGURE 7-15 RACES IN BRAZIL** (a) Official results from the 2010 census. (b) Results of a self-identification survey by Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics.



◀ **FIGURE 7-16 MULTIRACIAL BRAZIL**

CLUSTERING OF RACES IN BRAZIL

Brazil also displays sharp regional differences in the distribution of races (Figure 7-17):

- **South.** Whites are clustered in the south. Brazil's four southernmost states, including the largest city, São Paulo, are approximately 70 percent white, compared to 40 percent in the rest of the country. The south was a major destination for immigrants from Portugal during colonial times and from other European countries after independence.
- **North.** Brazil's interior north, which is covered primarily by the Amazon tropical rain forest, has the highest percentage of indigenous people, who are classified by Brazil's census as brown. Relatively few European immigrants reached the interior.
- **Northeast.** Brazil's northern coast is also populated primarily by persons classified as brown. The region also received the largest number of blacks forced to migrate from Africa to be slaves. Nearly one-half of Brazil's blacks are clustered along the east coast between Bahia and Rio de Janeiro.
- **West-central.** This region has a mix of white and brown population. It was sparsely inhabited until Brasília was constructed in the region to be the capital of Brazil beginning in 1960. Brazilians of all races have migrated to the region to work in the capital.

PAUSE & REFLECT 7.1.5

If you had to fill out Brazil's census, what race would you select for yourself? Why?



▲ **FIGURE 7-17 DISTRIBUTION OF RACES IN BRAZIL** Whites are clustered in the south and browns in the north.

DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNICITIES IN GUYANA

Guyana, a country of only 800,000 inhabitants, is divided among several ethnicities. Around 30 percent of Guyanans are descended from Africans brought over as slaves in the seventeenth century, when it was a Dutch colony. Around 43 percent are descended from people brought over from India as indentured servants in the nineteenth century, when it was a British colony. Guyana also contains 9 percent indigenous people and 17 percent with mixed ethnicity.

Although the country is only 215,000 square kilometers (83,000 square miles) (the size of Kansas), the principal ethnicities cluster in different parts of Guyana. The India-descended people are clustered along the coast, the Africa-descended people are clustered in the interior north, and the indigenous people form the majority in the sparsely inhabited far west (Figure 7-18)



▲ **FIGURE 7-18 DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNICITIES IN GUYANA** Ethnic South Asian Indians are clustered along the coast, Africans in the north, and Amerindians in the west.

CHECK-IN KEY ISSUE 1

Where Are Ethnicities Distributed?

- ✓ Ethnicity, race, and nationality are frequently confused.
- ✓ The most numerous ethnicities in the United States are Hispanic, African American, and Asian American.
- ✓ The three most numerous U.S. ethnicities have distinctive distributions at regional, state, and urban scales.

Why Do Ethnicities Have Distinctive Distributions?

- International Migration of Ethnicities
- Internal Migration of African Americans
- Segregation by Race

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.2.1

Describe forced migration from Africa.

The clustering of ethnicities within the United States is partly a function of the same process that helps geographers explain the distribution of other cultural factors, such as language and religion—namely migration. In Chapter 3, migration was divided into international (voluntary or forced) and internal (interregional and intraregional). The distribution of African Americans in the United States demonstrates all of these migration patterns.

International Migration of Ethnicities

Most African Americans are descended from Africans forced to migrate to the Western Hemisphere as slaves during the eighteenth century. Most Asian Americans and Hispanics are descended from voluntary immigrants to the United States during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, although some—notably many Vietnamese and Cubans—felt compelled for political reasons to come to the United States.

FORCED MIGRATION FROM AFRICA

Slavery is a system whereby one person owns another person as a piece of property and can force that slave to work for the owner's benefit. The first Africans brought to the American colonies as slaves arrived at Jamestown, Virginia, on a Dutch ship in 1619. During the eighteenth century, the British shipped about 400,000 Africans to the 13 colonies that later formed the United States (Figure 7-19). In 1808 the United States banned bringing in additional Africans as slaves, but an estimated 250,000 were illegally imported during the next half-century.

Slavery was widespread during the time of the Roman Empire, about 2,000 years ago. During the Middle Ages, slavery was replaced in Europe by a feudal system, in which laborers working the land (known as serfs) were bound to the land and not free to migrate elsewhere. Serfs had to turn



▲ FIGURE 7-19 SLAVE SHIP This drawing made around 1845 for a French magazine shows the high density and poor conditions of Africans transported to the Western Hemisphere to become slaves.

over a portion of their crops to the lord and provide other services, as demanded by the lord.

Although slavery was rare in Europe, Europeans were responsible for diffusing the practice to the Western Hemisphere. Europeans who owned large plantations in the Americas turned to African slaves as an abundant source of labor that cost less than paying wages to other Europeans.

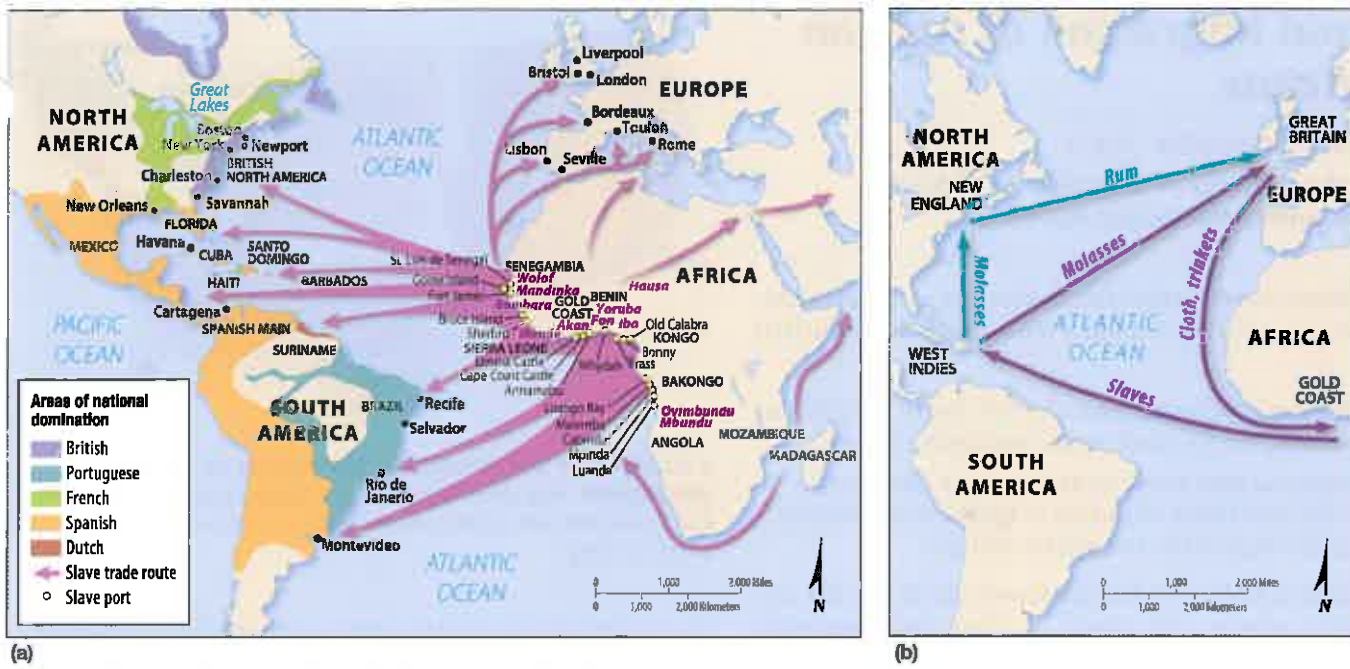
At the height of the slave trade between 1710 and 1810, at least 10 million Africans were uprooted from their homes and sent on European ships to the Western Hemisphere for sale in the slave markets. During that period, the British and Portuguese each shipped about 2 million slaves to the Western Hemisphere, with most of the British slaves going to Caribbean islands and the Portuguese slaves to Brazil.

The forced migration began when people living along the east and west coasts of Africa, taking advantage of their superior weapons, captured members of other groups living farther inland and sold the captives to Europeans. Europeans in turn shipped the captured Africans to the Americas, selling them as slaves either on consignment or through auctions. The Spanish and Portuguese first participated in the slave trade in the early sixteenth century, and the British, Dutch, and French joined in during the next century.

Different European countries operated in various regions of Africa, each sending slaves to different destinations in the Americas (Figure 7-20). At the height of the eighteenth-century slave demand, a number of European countries adopted the **triangular slave trade**, an efficient triangular trading pattern.

PAUSE & REFLECT 7.2.1

Which area of Africa appears to have been the place of origin for most slaves sent to the North American colonies?



▲ FIGURE 7-20 TRIANGULAR SLAVE TRADE Ships sailed from Africa to the Western Hemisphere, from the Americas to Europe, and from Europe to Africa: (a) From Africa, slaves and gold were transported to the Western Hemisphere, primarily to the Caribbean islands. (b) From the Americas, the same ships took sugar and molasses to Europe. Some ships took molasses from the Caribbean to North American colonies, and rum was transported from the colonies to Europe. From Europe, ships carried cloth and other trade goods to Africa to buy slaves.

The large-scale forced migration of Africans caused them unimaginable hardship, separating families and destroying villages. Traders generally seized the stronger and younger villagers, who could be sold as slaves for the highest price. The Africans were packed onto ships at extremely high density, kept in chains, and provided with minimal food and sanitary facilities. Approximately one-fourth died crossing the Atlantic.

In the 13 colonies that later formed the United States, most of the large plantations in need of labor were located in the South, primarily those growing cotton and tobacco. Consequently, nearly all Africans shipped to the 13 colonies ended up in the Southeast.

Attitudes toward slavery dominated U.S. politics during the nineteenth century. During the early 1800s, when new states were carved out of western territory, anti-slavery north-eastern states and pro-slavery southeastern states bitterly debated whether to permit slavery in the new states. The Civil War (1861–1865) was fought to prevent 11 pro-slavery Southern states from seceding from the Union. In 1863, during the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the slaves in the 11 Confederate states. The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, adopted eight months after the South surrendered, outlawed slavery.

VOLUNTARY MIGRATION FROM LATIN AMERICA AND ASIA

Until the late twentieth century, quotas limited the number of people who could immigrate to the United States from Latin America and Asia, as discussed in Chapter 3. After the immigration laws were changed during the 1960s and 1970s, the population of Hispanics and Asian Americans in

the United States increased rapidly. Initially, most Hispanics and Asian Americans were recent immigrants who came to the United States in search of work, but in the twenty-first century, most Americans who identify themselves as Hispanics or Asian Americans are children or grandchildren of immigrants (Figure 7-21).

▼ FIGURE 7-21 CHINESE ETHNIC ENCLAVE, NEW YORK CITY Spectators watch the Lunar New Year parade in the Flushing neighborhood of Queens, New York, which has one of the largest populations of ethnic Chinese people in the United States.



Internal Migration of African Americans

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.2.2

Describe the patterns of migration of African Americans within the United States.

African Americans displayed two distinctive internal migration patterns within the United States during the twentieth century:

- Interregional migration from the U.S. South to northern cities during the first half of the twentieth century.
- Intraregional migration from inner-city ghettos to outer-city and inner suburban neighborhoods during the second half of the twentieth century.

The spatial distribution of African Americans in the twenty-first century reflects the legacy of these two migration patterns.

INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION

At the close of the Civil War, most African Americans were concentrated in the rural South. Today, as a result of interregional migration, many African Americans live in cities throughout the Northeast, Midwest, and West as well. Freed from slavery, most African Americans remained in the rural South during the late nineteenth century, working as sharecroppers (Figure 7-22).

A **sharecropper** works fields rented from a landowner and pays the rent by turning over to the landowner a share of the crops. To obtain seed, tools, food, and living quarters, a sharecropper gets a line of credit from the landowner and repays the debt with yet more crops. The sharecropper system burdened poor African Americans with high interest rates and heavy debts. Instead of growing food that they could eat, sharecroppers were forced by landowners to plant extensive areas of crops such as cotton that could be sold for cash.

Sharecropping became less common into the twentieth century, as the introduction of farm machinery and a

▼ **FIGURE 7-22 SHARECROPPER** Near Lake Dick, Arkansas, around 1935.



▲ **FIGURE 7-23 INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION OF AFRICAN AMERICANS** Migration followed four distinct channels along the East Coast and east-central, west-central, and southwestern regions of the country.

decline in land devoted to cotton reduced demand for labor. At the same time that sharecroppers were being pushed off the farms, they were being pulled by the prospect of jobs in the booming industrial cities of the North.

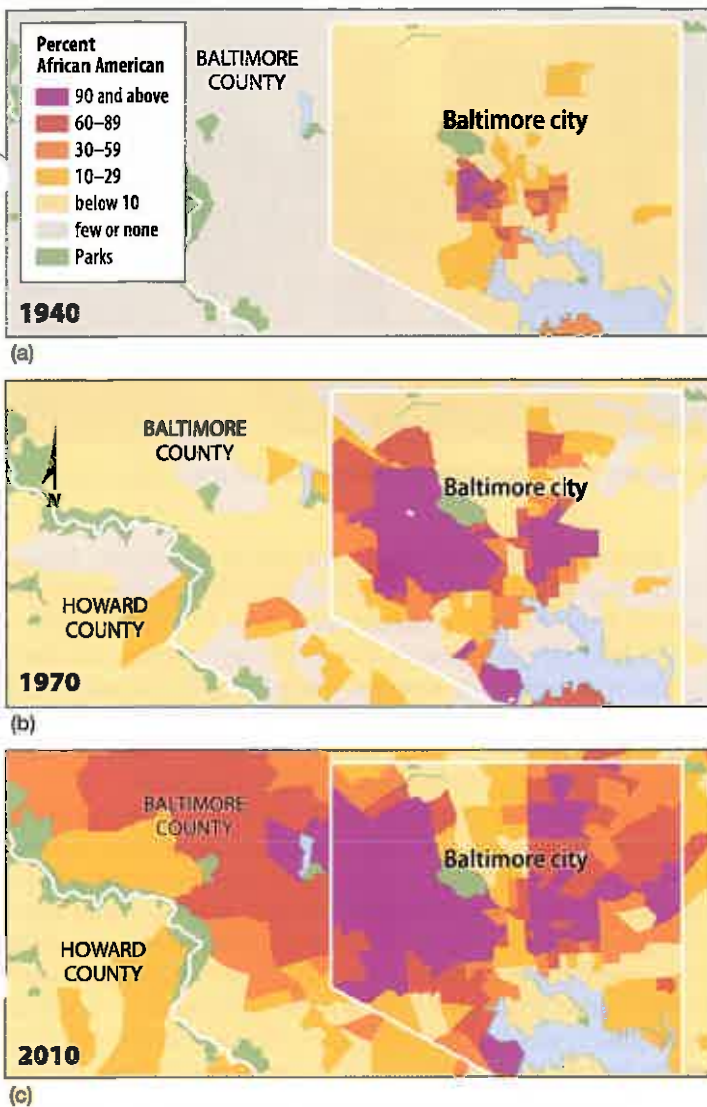
African Americans migrated out of the South along several clearly defined channels (Figure 7-23). Most traveled by bus and car along the major two-lane long-distance U.S. roads that were paved and signposted in the early decades of the twentieth century and have since been replaced by interstate highways:

- **East Coast.** From the Carolinas and other South Atlantic states north to Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and other northeastern cities, along U.S. Route 1 (parallel to present-day I-95).
- **East central.** From Alabama and eastern Tennessee north to either Detroit, along U.S. Route 25 (present-day I-75), or Cleveland, along U.S. Route 21 (present-day I-77).
- **West central.** From Mississippi and western Tennessee north to St. Louis and Chicago, along U.S. routes 61 and 66 (present-day I-55).
- **Southwest.** From Texas west to California, along U.S. routes 80 and 90 (present-day I-10 and I-20).

Southern African Americans migrated north and west in two main waves, the first in the 1910s and 1920s, before and after World War I, and the second in the 1940s and 1950s, before and after World War II. The world wars stimulated expansion of factories in the 1910s and 1940s to produce war materiel, while the demands of the armed forces created shortages of factory workers. After the wars, during the 1920s and 1950s, factories produced steel, motor vehicles, and other goods demanded in civilian society.

INTRAREGIONAL MIGRATION

Intraregional migration—migration within cities and metropolitan areas—also changed the distribution of African Americans and people of other ethnicities. When they reached the big cities, African American immigrants



▲ FIGURE 7-24 EXPANSION OF THE GHETTO IN BALTIMORE

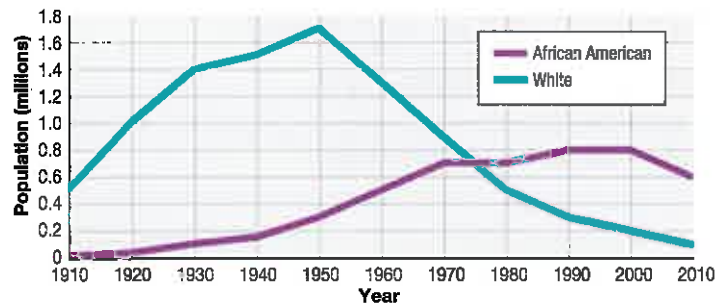
clustered in the one or two neighborhoods where the small numbers who had arrived in the nineteenth century were already living. These areas became known as ghettos, after the term for neighborhoods in which Jews were forced to live in the Middle Ages (see Chapter 6).

EXPANSION OF THE GHETTO. African Americans moved from the tight ghettos into immediately adjacent neighborhoods during the 1950s and 1960s. Expansion of the ghetto typically followed major avenues that radiated out from the center of the city.

In Baltimore, for example, most of the city's quarter-million African Americans in 1950 were clustered in a 3-square-kilometer (1-square-mile) neighborhood northwest of downtown (Figure 7-24). The remainder were clustered east of downtown or in a large isolated housing project on the south side built for black wartime workers in port industries.

Densities in the ghettos were high, with 40,000 inhabitants per square kilometer (100,000 per square mile) common. Contrast that density with the current level found in typical American suburbs of 2,000 inhabitants per square kilometer (5,000 per square mile). Because of the shortage of housing in the ghettos, families were forced to live in one room. Many dwellings lacked bathrooms, kitchens, hot water, and heat.

Baltimore's west-side African American ghetto expanded from 3 square kilometers (1 square mile) in 1950



▲ FIGURE 7-25 ETHNIC POPULATION CHANGE IN DETROIT

Between 1950 and 2010, the white population of Detroit declined from 1.7 million to 100,000, whereas the African American population increased from 300,000 to 600,000.

to 25 square kilometers (10 square miles) in 1970, and a 5-square-kilometer (2-square-mile) area on the east side became mainly populated by African Americans. Expansion of the ghetto continued to follow major avenues to the northwest and northeast in subsequent decades.

"WHITE FLIGHT." The expansion of the black ghettos in American cities was made possible by "white flight," the emigration of whites from an area in anticipation of blacks immigrating into the area. Rather than integrate, whites fled.

Detroit provides an example. African Americans poured into Detroit in the early twentieth century (Figure 7-25). Many found jobs in the rapidly growing auto industry. Immigration into Detroit from the South subsided during the 1950s, but as legal barriers to integration crumbled, whites left Detroit. Detroit's white population dropped by about 1 million between 1950 and 1975 and by another half million between 1975 and 2000. The overall population of Detroit declined from a historic peak of nearly 2 million in 1950 to around 700,000 in the early twenty-first century.

White flight was encouraged by unscrupulous real estate practices, especially **blockbusting**. Under blockbusting, real estate agents convinced white homeowners to sell their houses at low prices, preying on their fears that black families would soon move into the neighborhood and cause property values to decline. The agents then sold the houses at much higher prices to black families desperate to escape the overcrowded ghettos. Through blockbusting, a neighborhood could change from all-white to all-black in a matter of months, and real estate agents could start the process all over again in the next white area.

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, known as the Kerner Commission, wrote in 1968 that U.S. cities were divided into two separate and unequal societies, one black and one white. A half-century later, despite serious efforts to integrate and equalize the two, segregation and inequality persist.

PAUSE & REFLECT 7.2.2

Which has changed the most in Detroit, the number of African Americans or the number of whites?

Segregation by Race

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.2.3

Explain the laws once used to segregate races in the United States and South Africa.

In explaining spatial regularities, geographers look for patterns of spatial interaction. A distinctive feature of ethnic relations in the United States and South Africa has been the strong discouragement of spatial interaction in the past through legal means. Although segregation laws are no longer in effect, their legacy remains a feature of the geography of ethnicity in both countries.

UNITED STATES: “SEPARATE BUT EQUAL”

The concept of “separate but equal” was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896. Louisiana had enacted a law that required black and white passengers to ride in separate train cars. In *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court stated that Louisiana’s law was constitutional because it provided separate, but equal, treatment of blacks and whites, and equality did not mean that whites had to mix socially with blacks.

Once the Supreme Court permitted “separate but equal” treatment of races, southern states enacted a comprehensive set of laws to segregate blacks from whites as much as possible (Figure 7-26). These were called “Jim Crow” laws, named for a nineteenth-century song-and-dance act that depicted blacks offensively. Blacks had to sit in the backs of buses, and shops, restaurants, and hotels could choose to serve only whites. Separate schools were established for blacks and whites. This was equal, white southerners argued, because the bus got blacks sitting in the rear to the destination at the same time as the whites in the front, some commercial establishments served only blacks, and all the schools had teachers and classrooms.



▲ FIGURE 7-27 CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH Washington, D.C., 1963.

Throughout the country, not just in the South, house deeds contained restrictive covenants that prevented the owners from selling to blacks, as well as to Roman Catholics or Jews in some places. Restrictive covenants also kept blacks from moving into all-white neighborhoods. And because schools, especially at the elementary level, were located to serve individual neighborhoods, most were segregated in practice, even if not by legal mandate.

The landmark Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, in 1954, found that having separate schools for blacks and whites was unconstitutional because no matter how equivalent the facilities, racial separation branded minority children as inferior and therefore was inherently unequal. A year later, the Supreme Court further ruled that schools had to be desegregated “with all deliberate speed.” A nationwide movement in favor of civil rights forced elimination of U.S. segregation laws during the 1950s and 1960s (Figure 7-27).

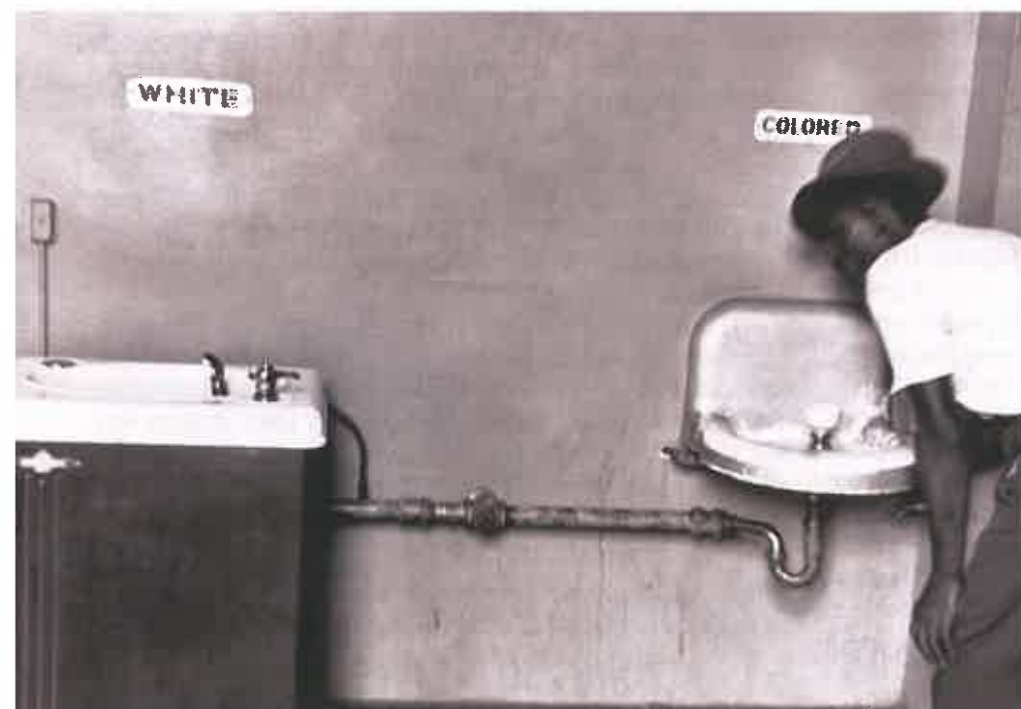
Civil Rights Acts during the 1960s outlawed racial discrimination. However, segregation still exists in American cities. Many African Americans, recent immigrants, and those of other ethnicities remain clustered in urban neighborhoods because of economic and cultural factors.

In urban schools, black and other “minority” students are now often the majority, as white residents have moved out.

PAUSE & REFLECT 7.2.3

Why might schools in cities like Baltimore and Detroit still be racially segregated (refer to Figures 7-24 and 7-25)?

◀ FIGURE 7-26 “SEPARATE BUT EQUAL” PRACTICE Until the 1960s in the U.S. South, whites and blacks had to use separate drinking fountains, restrooms, bus seats, hotel rooms, and other public facilities.



SOUTH AFRICA: APARTHEID

Discrimination by race reached its peak in the late twentieth century in South Africa. The cornerstone of the South African policy was the creation of **apartheid**, which was the legal separation of races into different geographic areas. Under apartheid, a newborn baby was classified as being one of four government-designated races—black, white, colored (mixed white and black), or Asian.

To ensure geographic isolation of these groups, the South African government designated 10 so-called homelands for blacks (Figure 7-28). The white minority government expected every black to become a citizen of one of the homelands and to move there. More than 99 percent of the population in the 10 homelands was black. The apartheid laws determined where different races could live, attend school, work, shop, travel, and own land (Figure 7-29). Blacks were restricted to certain occupations and were paid far lower wages than were whites for similar work. They could not vote or run for political office in national elections.

The apartheid system was created by descendants of whites who arrived in South Africa from the Netherlands in 1652 and settled in Cape Town, at the southern tip of the territory. They were known either as Boers, from the Dutch word for “farmer,” or Afrikaners, from the word “Afrikaans,” the name of their language, which is a dialect of Dutch. The British seized the Dutch colony in 1795 and controlled South Africa’s government until 1948, when the Afrikaner-dominated Nationalist Party won elections. The Afrikaners vowed to resist pressures



▲ **FIGURE 7-28 SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID HOMELANDS** As part of its apartheid system, the government of South Africa designated 10 homelands. The government declared 4 of these nomelands to be independent countries, but no other country recognized the action. With the end of apartheid and the election of a black majority government, the homelands were abolished, and South Africa was reorganized into 9 provinces.



▲ **FIGURE 7-29 APARTHEID** The train station in South Africa had separate areas for whites only and non-whites (“nie-blanks”).

to turn over South Africa’s government to blacks, and the Nationalist Party created the apartheid laws in the next few years to perpetuate white dominance of the country.

The white-minority government of South Africa repealed the apartheid laws in 1991. The principal anti-apartheid organization, the African National Congress, was legalized, and its leader, Nelson Mandela, was released from jail after more than 27 years of imprisonment. When all South Africans were permitted to vote in national elections for the first time, in 1994, Mandela was overwhelmingly elected the country’s first black president.

Though South Africa’s apartheid laws have been repealed, the legacy of apartheid will linger for many years. South Africa’s blacks have achieved political equality, but they are much poorer than white South Africans. For example, South Africa is a major producer of wine, but only a small number of wineries are owned by blacks.

CHECK-IN KEY ISSUE 2

Why Do Ethnicities Have Distinctive Distributions?

- ✓ Ancestors of some African Americans immigrated to the United States as slaves.
- ✓ Large numbers of African Americans migrated from the South to the North and West during the early twentieth century.
- ✓ In the United States, as well as in South Africa, segregation of races was legal for much of the twentieth century.

Why Might Ethnicities Face Conflicts?

- ▶ **Ethnicities and Nationalities**
- ▶ **Dividing Ethnicities**
- ▶ **Ethnic Diversity in Asia**

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.3.1

Understand differences between ethnicities and nationalities.

Nationality was defined at the beginning of this chapter as identity with a group of people who share legal attachment and personal allegiance to a particular country. In principle, the cultural values shared with others of the same ethnicity derive from religion, language, and material culture, whereas those shared with others of the same nationality derive from voting, obtaining a passport, and performing civic duties. However, this distinction is not always clear.

Ethnicities and Nationalities

Sorting out ethnicity and nationality can be challenging. Consider golfers Rory McIlroy and Tiger Woods (Figure 7-30). Woods's U.S. nationality is clear, but his ethnicity is less clear. His father was a mix of African American, Native American, and possibly Chinese, and his mother is a mix of Thai, Chinese, and Dutch. Woods invented the term "Cablinasian" to describe his complex ethnicity.

McIlroy has the opposite challenge. He identifies his ethnicity as Irish Catholic, but his nationality is complex. He was born in Northern Ireland, which is a part of the United Kingdom, so that is his nationality by birth, and he carries a U.K. passport. But McIlroy states that he shares ethnic identity with the people of the Republic of Ireland. The Republic of Ireland accepts as citizens anyone from Northern Ireland who so chooses, so McIlroy is permitted to identify as nationality only the U.K., only Ireland, or both.

ETHNICITY AND NATIONALITY IN NORTH AMERICA

Nationality is generally kept reasonably distinct from ethnicity and race in common usage in the United States:

- Nationality identifies citizens of the United States of America, including those born in the country and those who immigrated and became citizens.
- Ethnicity identifies groups with distinct ancestry and culture, such as African Americans, Mexican Americans, Chinese Americans, or Polish Americans.



▲ FIGURE 7-30 COMPLEX ETHNICITY AND NATIONALITY: RORY MCILROY AND TIGER WOODS Tiger Woods's nationality is clearly the United States, but his ethnicity is complex. Rory McIlroy's ethnicity is Irish Catholic, but his nationality is complex.

In Canada, the distinction between ethnicity and nationality is less clear and controversial. Québécois are clearly distinct from other Canadians in cultural traditions, especially language. But do the Québécois form a distinct ethnicity within the Canadian nationality or a second French-speaking nationality separate altogether from English-speaking Canadian? The distinction is critical because if Québécois is recognized as a separate nationality from English-speaking Canadian, the Québec government would have a much stronger justification for breaking away from Canada to form an independent country (Figure 7-31).

ETHNICITY AND NATIONALITY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

An example of the challenges in distinguishing between ethnicities and nationalities is the British Isles, which comprise 133 inhabited islands. Two islands—Ireland and Great Britain—comprise 96 percent of the land area and contain 99 percent of the population. Sorting out the inhabitants of the British Isles into nationalities has become controversial.

The British Isles are divided between two countries—the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. The Republic of Ireland comprises the southern 84 percent of the island of Ireland (called Eire in Irish), and the United Kingdom comprises Great Britain and the northern 16 percent of Eire. The United Kingdom



▲ **FIGURE 7-31 QUÉBEC INDEPENDENCE SUPPORTERS** The flag of Québec is waved at a pro-independence rally in Montréal.

is divided into four main parts: England, Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales (Figure 7-32).

The nationality of the citizens of the Republic of Ireland is clearly Irish. However, the nationality of the citizens of the United Kingdom is disputed. Does the United Kingdom contain one nationality (called British)? Or does it contain four nationalities—English, Scottish, Welsh, and the Irish of Northern Ireland?

- **English:** The English are descendants of Germanic tribes who crossed the North Sea and invaded the country in the fifth century. These invasions were summarized in Chapter 5, in the discussion of the origin of the English language.
- **Welsh:** The Welsh were Celtic people conquered by England in 1282 and formally united with England through the Act of Union of 1536. Welsh laws were abolished, and Wales became a local government unit.
- **Scots:** The Scots were Celtic people who had an independent country for more than 700 years, until 1603, when Scotland's King James VI also became King James I of England, thereby uniting the two countries. The Act of Union in 1707 formally merged the two governments, although Scotland was allowed to retain its own systems of education and local laws.



◀ **FIGURE 7-32 ETHNICITIES AND NATIONALITIES IN THE BRITISH ISLES** The British Isles comprise two countries: The Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom.

- **Irish.** The Irish were Celtic people who were ruled by England until the twentieth century, when most of the island became the independent country of Ireland. The northern portion remained part of the United Kingdom.

International sports organizations permit each of the four parts of the United Kingdom to field its own separate national soccer team in major tournaments, such as the World Cup. The most important annual international rugby tournament, known as the Six Nations Championship, includes teams from England, Scotland, and Wales, as well as from the Republic of Ireland, Italy, and France. Given the history of English conquest, the other nationalities often root against England when it is playing teams from other countries.

The government of the United Kingdom has established separate governments for Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. The government of Scotland exercises considerable authority, whereas the one in Wales has much less authority. Scots voted in 2014 to remain part of the United Kingdom, but political differences between Scotland and England may eventually result in an independent Scotland (Figure 7-33).

NATIONALISM

Nationalism is loyalty and devotion to a nationality. Nationalism typically promotes a sense of national consciousness that exalts one nation above all others and emphasizes its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nationalities. People display nationalism by supporting a country that preserves and enhances the culture and attitudes of their nationality. States foster nationalism by promoting symbols of the country, such as flags and songs.

Nationalism is an important example of a **centripetal force**, which is an attitude that tends to unify people and enhance support for a state. (The word *centripetal* means “directed toward the center”; it is the opposite of *centrifugal*, which means “to spread out from the center.”) Most countries find that the best way to achieve citizen support is to emphasize shared attitudes that unify the people.

▼ **FIGURE 7-33 PRO-INDEPENDENCE SCOTS** Rally in Glasgow in favor of vote for independence.



Dividing Ethnicities

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.3.2

Describe how ethnicities can be divided among more than one nationality.

Few ethnicities inhabit an area that matches the territory of a nationality. Ethnicities are sometimes divided among more than one nationality. Several examples can be found in Asia.

ETHNICITIES IN SOUTH ASIA

South Asia provides vivid examples of what happens when independence comes to colonies that contain two major ethnicities. When the British ended their colonial rule of the Indian subcontinent in 1947, they divided the colony into two irregularly shaped countries—India and Pakistan (Figure 7-34). Pakistan comprised two noncontiguous areas, West Pakistan and East Pakistan, 1,600 kilometers (1,000 miles) apart, separated by India. East Pakistan became the independent state of Bangladesh in 1971. An eastern region of India was also practically cut off from the rest of the country, attached only by a narrow corridor north of Bangladesh that is less than 13 kilometers (8 miles) wide in some places.

The basis for separating West and East Pakistan from India was ethnicity. The people living in the two areas of Pakistan were predominantly Muslim; those in India were

predominantly Hindu. Antagonism between the two religious groups was so great that the British decided to place the Hindus and Muslims in separate states. Hinduism has become a great source of national unity in India. In modern India, with its hundreds of languages and ethnic groups, Hinduism has become the cultural trait shared by the largest percentage of the population.

Muslims have long fought with Hindus for control of territory, especially in South Asia. After the British took over India in the early 1800s, a three-way struggle began, with the Hindus and Muslims fighting each other as well as the British rulers. Mahatma Gandhi, a Hindu advocate of non-violence and reconciliation with Muslims, was assassinated in 1948, ending the likelihood of creating a single state in which Muslims and Hindus could live together peacefully.

The partition of South Asia into two states resulted in massive migration because the two boundaries did not correspond precisely to the territory inhabited by the two ethnicities. Approximately 17 million people caught on the wrong side of a boundary felt compelled to migrate during the late 1940s. Some 6 million Muslims moved from India to West Pakistan and about 1 million from India to East Pakistan. Hindus who migrated to India included approximately 6 million from West Pakistan and 3.5 million from East Pakistan. As they attempted to reach the other side of the new border, Hindus in Pakistan and Muslims in India were killed by people from the rival religion. Extremists attacked small groups of refugees traveling by road and halted trains to massacre the passengers.

Pakistan and India never agreed on the location of the boundary separating the two countries in the northern region of Kashmir (Figure 7-35). Since 1972, the two countries have maintained a “line of control,” with Pakistan administering the northwestern portion and India the southeastern portion. Muslims, who comprise a majority in both portions, have fought to secure reunification

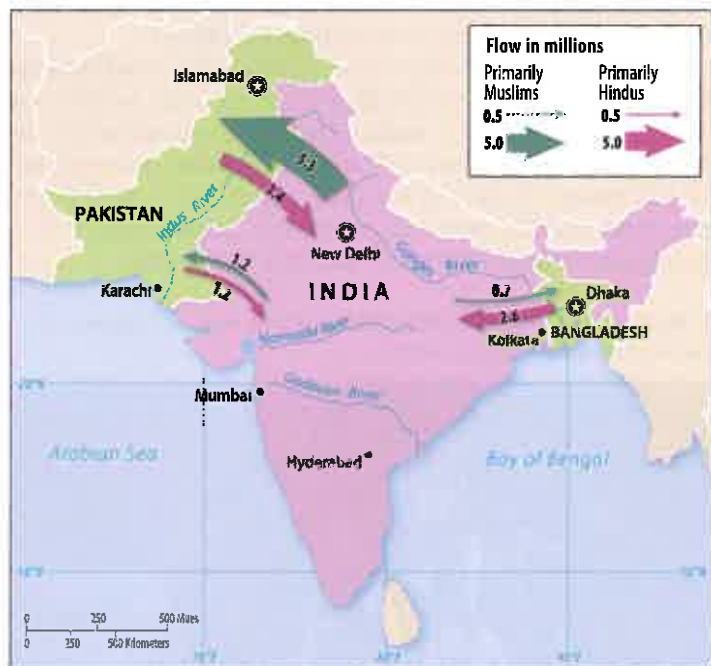


FIGURE 7-34 ETHNIC DIVISION OF SOUTH ASIA In 1947, British India was partitioned into two independent states, India and Pakistan, which resulted in the forced migration of an estimated 17 million people. The creation of Pakistan as two territories nearly 1,600 kilometers (1,000 miles) apart proved unstable, and in 1971 East Pakistan became the independent country of Bangladesh.

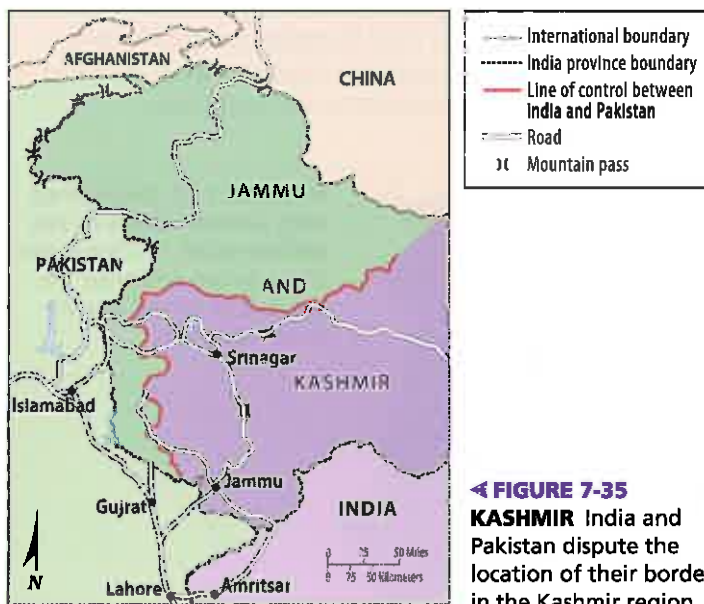


FIGURE 7-35 KASHMIR India and Pakistan dispute the location of their border in the Kashmir region.

of Kashmir, either as part of Pakistan or as an independent country. India blames Pakistan for the unrest and vows to retain its portion of Kashmir. Pakistan argues that Kashmiris on both sides of the border should choose their own future in a vote, confident that the majority Muslim population would break away from India.

India's religious unrest is further complicated by the presence of 23 million Sikhs, who have long resented that they were not given their own independent country when India was partitioned (see Chapter 6). Although they constitute only 2 percent of India's total population, Sikhs comprise a majority in the Indian state of Punjab, along the border with Pakistan. Sikh extremists have fought for more control over the Punjab or even complete independence from India.

DIVIDING THE KURDS

A prominent example of an ethnicity divided among several countries in Asia is the Kurds, who live in the Caucasus Mountains. The Kurds are Sunni Muslims who speak a language in the Iranian group of the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European and have distinctive literature, dress, and other cultural traditions.

When the victorious European allies carved up the Ottoman Empire after World War I, they created an independent state of Kurdistan to the south and west of Van Gölü (Lake Van) under the 1920 Treaty of Sèvres. Before the treaty was ratified, however, the Turks, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal (later known as Kemal Atatürk), fought successfully to expand the territory under their control beyond the small area the Allies had allocated to them. The Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 established the modern state of Turkey, and three years later the League of Nations determined that much of Kurdistan would become part of Turkey.

Today the 30 million Kurds are split among several countries; 14.5 million live in eastern Turkey, 6 million in western Iran, 5.5 million in northern Iraq, 2 million in Syria, and 1.5 million in other countries (primarily Germany). Kurds comprise 18 percent of the population in Turkey, 17 percent in Iraq, 9 percent in Syria, and 8 percent in Iran (Figure 7.36a).

To foster the development of Turkish nationalism, the Turks have tried repeatedly to suppress Kurdish culture. Use of the Kurdish language was illegal in Turkey until 1991, and laws banning its use in broadcasts and classrooms remain in force. Kurdish nationalists, for their part, have waged a guerrilla war since 1984 against the Turkish army. In recent years, Turkey has permitted Kurds to practice more of their cultural traditions (Figure 7-36b).

Iraq's Kurds have made several unsuccessful attempts to gain independence, including in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1970s. A few days after Iraq was defeated in the 1991 Gulf War, the country's Kurds launched another unsuccessful rebellion. The United States and its allies decided not to resume their recently concluded fight against Iraq on behalf of the Kurdish rebels, but after the revolt was crushed, they sent troops to protect the Kurds from further attacks by the



(a)



(b)

▲ FIGURE 7-36 KURDISTAN (a) The area on the map is the territory that Kurds wish to consolidate into an independent Kurdistan. (b) Kurds in Diyarbakir, Turkey, celebrate Nawroz (Kurdish New Year), which occurs in March on the equinox.

Iraqi army. After the United States attacked Iraq and deposed Saddam Hussein in 2003, Iraqi Kurds achieved even more autonomy. The Kurdistan Regional Parliament governs northern Iraq, with little control exercised by the Iraqi national government.

Ethnic Diversity in Asia

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.3.3

Identify and describe the principal ethnicities in western areas of Asia.

The lack of correspondence between the territories occupied by ethnicities and by nationalities is especially severe in areas of Southwest Asia and Central Asia. The Kurds, discussed on the previous page, provide just one example. Dozens of ethnicities inhabit the area, allocated among seven nationalities (Figure 7-37). A map of the western portions of Asia would look very different if national boundaries were drawn to separate the major ethnicities.

ETHNICITIES IN TURKEY

Ethnic Turks comprise approximately three-fourths of the population of Turkey. Turks are descended from migrants to present-day Turkey around 1,000 years ago. The most populous minority is the Kurds, 18 percent of Turkey's population.

ETHNICITIES IN LEBANON

Lebanon is divided among around 54 percent Muslims, 41 percent Christians, and 5 percent Druze. Lebanon's most numerous Christians are Maronites, who consider themselves Roman Catholic, followed by various Orthodox denominations (Figure 7-38). Lebanon's Muslims are estimated to be divided about equally between Sunnis and Shiites. The Druze are sometimes classified as Muslims, but they do not follow Islam's five pillars of faith described in

Chapter 6 and therefore do not self-identify as Muslims. Lebanon's Constitution officially recognizes 18 religions, including some Christian and Muslim denominations and congregations with very few adherents.

When Lebanon became independent in 1943, the constitution required that each religion be represented in the Chamber of Deputies according to its percentage in the 1932 census. By unwritten convention, the president of Lebanon was a Maronite Christian, the premier a Sunni Muslim, the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies a Shiite Muslim, and the foreign minister a Greek Orthodox Christian. Other cabinet members and civil servants were similarly apportioned among the various faiths.

Lebanon's religious groups have tended to live in different regions of the country. Maronites are concentrated in the west-central, Sunnis in the northwest, and Shiites in the south and east. Beirut, the capital and largest city, has been divided between a Christian eastern zone and a Muslim western zone. During a civil war between 1975 and 1990, each religious group formed a private militia to guard its territory. The territory controlled by each militia changed according to battles with other religious groups.

ETHNICITIES IN SYRIA

On the surface, Syria has a simple ethnic composition, with 90 percent Arabs and 9 percent Kurds. However, the Arab population is divided among 64 percent Sunni Muslim, 11 percent Alawi Muslim, 10 percent Christian, 3 percent Druze, and 2 percent other Muslim. The most numerous Christian denominations are Greek Orthodox

▼ **FIGURE 7-37 ETHNICITIES IN WESTERN AREAS OF ASIA** The complex mix of ethnicities across western areas of Asia, and the lack of correspondence between their distribution and the boundaries of countries, has been a major source of conflict in the region.





◀ **FIGURE 7-38 LEBANESE CHRISTIANS** Palm Sunday is marked by a walk at St. George Cathedral in Beirut, Lebanon.

and Greek Catholic. The Alawis, who adhere to a denomination of Shiite Islam, have held power in Syria since 1970. A civil war has raged for several years between supporters and opponents of the Alawi-dominated government.

ETHNICITIES IN IRAQ

The most numerous ethnicities in Iraq include 55 percent Shiite Muslim Arabs, 21 percent Kurds, and 19 percent Sunni Muslim Arabs. The United States led an attack against Iraq in 2003 that resulted in the removal and death of the country's longtime president, Saddam Hussein. U.S. officials justified removing Hussein because he ran a brutal dictatorship, created weapons of mass destruction, and allegedly had close links with terrorists. Having invaded Iraq and removed Hussein from power, the United States became embroiled in a complex and violent struggle among ethnicities. The political situation in Iraq is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

ETHNICITIES IN IRAN

Most Iranians are Persians, believed to be descendants of Indo-European tribes that migrated from Central Asia into

what is now Iran several thousand years ago (see Chapter 5). Persians constitute the world's largest ethnicity adhering to Shiite Islam. Other important ethnicities are Azeri and Baluchi. Relations between Iran and the United States have been poor since 1979, when a revolution brought to power fundamentalist Shiites, and some of their supporters seized the U.S. Embassy, holding 52 Americans hostage for more than a year. More recently, other countries have struggled to keep Iran from creating nuclear weapons (discussed in more detail in Chapter 8).

ETHNICITIES IN AFGHANISTAN

The most numerous ethnicities in Afghanistan are Pashtun, Tajik, and Hazara (Figure 7-39). The current unrest among Afghanistan's ethnicities dates from 1979, with the start of a rebellion by several ethnic groups against the government. After years of fighting among ethnicities, a Pashtun faction called the Taliban gained control over most of the country in 1995. The Taliban imposed harsh laws on Afghanistan, according to Islamic values as the Taliban interpreted them (see Chapter 6). The United States invaded Afghanistan in 2001 and overthrew the Taliban-led government because it was harboring terrorists (see Chapter 8). Removal of the Taliban unleashed a new struggle for control of Afghanistan among the country's many ethnicities.

ETHNICITIES IN PAKISTAN

The Punjabi have been the most numerous ethnicity of what is now Pakistan since ancient times, but the mountainous border area with Afghanistan is principally Baluchi and Pashtun. As with the neighboring Pashtun, the Punjabi converted to Islam in the seventh century. The Punjabi remained Sunni Muslims rather than convert to Shiite Islam like the Pashtun.

▼ **FIGURE 7-39 PASHTUN BOYS, AFGHANISTAN**



PAUSE & REFLECT 7.3

How do the ethnic complexities in Southwest and Central Asia make it difficult to set up stable democracies?

CHECK-IN KEY ISSUE 3

Why Might Ethnicities Face Conflicts?

- ✓ **Nationality is identity with a group of people who share legal attachment and personal allegiance to a particular country.**
- ✓ **Some ethnicities, such as the Kurds, are divided among more than one nationality.**
- ✓ **Lack of correspondence between ethnicities and nationalities is especially severe in western areas of Asia.**

- **Forced Migration in Europe**
- **Ethnic Cleansing in Bosnia & Herzegovina**
- **Ethnic Cleansing Elsewhere in the Balkans**
- **Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide in Africa**
- **Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide in Central Africa**

Describe the process of ethnic cleansing.

United Nations defines **ethnic cleansing** as a purposeful policy designed by one ethnic or religious group to remove by violent and terror-inspiring means the civilian population of another ethnic or religious group from certain geographic areas. Ethnic cleansing is especially important for cultural geography because it changes the spatial distribution of ethnicities, and it does so through force and criminal violence.

Ethnic cleansing is undertaken to rid an area of an entire ethnicity so that the surviving ethnic group can be the sole inhabitants. The point of ethnic cleansing is not simply to defeat an enemy or to subjugate them, as was the case in traditional wars. Rather than a clash between armies of male soldiers, ethnic cleansing involves the removal of every member of the less powerful ethnicity—women as well as men, children as well as adults, the frail elderly as well as the strong youth.

Forced Migration in Europe

The largest forced migration occurred during World War II (1939–1945) because of events leading up to the war, the war itself, and postwar adjustments. Especially notorious was the deportation by the German Nazis of millions of Jews, gypsies, and other ethnic groups to the infamous concentration camps, where they exterminated most of them.

After World War II ended, millions of ethnic Germans, Poles, Russians, and other groups were forced to migrate as a result of boundary changes (Figure 7-40). For example, when a portion of eastern Germany became part of Poland, the Germans living in the region were forced to move west to Germany, and Poles were allowed to move into the area. Similarly, Poles were forced to move when the eastern portion of Poland was turned over to the Soviet Union.

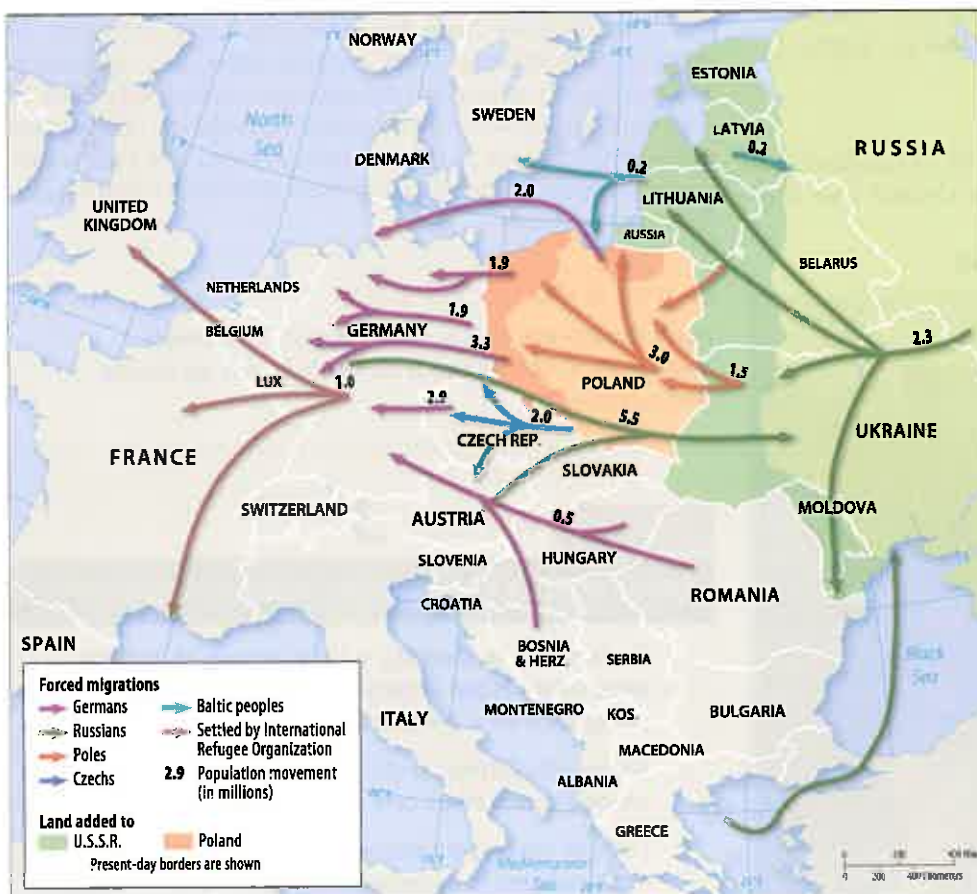


FIGURE 7-40 FORCED MIGRATION OF ETHNICITIES AFTER WORLD WAR II The largest number were Poles forced to move from territory occupied by the Soviet Union (now Russia), Germans forced to migrate from territory taken over by Poland and the Soviet Union, and Russians forced to return to the Soviet Union from Western Europe.



FIGURE 7-41 THE BALKANS IN 1914

MULTIETHNIC YUGOSLAVIA

The scale of ethnic cleansing during World War II has not been repeated, but ethnic cleansing has occurred more recently in Europe in the Balkans. Ethnic cleansing is also occurring in Africa (discussed later in this chapter).

The Balkans, about the size of Texas, is a region named for the Balkan Mountains (known in Slavic

languages as Stara Planina), which extend east-west across the region. The region includes Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Romania, as well as several countries that once comprised Yugoslavia. A complex assemblage of ethnicities has long made the Balkans a hotbed of unrest (Figure 7-41). Most profoundly for the rest of the world, the incident that sparked World War I occurred in the Balkans. In June 1914, the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary was assassinated in Sarajevo by a Serb who sought independence for Bosnia.

PAUSE & REFLECT 7.4.1

What is another example of a country that is inhabited primarily by ethnic Slavs?

After World War I, the Allies created a new country, Yugoslavia, to unite several Balkan ethnicities that spoke similar South Slavic languages. The prefix “Yugo” in the country’s name derived from the Slavic word for “south.” Longtime leader Josip Broz Tito (prime minister 1943–1963 and president 1953–1980) was instrumental in forging a Yugoslav nationality. Central to Tito’s vision of a Yugoslav nationality was acceptance of ethnic diversity in language and religion. Individuals from the five most numerous ethnicities—Croat, Macedonian, Montenegrin, Serb, and Slovene—were allowed to exercise considerable control over the areas they inhabited within Yugoslavia.

Rivalries among ethnicities resurfaced in Yugoslavia during the 1980s after Tito’s death, leading ultimately to its breakup into seven small countries (Figure 7-42). Because the boundaries of the new countries did not match the distribution of ethnicities, the breakup of Yugoslavia did not happen peacefully. Several episodes of ethnic cleansing ensued. (See Sustainability & Our Environment feature on page 257, and the next section of this chapter.)



FIGURE 7-42 BREAKUP OF YUGOSLAVIA Until its breakup in 1992, the country of Yugoslavia consisted of six republics—Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia. These republics exercised considerable control over their local affairs. Kosovo and Vojvodina were considered autonomous regions within Serbia.

Ethnic Cleansing in Bosnia & Herzegovina

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.4.2

Explain the concept of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia & Herzegovina.

Ethnic cleansing after the breakup of Yugoslavia occurred primarily where the territories occupied by the various ethnic groups did not match the boundaries of the new countries. Figure 7-42 shows three places in former Yugoslavia where ethnic and country boundaries were especially poorly matched—Croatia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, and Kosovo.

Ethnic cleansing often follows these steps:

1. Move a large amount of military equipment and personnel into a village that has no strategic value.
2. Round up all the people in the village. Segregate men from women, children, and old people. Place men in detention camps or kill them.
3. Force the rest of the people to leave the village. March them in a convoy to a place outside the territory being ethnically cleansed.
4. Destroy the vacated village, such as by setting it on fire.

ETHNICALLY DIVERSE BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

Bosnia & Herzegovina was the most ethnically diverse republic of the former Yugoslavia. At the time of the breakup of Yugoslavia, the population of Bosnia & Herzegovina was 44 percent Bosniaks, 31 percent Serbs, and 17 percent Croats. Bosniaks are frequently called Bosnian Muslims, in recognition of their predominant religion. Rather than live in an independent multi-ethnic state with a Muslim plurality, Bosnia & Herzegovina's Serbs and Croats fought to unite the portions of the republic that they inhabited with Serbia and Croatia, respectively.

To strengthen their cases for breaking away from Bosnia & Herzegovina, Serbs and Croats engaged in ethnic cleansing of Bosniaks (Figure 7-43). According to the United Nations, ethnic cleansing in Bosnia included “murder, torture, arbitrary arrest and detention, extra-judicial executions, rape and sexual assaults, confinement of civilian population in ghetto areas, forcible removal, displacement and deportation of civilian population, deliberate military attacks or threats of attacks on civilians and civilian areas, and wanton destruction of property.”

Ethnic cleansing ensured that areas did not merely have majorities of Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats but were ethnically homogeneous and therefore better candidates for union with Serbia and Croatia. Ethnic cleansing by Serbs against Bosniaks was especially severe because the territory inhabited by Serbs in Bosnia comprised several discontinuous areas, many of which were separated from Serbia by areas with Bosniak majorities. By ethnically cleansing Bosniaks from intervening areas, Bosnian Serbs created one continuous area of Serb domination rather than several discontinuous ones.



(a)



(b)



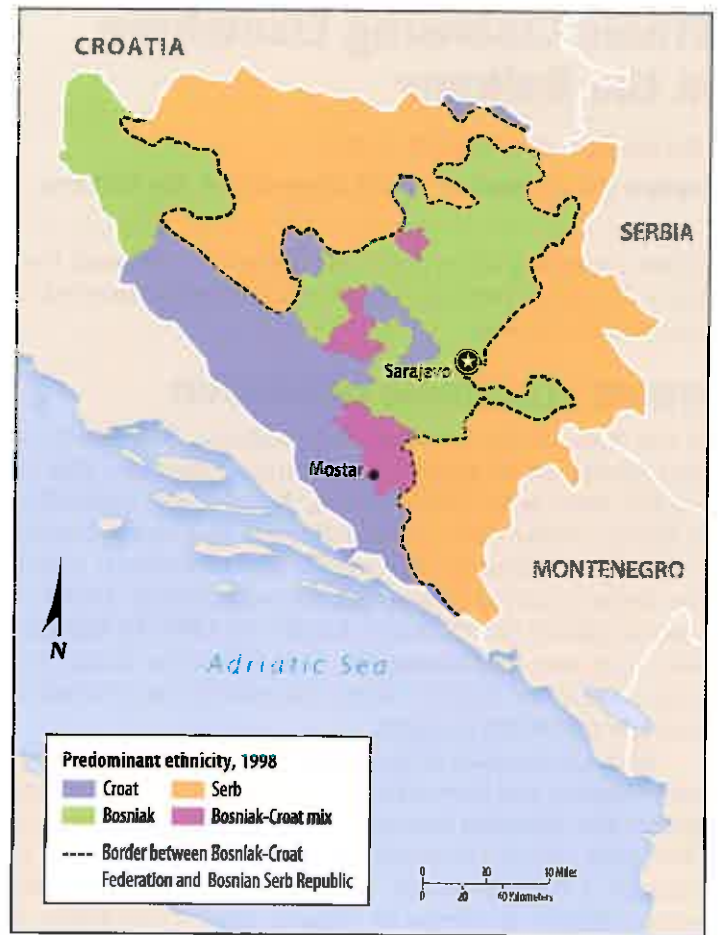
(c)

▲ FIGURE 7-43 ETHNIC CLEANSING IN BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

(a) The Stari Most (old bridge), in the city of Mostar, Bosnia & Herzegovina, was built by the Turks in 1566 across the Neretva River. (b) The bridge was blown up by Croats in 1993 as part of their ethnic cleansing against the Bosniaks. (c) With the end of the war in Bosnia & Herzegovina, the bridge was rebuilt in 2004. 1. **Why** would the Croats consider blowing up a bridge to be an important element in their ethnic cleansing? 2. **Why** would the Bosniaks consider it important to rebuild the bridge after the war? 3. **Compare** the rebuilt bridge with the original. **Why** do you think it was important for the Bosniaks to make the new bridge appear almost identical to the original one?



(a)



(b)

▲ FIGURE 7-44 ETHNIC CLEANSING IN BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA (a) Distribution of ethnicities in Bosnia & Herzegovina before the war during the 1990s. (b) Distribution of ethnicities after ethnic cleansing. Ethnic cleansing resulted in a transfer of control of territory from Bosniaks to Serbs and Croats.

Accords reached in Dayton, Ohio, in 1996 by leaders of the various ethnicities divided Bosnia & Herzegovina into three regions, one each dominated, respectively, by Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs. The Bosniak and Croat regions were combined into a federation, with some cooperation between the two groups, but the Serb region has operated with almost complete independence in all but name from the others.

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, established by the United Nations, convicted Croat and Serb leaders of war crimes for the ethnic cleansing of Bosniaks. Yet ethnic cleansing was ultimately successful. The Dayton agreements gave Serbs control of around 50 percent of the land even though they comprised only 40 percent of the population of Bosnia & Herzegovina. Croats got around 20 percent of the land but comprised only 15 percent of the population. Bosniaks, with 45 percent of the population, got only 30 percent of the land (Figure 7-44). Nonetheless, Bosnia & Herzegovina is once again a relatively peaceful place (Figure 7-45).

▼ FIGURE 7-45 MOSTAR TODAY Mostar's Stari Most is now a tourist attraction and hosts the annual International Bridge Jumping Competition.



PAUSE & REFLECT 7.4.2

In which regions within Bosnia & Herzegovina did Serbs gain most of their territory?

Ethnic Cleansing Elsewhere in the Balkans

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.4.3

Explain the concept of ethnic cleansing in the Balkans.

Ethnic cleansing in former Yugoslavia has not been limited to Bosnia & Herzegovina. It has also been observed in Kosovo and Croatia.

ETHNIC CLEANSING IN KOSOVO

At the time of the breakup of Yugoslavia, 82 percent of the population of Kosovo were ethnic Albanians and 10 percent were Serbs. Nonetheless, Kosovo was controlled by Serbia. Serbia had a historical claim to Kosovo, having controlled it between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Serbs fought an important --though losing-- battle in Kosovo against the Ottoman Empire in 1389. In recognition of its role in forming the Serb ethnicity, Serbia was given control of Kosovo when Yugoslavia was created in the early twentieth century.

With the breakup of Yugoslavia, Serbia took direct control of Kosovo and launched a campaign of ethnic cleansing against the Albanian majority (Figure 7-46). At its peak in 1999, Serb ethnic cleansing forced more than 800,000 of Kosovo's 2 million ethnic Albanian residents from their homes, mostly to camps in Albania (see Sustainability & Our Environment feature and Figure 7-47). Outraged by the ethnic cleansing, the United States and Western European countries, operating through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), launched an air attack against Serbia. The bombing campaign ended when Serbia agreed to withdraw all of its soldiers and police from Kosovo.

Kosovo declared its independence from Serbia in 2008. Around 108 countries, including the United States,

▼ FIGURE 7-46 ETHNIC CLEANSING IN KOSOVO Kosovars who were ethnically cleansed by Serbs in 1999 lived in tents in camps across the border in Macedonia.



recognize Kosovo as an independent country, but Serbia, Russia, China and their allies oppose it. However, the declaration of independence induced nearly 90 percent of the country's Serbs to leave.

ETHNIC CLEANSING IN CROATIA

With the breakup of Yugoslavia, Croatia declared its independence in 1991. At the time, ethnic Serbs, who constitute 12 percent of Croatia's population rebelled against the new Croatian government, and tried to form a separate country in the east, which they called the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

To strengthen their case for an independent Krajina, Serbs engaged in ethnic cleansing. The Serbs expelled around 170,000 Croats and other non-Serbs from the eastern part of Croatia. After a four-year war that ended with a Croat victory, around 20,000 Serbs were expelled and 180,000 chose to leave Croatia. The International Criminal Tribunal convicted the Serb leaders of war crimes for their ethnic cleansing of Croats in the eastern part of Croatia.

PAUSE & REFLECT 7.4.3

Which two countries carved out of former Yugoslavia have not been mentioned in these two sections on ethnic cleansing? Why might they not have suffered from ethnic cleansing?

BALKANIZATION

The terms Balkanized and Balkanization were once widely used by world leaders as well as geographers:

- **Balkanized** was defined as a small geographic area that could not successfully be organized into stable countries because it was inhabited by many ethnicities with complex, long-standing antagonisms toward each other.
- **Balkanization** was defined as the process by which a state breaks down through conflicts among its ethnicities.

A century ago, world leaders regarded the process of Balkanization of Balkanized countries as a threat to world peace. They were right: Balkanization led directly to World War I because the various nationalities in the Balkans dragged into the war the larger powers with which they had alliances.

After two world wars and the rise and fall of communism during the twentieth century, the Balkans once again became Balkanized into the twenty-first century. Peace has come to the Balkans in the twenty-first century because ethnic cleansing tragically accomplished its goal. Millions of people were rounded up and killed or forced to migrate because they constituted ethnic minorities. Ethnic homogeneity has become the price of peace in areas that once were multiethnic.

SUSTAINABILITY & OUR ENVIRONMENT

Geographic Evidence of Ethnic Cleansing

Early reports of ethnic cleansing by Serbs in the former Yugoslavia were so shocking that many people dismissed them as journalistic exaggeration or partisan propaganda. It took one of geography's most important analytic tools, aerial-photography interpretation, to provide irrefutable evidence of the process, as well as the magnitude, of ethnic cleansing.

According to the society pillar of sustainability, humans need material resources, such as shelter and food, to survive. Ethnic cleansing denies people these basic needs. And a landscape cannot be sustained environmentally and economically if no people are left living there to farm or provide services.

A series of three photographs taken by NATO air reconnaissance over the village of Glodane, in western Kosovo, illustrated the four steps in ethnic cleansing

summarized on p. 254. Figure 7-47 is the first of the three photos:

- Illustrating step 1, the red circles in Figure 7-47 show the location of Serb armored vehicles along the main street of the village. Figure 7-47 shows the village's houses and farm buildings clustered on the left side, with fields on the outskirts of the village, including the center and right portions of the photograph. As discussed in Chapter 12, rural settlements in most of the world have houses and farm buildings clustered together and surrounded by fields rather than in isolated, individual farms typical of North America.
- Illustrating step 2, the farm field immediately to the east of the main north-south road is filled with the villagers. At the scale that the photograph is reproduced in

this book, the people appear as a dark mass inside the blue lines labeled "internally displaced persons." The white rectangles to the north of the people are civilian cars and trucks.

- Illustrating step 3, the second photograph of the sequence (not included here) showed the same location a short time later, with one major change: The people and vehicles massed in the field in the first photograph are gone—no people and no vehicles.
- Illustrating step 4, the third photograph (not included here) showed that the buildings in the village had been set on fire.

Aerial photographs such as these not only "proved" that ethnic cleansing was occurring but also provided critical evidence to prosecute Serb leaders for war crimes.



FIGURE 7-47 EVIDENCE OF ETHNIC CLEANSING IN KOSOVO Ethnic cleansing by Serbs forced Albanians living in Kosovo to flee in 1999. The village of Glodane is on the west side of the road. The villagers and their vehicles have been rounded up and placed in the field east of the road. The villagers are the dark mass inside the blue area marked internally displaced persons. The red circles show the locations of Serb armored vehicles.

Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide in Africa

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.4.4

Identify the principal recent episodes of genocide in Africa.

Competition among ethnicities can lead in a handful of the most extreme cases to **genocide**, which is the mass killing of a group of people in an attempt to eliminate the entire group from existence. Several areas of Africa have been plagued by conflicts among ethnicities that have resulted in genocide in recent years. Other countries have been either unable or unwilling to stop the genocide.

ETHNICITIES AND NATIONALITIES IN AFRICA

Traditionally, the most important element of cultural identity in Africa was ethnicity rather than nationality. Africa contains several thousand ethnicities with distinct languages, religions, and social customs. The precise number of ethnicities is impossible to determine because boundaries

separating them can be hard to define. Further, it is hard to determine whether a particular group forms a distinct ethnicity or is part of a larger collection of similar groups.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, European countries carved up the continent into a collection of colonies, with little regard for the distribution of these ethnicities. When the European colonies in Africa became independent states, especially during the 1950s and 1960s, the areas of the new states typically matched the colonial administrative units imposed by the Europeans rather than the historical distribution of ethnicities (Figure 7-48). As a result, most states contained a large collection of often dissimilar ethnicities, and some ethnic groups were divided among more than one state. Conflict among ethnicities is widespread in Africa, largely because the historical distribution of ethnicities bears little relationship to present-day nationalities.

PAUSE & REFLECT 7.4.4

Why might the areas of individual ethnicities be much larger in northern Africa than in the rest of the continent? Refer to Figure 1-47 on page 34 and Figure 2-4 on p. 48.



ETHNIC CLEANSING AND GENOCIDE IN SUDAN

Several civil wars have raged in Sudan since 1983, resulting in genocide and ethnic cleansing. Sudan's two conflicts that have generated the most victims are with Darfur and South Sudan.

Ethnic diversity lies at the heart of Sudan's conflicts. Sudan is around 70 percent Arab and 97 percent Muslim. The remainder belong to a large number of other ethnicities descended from groups living in Sudan prior to the arrival of Arabs in the twelfth century. The non-Arab ethnicities tend to live in the west, south, and east of Sudan.

DARFUR. Resenting discrimination and neglect by the Arab-dominated national government, Darfur's black African ethnicities launched a rebellion in 2003. Marauding Arab nomads, known as Janjaweed, with the support of Sudan's government, crushed Darfur's black population, made up mainly of settled farmers.

◀ **FIGURE 7-48 AFRICA'S MANY ETHNICITIES** The territory occupied by ethnic groups rarely matches the boundaries of states.

An estimated 450,000 people in Darfur have been victims of genocide and another 2.5 million victims of ethnic cleansing. Most of the ethnic cleansing victims live in dire conditions in refugee camps in the harsh desert environment of Darfur (Figure 7-49).

SOUTH SUDAN. A war from 1983 until 2005 between Sudan's northern and southern ethnicities resulted in the death of an estimated 1.9 million Sudanese and the ethnic cleansing of an estimated 700,000. The war ended with the establishment of South Sudan as an independent state in 2011 (Figure 7-50). In contrast to the predominantly Arab Muslim northerners, South Sudan's two largest ethnicities are the predominantly Christian Dinka and the predominantly folk religionist Nuer. The north-south war was sparked by southern ethnicities attempting to resist northerners' attempts to impose a legal system based on Muslim religious practice. Independence from Arab Muslim northerners has not brought peace to southerners, however. South Sudan's diverse ethnicities have not been able to work together to create a stable government.

ABEYI. With the independence of South Sudan in 2011, conflict moved to the areas of Sudan along the new international border with South Sudan. Ethnicities aligned with those in the new country of South Sudan fought with supporters of the government of Sudan. The status of Abyei, a small border area inhabited by ethnicities aligned with both Sudan and South Sudan, was to be settled by a referendum of the people living there, but the vote was postponed. Until their status is settled, the people of Abyei are considered citizens of both Sudan and South Sudan. A peacekeeping force from Ethiopia is preventing either Sudan or South Sudan from seizing control of Abyei.



▲ FIGURE 7-50 SUDAN AND SOUTH SUDAN

SOUTH KORDOFAN AND BLUE NILE. Two other border areas, South Kordofan and Blue Nile, also contain large numbers of ethnicities sympathetic to both Sudan and South Sudan. As in Abyei, a referendum intended to decide whether to place these territories in Sudan or South Sudan was canceled, leaving the future status unsettled.

EASTERN FRONT. Ethnicities in the east have fought Sudanese government forces, with the support of neighboring Eritrea. At issue has been disbursement of profits from oil.

▼ FIGURE 7-49 DAFUR Open-air classroom in a refugee camp in Darfur, Sudan. Children lack paper so are learning to write on pieces of wood.



DEBATE IT! Should the United States intervene in ethnic conflicts?

U.S. citizens and government officials have debated whether the United States should send its military into places where ethnic cleansing and genocide are occurring.

THE UNITED STATES SHOULD INTERVENE

- The United States should not stand aside and do nothing when innocent women and children are being killed (Figure 7-52).
- If the United States doesn't stop genocide now, others will be emboldened to do it.
- Democratic values compel the United States to help people in trouble.



▲ FIGURE 7-52 U.S. TROOPS DELIVER HUMANITARIAN AID

The Congo is considered to have suffered from the world's deadliest wars in the past 70 years. More than 5 million have died in the Congo's ongoing civil wars, mostly from malaria, diarrhea, pneumonia, and malnutrition, aggravated by displacement and unsanitary and overcrowded living conditions. Tutsis were instrumental in the successful overthrow of the Congo's longtime president Joseph Mobutu in 1997. Mobutu had amassed a several-billion-dollar personal fortune from the sale of minerals while impoverishing much of the country. After succeeding Mobutu as president, Laurent Kabila relied heavily on Tutsis and permitted them to kill some of the Hutus who had been responsible for atrocities against Tutsis in the early 1990s. But Kabila soon split with the Tutsis, and the Tutsis once again found themselves offering support to rebels seeking to overthrow Congo's government.

Kabila turned for support to Hutus and other ethnic groups that also hated Tutsis. Armies from Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and other neighboring countries came to Kabila's

THE UNITED STATES SHOULD NOT INTERVENE

- The United States can't be the world's police force and must leave ethnic groups to solve their problems themselves.
- The United States should intervene only if its national interests are directly threatened.
- Intervening gets the United States entangled in complex disputes that result in hurting the U.S. itself (Figure 7-53).



▲ FIGURE 7-53 OPPONENTS OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN IRAQ

aid. Kabila was assassinated in 2001 and succeeded by his son, who negotiated an accord with rebels the following year. Despite the accord, conflict among the country's many ethnicities has continued, and casualties have mounted.

CHECK-IN KEY ISSUE 4

Why Do Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide Occur?

- ✓ **Ethnic cleansing** is a process in which a more powerful ethnic group forcibly removes a less powerful one in order to create an ethnically homogeneous region.
- ✓ **Genocide** is the mass killing of a group of people in an attempt to eliminate the entire group from existence.

Summary & Review

KEY ISSUE 1

Where are ethnicities distributed?

Ethnicity is identity with a group of people who share the cultural traditions of a particular homeland or hearth. Ethnicity refers to a person's place of cultural heritage, whereas race refers to biological traits such as skin color. The three most numerous ethnic groups in the United States are Hispanics, African Americans, and Asian Americans.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY



▲ FIGURE 7-54 MEXICAN FOOD STAND IN LISBON, PORTUGAL

1. What are examples of ethnic foods that are now regularly consumed by people of other ethnicities?

KEY ISSUE 3

Why might ethnicities face conflicts?

Conflicts can arise when a country contains several ethnicities competing with each other for control or dominance. Conflicts also arise when an ethnicity is divided among more than one country. Nationality is identity with a group of people who share legal attachment and personal allegiance to a particular country. Some ethnicities find themselves divided among more than one nationality.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY



▲ FIGURE 7-56 BALUCHISTAN The city of Quetta, in northwest Pakistan, would be the largest city in Baluchistan.

3. The Kurds claim to be the world's largest ethnic group not in control of a country. Based on Figure 7-37, what other ethnic groups might have a strong claim to reorganize territorial boundaries so that they could become the majority?

KEY ISSUE 2

Why do ethnicities have distinctive distributions?

Ethnicities cluster as a result of distinctive patterns of migration and segregation. For example, many African Americans trace their ancestry to forced migration from Africa for slavery. African Americans migrated in large numbers from the South to the North and West in the early twentieth century and clustered in inner-city ghettos that have expanded.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY



▲ FIGURE 7-55 BLACK-OWNED SOUTH AFRICAN WINERY M'hudi Wines is one of the few black-owned wineries in South Africa.

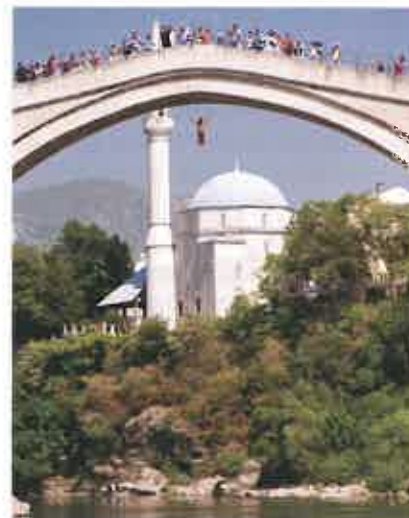
2. South Africa is one of the world's leading producers of wine. Despite the end of apartheid, very few wineries and vineyards are owned by blacks. Why might this be the case?

KEY ISSUE 4

Why do ethnic cleansing and genocide occur?

Ethnic cleansing is a process in which a more powerful ethnic group forcibly removes a less powerful one in order to create an ethnically homogeneous region. Genocide is the mass killing of a group of people in an attempt to eliminate the entire group from existence.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY



▲ FIGURE 7-57 STARI MOST BRIDGE DIVE An annual diving competition is held on the bridge.

4. The Mostar bridge, pictured in Figures 7-43 and 7-45, was rebuilt to look almost precisely like the original bridge. Why do you think it was important to Bosniaks to replicate the original bridge?
5. Professional divers jump off the bridge as part of competitions. Why might the bridge be an important place to hold professional diving competitions?

KEY TERMS

Apartheid (p. 245) Laws (no longer in effect) in South Africa that physically separated different races into different geographic areas.

Balkanization (p. 256) A process by which a state breaks down through conflicts among its ethnicities.

Balkanized (p. 256) A small geographic area that cannot successfully be organized into stable countries because it is inhabited by many ethnicities with complex, long-standing antagonisms toward each other.

Blockbusting (p. 243) A process by which real estate agents convince white property owners to sell their houses at low prices because of fear that persons of color will soon move into the neighborhood.

Centripetal force (p. 247) An attitude that tends to unify people and enhance support for a state.

Ethnic cleansing (p. 252) A purposeful policy designed by one ethnic or religious group to remove

by violent and terror-inspiring means the civilian population of another ethnic or religious group from certain geographic areas.

Ethnic enclave (p. 236) A place with a high concentration of an ethnic group that is distinct from those in the surrounding area.

Ethnicity (p. 230) Identity with a group of people who share the cultural traditions of a particular homeland or hearth.

Ethnoburb (p. 237) A suburban area with a cluster of a particular ethnic population.

Genocide (p. 258) The mass killing of a group of people in an attempt to eliminate the entire group from existence.

Nationalism (p. 247) Loyalty and devotion to a particular nationality.

Nationality (p. 230) Identity with a group of people who share legal attachment to a particular country.

Race (p. 230) Identity with a group of people who are perceived to share a physiological trait, such as skin color.

Racism (p. 232) The belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial differences produce an inherent superiority of a particular race.

Racist (p. 232) A person who subscribes to the beliefs of racism.

Sharecropper (p. 242) A person who works fields rented from a landowner and pays the rent and repays loans by turning over to the landowner a share of the crops.

Triangular slave trade (p. 240) A practice, primarily during the eighteenth century, in which European ships transported slaves from Africa to Caribbean islands, molasses from the Caribbean to Europe, and trade goods from Europe to Africa.

MG GeoVideo

Log in to the MasteringGeography Study Area to view this video.

Battle Over History

This video examines the ongoing controversy over the mass killings of Armenians that occurred 100 years ago, during World War I in the Ottoman Empire, part of which became modern Turkey.

1. What was the relationship between Turks and Armenians in the Ottoman Empire at the time of World War I? Explain.
2. What evidence supports claims that the killing of Armenians during 1915 constituted genocide? What position does the government of Turkey take with regard to these claims?
3. Why have efforts to obtain official U.S. government recognition of the Armenian genocide been controversial?



EXPLORE



Multiethnic Sarajevo

Use Google Earth to see evidence of ethnic diversity in the heart of Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia.

Fly to Gazi mosque, Sarajevo, Bosnia.

Click 3D buildings.

Under *Primary Database*, click *Places*.

1. What other religions are represented by religious symbols in the vicinity of the Gazi mosque?

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