

Chapter

7

Ethnicities



Why was this bridge blown up? Page 250



Why are these people burning torches on a mountain? Page 243

KEY ISSUE 1

Where Are Ethnicities Distributed?



A World of Ethnicities p. 227

Hispanics, African Americans, and Asian Americans are the most numerous U.S. ethnicities.

KEY ISSUE 2

Why Do Ethnicities Have Distinctive Distributions?

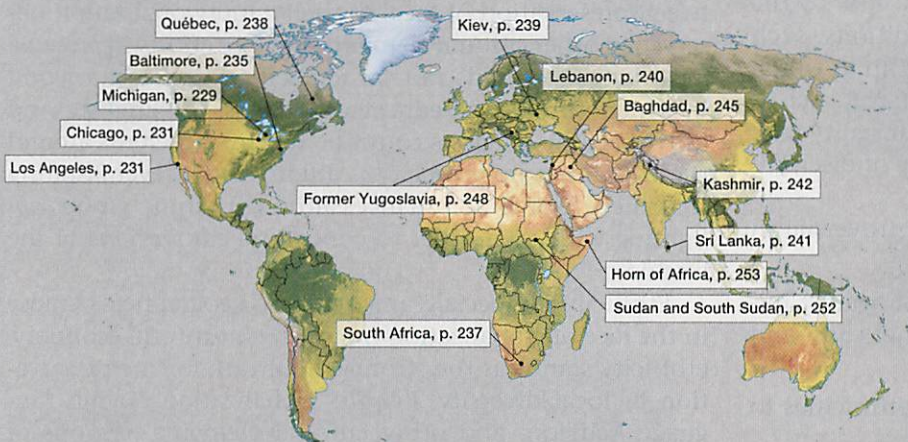


Ethnic Segregation p. 232

Migration of ethnicities can result in patterns of segregation, sometimes caused by discrimination.



▲ South Africa is a country of ethnic diversity. Between 1948 and 1994, the whites who controlled the government enacted laws known as apartheid that segregated the country's ethnicities. Most of the rights of people other than whites were taken away. The laws have been repealed, but many symbols of apartheid remain in South Africa, including these benches outside the law court in Cape Town.



KEY ISSUE 3

Why Do Conflicts Arise among Ethnicities?

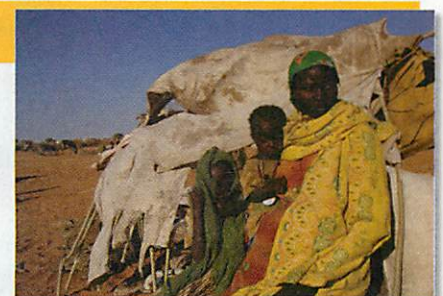


Ethnic Diversity p. 238

Ethnicities compete to control portions of Earth's surface.

KEY ISSUE 4

Why Do Ethnicities Engage in Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide?



Ethnic Cleansing p. 246

At its most extreme, competition among ethnic groups has led to atrocities.

Introducing Ethnicities

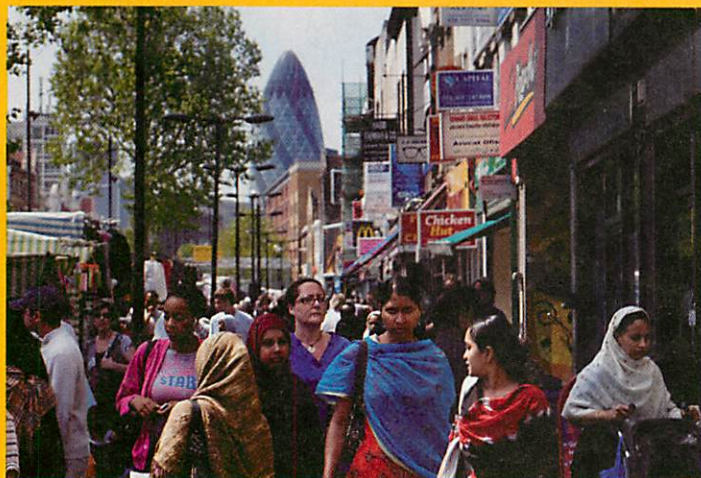
Few humans live in total isolation. People are members of groups with which they share important attributes. If you are a citizen of the United States of America, you are identified as an American, which is a nationality.

Many Americans further identify themselves as belonging to an ethnicity, a group with which they share cultural background. One-third of Americans identify their ethnicity as African American, Hispanic, or Asian American. Other Americans identify with ethnicities tracing back to Europe.

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.

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?



▲ **FIGURE 7-1 ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN LONDON** Whitechapel Road is a major road in East London. The street has long been a commercial center for immigrants to the United Kingdom, currently primarily from South Asia. In the background is central London, including the highrise building housing the insurance company Swiss Re, which is known informally as the gherkin (British for pickle).

- To what extent should the distinct cultural identity of ethnicities be encouraged or protected?

Geographers are interested in where ethnicities are distributed across *space*, like other elements of culture (Figure 7-1). 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 reason ethnicities have distinctive traits should by now be familiar. Like other cultural elements, ethnic identity derives from the interplay of *connections* with other groups and isolation from them.

Ethnicity is an especially important cultural element of local diversity because our ethnic identity is immutable. We can deny or suppress our ethnicity, but we cannot choose to change it in the same way we can choose to speak a different language or practice a different religion. If our parents come from two ethnic groups or our grandparents from four, our ethnic identity may be extremely diluted, but it never completely disappears.

The study of ethnicity lacks the tension in *scale* between preservation of local diversity and globalization observed in other cultural elements. 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 *regions* of the world.

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. Even if globalization engulfs language, religion, and other cultural elements, *regions* of distinct ethnic identity will remain.

- **KEY ISSUE 1** discusses *where* ethnicities are distributed, particularly in the United States. 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*.
- **KEY ISSUE 2** explains *why* ethnicities have distinctive distributions. Spatial patterns derive from patterns of migration and in some cases discrimination.
- **KEY ISSUE 3** looks at geographic factors underlying conflicts among ethnicities. Conflicts result in many places when more than one ethnic group fights to occupy the same space.
- **KEY ISSUE 4** analyzes examples of conflicts among ethnicities that lead to large-scale forced migration and killings.

KEY ISSUE 1

Where Are Ethnicities Distributed?

- Ethnicities in the United States
- Distribution of Ethnicities in the United States

Ethnicity is identity with a group of people who share the cultural traditions of a particular homeland or hearth. The word *ethnicity* comes from the Greek word *ethnikos*, which means “national.” Ethnicity is important to geographers because its characteristics derive from the distinctive features of particular places on Earth.

Ethnicity is often confused with **race**, which is identity with a group of people who share a biological ancestor. The word *race* comes from a middle-French word for “generation.” The traits that characterize race are those that can be transmitted genetically from parents to children. For example, lactose intolerance affects 95 percent of Asian Americans, 65 percent of African Americans and Native Americans, and 50 percent of Hispanics, compared to only 15 percent of Americans of European ancestry.

Features of race, such as skin color, hair type and color, blood traits, and shape of body, head, and facial features, were once thought to be scientifically classifiable. Contemporary geographers reject the entire biological basis of classifying humans into a handful of races because these features are not rooted in specific places.

However, one feature of race does matter to geographers: the color of skin. The distribution of persons of color matters to geographers because it is the fundamental basis 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.

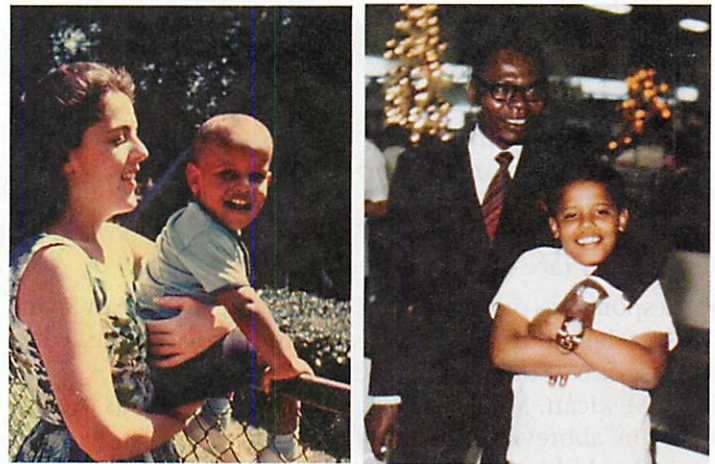
At best, biological features are so highly variable among members of a race that any prejudged classification is meaningless. Perhaps many tens or hundreds of thousands of years ago, early “humans” (however they emerged as a distinct species) lived in such isolation from other early “humans” that they 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.

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. A **racist** is a person who subscribes to the beliefs of racism.

President Barack Obama illustrates the complexity of designating race and ethnicity in the United States (Figure 7-2):

- President Obama’s father, Barack Obama, Senior, was born in the village of Kanyadhiang, Kenya. He was a member of Kenya’s third-largest ethnic group, known as the 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 step-father—his mother’s second husband, Lolo Soetoro—was born in the village of Yogyakarta, Indonesia. He was a member of Indonesia’s largest ethnic group, known as the Javanese.
- The son of a white mother and a black father, President Obama chose to identify himself on the census as “Black, African American, or Negro.”



▲ FIGURE 7-2 ETHNIC DIVERSITY: BARACK OBAMA'S FAMILY (top left) Barack Obama with his mother, (top right) with his father, and (bottom) with his stepfather, mother, and stepsister.

Ethnicities in the United States

Learning Outcome 7.1.1

Identify and describe the major ethnicities in the United States.

The United States has always been defined, in part, by its ethnic diversity. Today, Americans are more diverse than ever before. Every 10 years, the U.S. Bureau of the Census asks people to classify themselves according to the ethnicity with which they most closely identify. Americans are asked to identify themselves by answering two questions:

- Check the box next to one or more of the following fifteen categories:
 - White
 - Black, African American, or Negro
 - American Indian or Alaska Native
 - Asian Indian
 - Chinese
 - Filipino
 - Other Asian
 - Japanese
 - Korean
 - Vietnamese
 - Native Hawaiian
 - Guamanian or Chamorro
 - Samoan
 - Other Pacific Islander
 - Other race
- Respond yes or no to being of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin. If the response is yes, individuals are asked to pick one of these categories:
 - Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano [the census uses the abbreviation “Am.”]
 - Puerto Rican
 - Cuban
 - Another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin

Respondents who select American Indian, Other Asian, Other Pacific Islander, Other race, or Another Hispanic are asked to write in the specific names on the census form.

Pause and Reflect 7.1.1

How would you answer the census questions about yourself?

Hispanic and *Hispanic American* are terms that the U.S. government chose in 1973 to describe the group because they are inoffensive labels that can be applied to all people from Spanish-speaking countries. Some Americans of Latin American descent have instead adopted the terms *Latino* (males) and *Latina* (females). A 1995 U.S. Census Bureau survey found that 58 percent of Americans of Latin American descent preferred the term *Hispanic* and 12 percent *Latino/Latina*.

Most Hispanics identify with a more specific ethnic or national origin. Around two-thirds come from Mexico and 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.

In 2010 about 72 percent of Americans said on the census that they were white, 13 percent black or African American, 5 percent one of the seven Asian categories, 1 percent American Indian or Alaska Native, and 6 percent other. The census permits people to check more than one box, and 3 percent did that in 2010. Approximately 16 percent said they were Hispanic, and 84 percent said they were not.

The U.S. census shows the difficulty in distinguishing between ethnicity and race. Most of the census categories relate to ethnicity because they derive from places, such as African American or Asian Indian. However, the census also offers three race-related categories—black, white, and other race. The three most numerous U.S. ethnicities—Asian American, African American, and Hispanic American—further illustrate the difficulty. These three display distinct cultural traditions that originate at particular hearths but are regarded in different ways:

- *Asian American* as an ethnicity and *Asian* a race refer to the same group of people, which encompasses Americans from many countries in Asia (Figure 7-3).
- *African American* as an ethnicity and *black* as a race encompass different groups, although the 2010 census combines the two. Most black Americans are descended from African immigrants and therefore also belong to an African American ethnicity (Figure 7-4). 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

▼ FIGURE 7-3 ASIAN AMERICANS San Francisco's Chinatown.





▲ FIGURE 7-4 AFRICAN AMERICANS New York's Harlem.

skin color, *black* is substituted for *African American* in daily language.

- *Hispanic* is an ethnicity but not a race, so Hispanics can identify with any race they wish. Hispanics have an especially difficult time doing so on the census. In 2010, 53 percent of Hispanics picked white, 37 percent other race, 6 percent more than one box, and 4 percent one of the 13 other categories (Figure 7-5).

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.

ETHNIC CLUSTERING: STATE SCALE

The distinctive distribution of African Americans and Hispanics is especially noticeable at the state level. At the state level, African Americans comprise 85 percent of the population in the city of Detroit and only 7 percent in the rest of Michigan. Otherwise stated, Detroit contains less than one-tenth of Michigan's total population but more than one-half of the state's African American population (Figure 7-6). Similarly, Chicago is more than one-third African American, compared to one-twelfth in the rest of Illinois. Chicago has less than one-fourth of Illinois' total population and more than one-half of the state's African Americans.

The distribution of Hispanics is similar to that of African Americans in large northern cities. For example, New York City is more than one-fourth Hispanic, compared to one-sixteenth in the rest of New York State, and New York City contains two-fifths of the state's total population and three-fourths of its Hispanics.

In the states with the largest Hispanic populations—California and Texas—the distribution is mixed. In California, Hispanics comprise nearly half of Los Angeles's population, but the percentage of Hispanics in California's other large cities is less than or about equal to the overall state



▲ FIGURE 7-5 HISPANICS Chicago's Pilsen neighborhood.

average. In Texas, El Paso and San Antonio—the two large cities closest to the Mexican border—are more than one-half Hispanic, but the state's other large cities have percentages below or about equal to the state's average of around one-third.



◀ FIGURE 7-6 DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNICITIES IN MICHIGAN Most of Michigan's African Americans live in Detroit.

Distribution of Ethnicities in the United States

Learning Outcome 7.1.2

Describe the distribution of major U.S. ethnicities among regions and within urban areas.

Within a country, clustering of ethnicities can occur on two scales. Ethnic groups may live in particular regions of the country, and they may live in particular communities within cities and states. Within the United States, ethnicities are clustered at both scales.

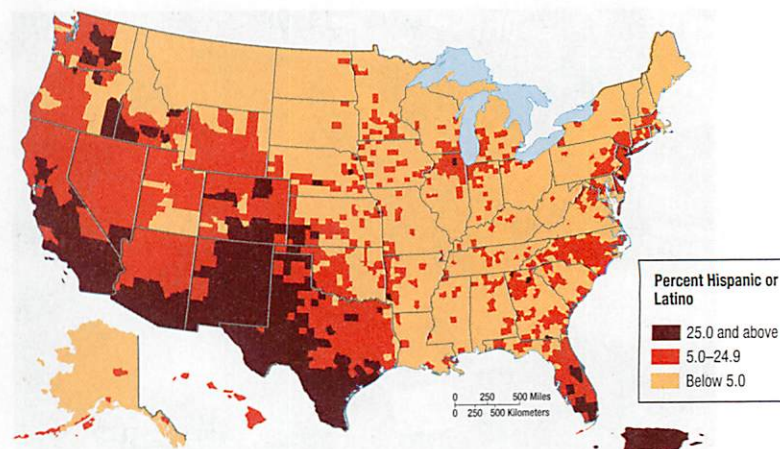
ETHNIC CLUSTERING: REGIONAL SCALE

On a regional scale, ethnicities have distinctive distributions within the United States:

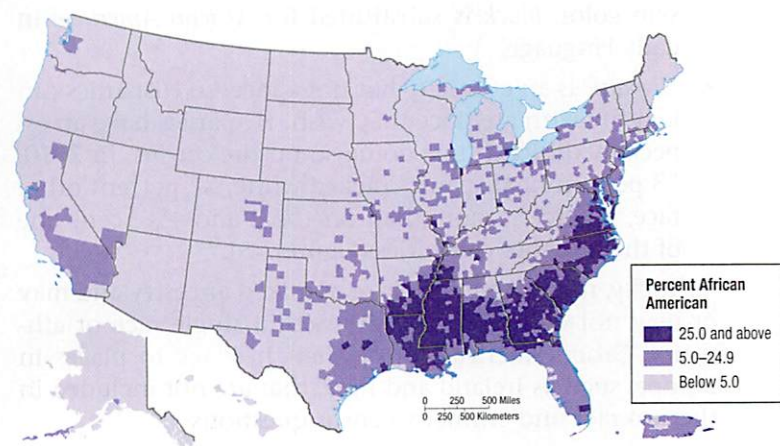
- **Hispanics.** Clustered in the Southwest, Hispanics exceed one-third of the population of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas and one-quarter of California (Figure 7-7). California is home to one-third of all Hispanics, Texas one-fifth, and Florida and New York one-sixth each.
- **African Americans.** Clustered in the Southeast, African Americans comprise at least one-fourth of the population in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, and South Carolina and more than one-third in Mississippi (Figure 7-8). 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 7-9). One-half of all Asian Americans live in California, where they comprise 12 percent of the population.

ETHNIC CLUSTERING: URBAN SCALE

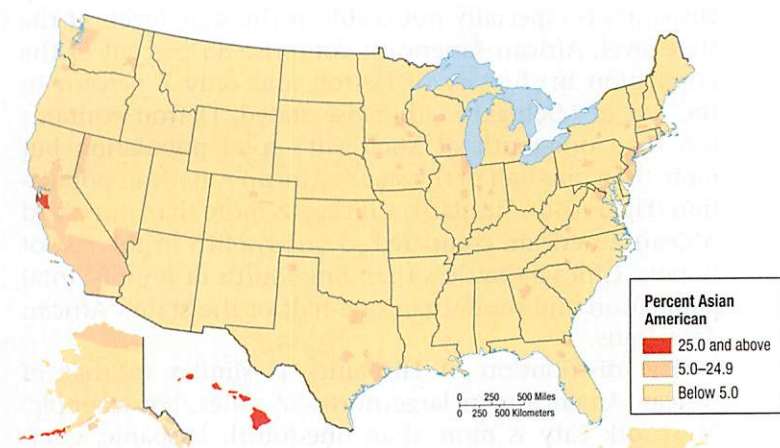
African Americans and Hispanics are highly clustered in urban areas. Around 90 percent of these ethnicities live in metropolitan areas, compared to around 75 percent for all Americans. The clustering of ethnicities is especially pronounced on the scale of neighborhoods within cities. In the early twentieth century, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and other Midwest cities attracted ethnic groups primarily from Southern and Eastern Europe to work in the rapidly growing steel, automotive, and related industries. For example, 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 newly constructed neighborhoods that were often named for their predominant ethnicities, such as Detroit's Greektown and Poletown.



▲ **FIGURE 7-7 DISTRIBUTION OF HISPANICS IN THE UNITED STATES** The counties with the highest percentages in 2010 are in the Southwest, near the Mexican border, and in northern cities.



▲ **FIGURE 7-8 DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE UNITED STATES** The counties with the highest percentages of African Americans are in the rural South and in northern cities.



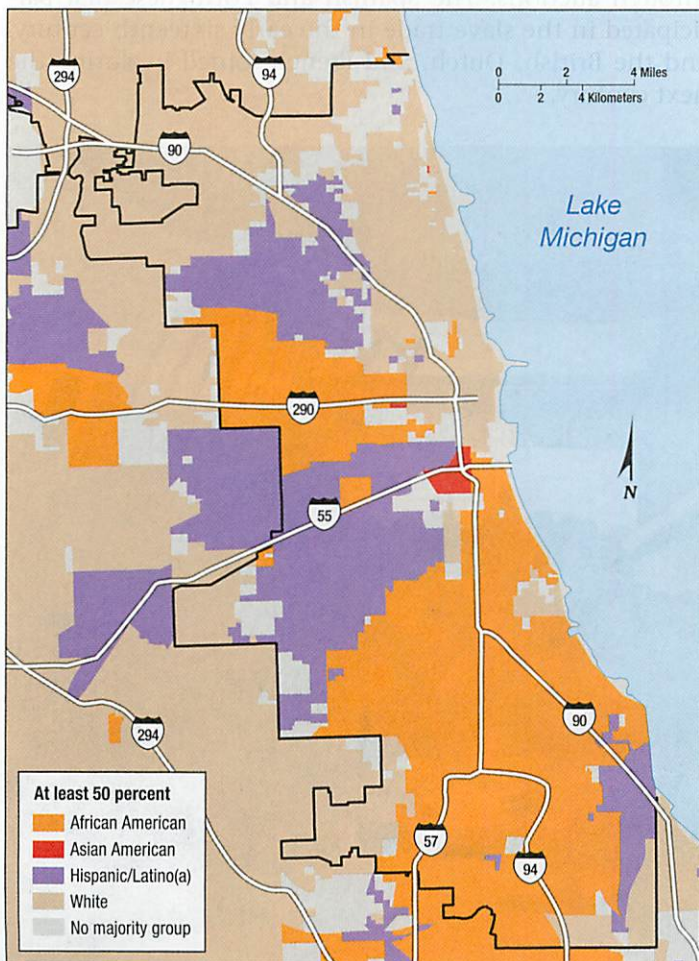
▲ **FIGURE 7-9 DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN AMERICANS IN THE UNITED STATES** The counties with the highest percentages of Asian Americans are in Hawaii and California.

The children and grandchildren of European immigrants moved out of most of the original inner-city neighborhoods during the twentieth century. For descendants

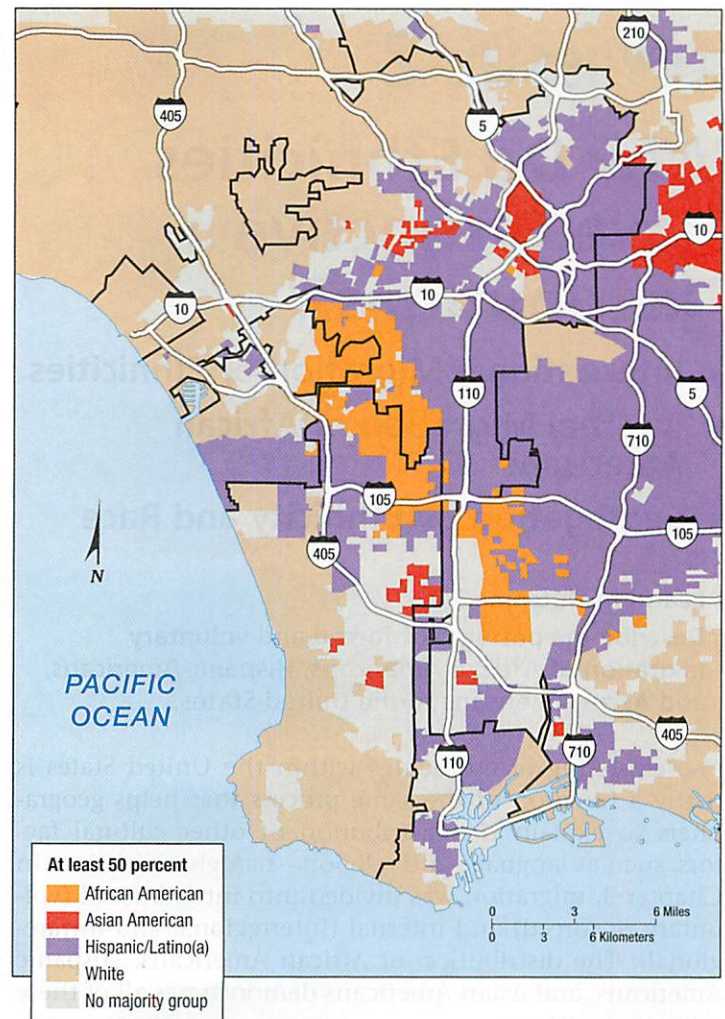
of European immigrants, ethnic identity is more likely to be retained through religion, food, and other cultural traditions than through location of residence. A visible remnant of early twentieth-century European ethnic neighborhoods is the clustering of restaurants in such areas as Little Italy and Greektown.

Ethnic concentrations in U.S. cities increasingly consist of African Americans who migrate from the South or immigrants from Latin America and Asia. In cities such as Detroit, African Americans now comprise the majority and live in neighborhoods originally inhabited by European ethnic groups. Chicago has extensive African American neighborhoods on the south and west sides of the city, but the city also contains a mix of neighborhoods inhabited by European, Latin American, and Asian ethnicities (Figure 7-10).

In Los Angeles, which contains large percentages of African Americans, Hispanics, and Asian Americans, the major ethnic groups are clustered in different areas (Figure 7-11). African Americans are located in south-central Los Angeles and Hispanics in the east. Asian Americans are located to the south and west, contiguous to the African American and Hispanic areas.



▲ **FIGURE 7-10** DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNICITIES IN CHICAGO According to the 2010 Census, African Americans were clustered on the south and west sides, Hispanics on the northwest and southwest side, and whites on the north side.



▲ **FIGURE 7-11** DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNICITIES IN LOS ANGELES According to the 2010 Census, African Americans were clustered to the south of downtown Los Angeles and Hispanics to the east. Asian American neighborhoods were contiguous to the African American and Hispanic areas.

CHECK-IN: KEY ISSUE 1

Where Are Ethnicities Distributed?

- ✓ 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.

Pause and Reflect 7.1.2

Where are the principal clusters of ethnic minorities found in your community?

KEY ISSUE 2

Why Do Ethnicities Have Distinctive Distributions?

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

Learning Outcome 7.2.1

Describe the patterns of forced and voluntary migration of African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans to the United States.

The clustering of ethnicities within the United States is partly a function of the same process that helps geographers to 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, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans 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 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 (Figure 7-12). During the eighteenth century, the British shipped about 400,000 Africans to the 13 colonies that later formed the United States. 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.

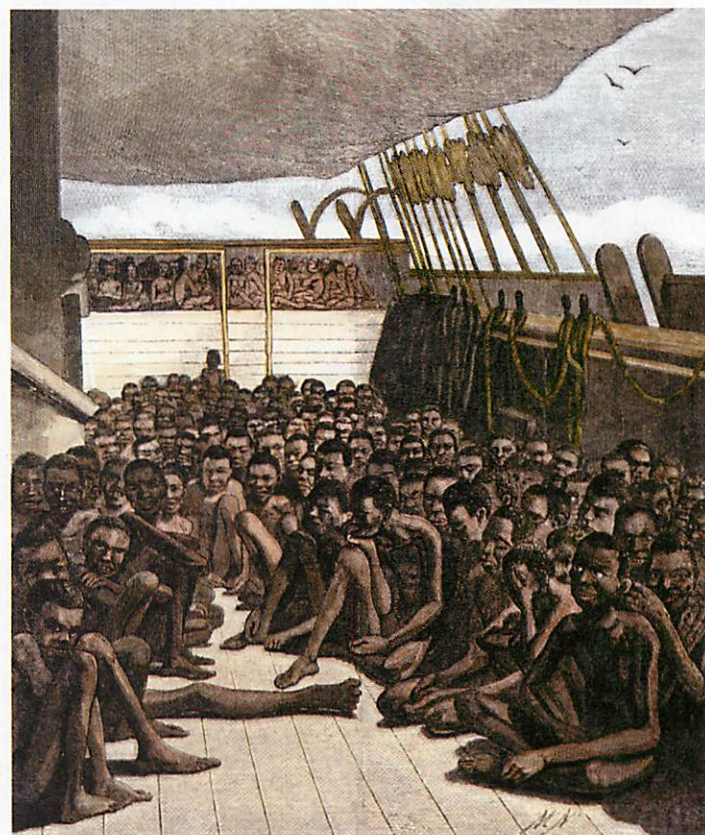
Slavery was widespread during the time of the Roman Empire, about 2,000 years ago. During the Middle Ages,

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

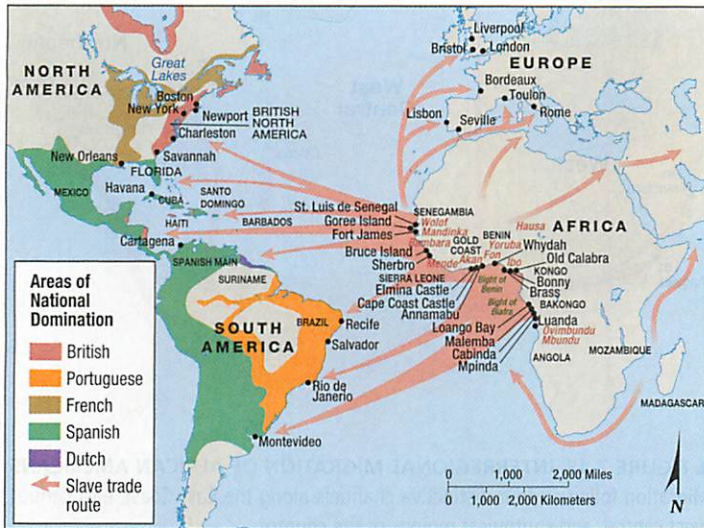
Although slavery was rare in Europe, Europeans were responsible for diffusing the practice to the Western Hemisphere. Europeans who owned large plantations in the Americas turned to African slaves as an abundant source of labor that cost less than paying wages to other Europeans.

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.



▲ **FIGURE 7-12 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.



▲ FIGURE 7-13 ORIGIN AND DESTINATION OF SLAVES Most slaves were transported across the Atlantic from West Africa to the Americas.

Different European countries operated in various regions of Africa, each sending slaves to different destinations in the Americas (Figure 7-13). At the height of the eighteenth-century slave demand, a number of European countries adopted the **triangular slave trade**, an efficient triangular trading pattern (Figure 7-14).

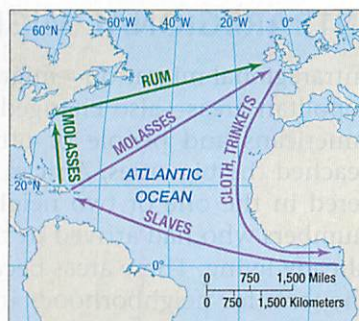
The large-scale forced migration of Africans caused them unimaginable hardship, separating families and destroying villages. Traders generally seized the stronger and younger villagers, who could be sold as slaves for the highest price. The Africans were packed onto ships at extremely high density, kept 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 as well as 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 northeastern states and pro-slavery southeastern states

► FIGURE 7-14 TRIANGULAR SLAVE TRADE

- Ships left Europe for Africa with cloth and other trade goods, used to buy the slaves.
- They then transported slaves and gold from Africa to the Western Hemisphere, primarily to the Caribbean islands.
- To complete the triangle, the same ships then carried sugar and molasses from the Caribbean on their return trip to Europe.



- Some ships added another step, making a rectangular trading pattern, in which molasses was carried from the Caribbean to the North American colonies and rum from the colonies to Europe.

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 8 months after the South surrendered, outlawed slavery.

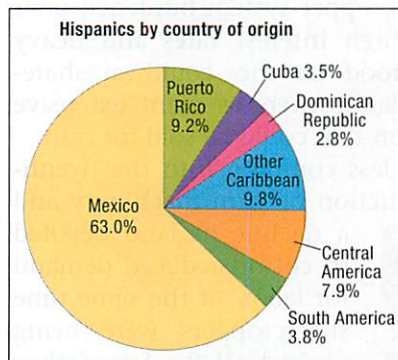
VOLUNTARY MIGRATION FROM LATIN AMERICA AND ASIA

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.

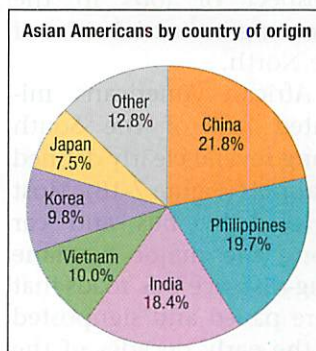
The rapid growth of Hispanics in the United States beginning in the 1970s was fueled primarily by immigration from Mexico and Puerto Rico (Figure 7-15).

Chinese comprise the largest share of Asian Americans, followed by Indians, Filipinos, Koreans, and Vietnamese (Figure 7-16). Most Asian Americans are either immigrants who arrived in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries or their offspring.

◀ FIGURE 7-15 HISPANICS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN Mexicans comprise nearly two-thirds of Hispanics in the United States.



◀ FIGURE 7-16 ASIAN AMERICANS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians comprise one-fifth each of Asian Americans 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 have 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.

INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION

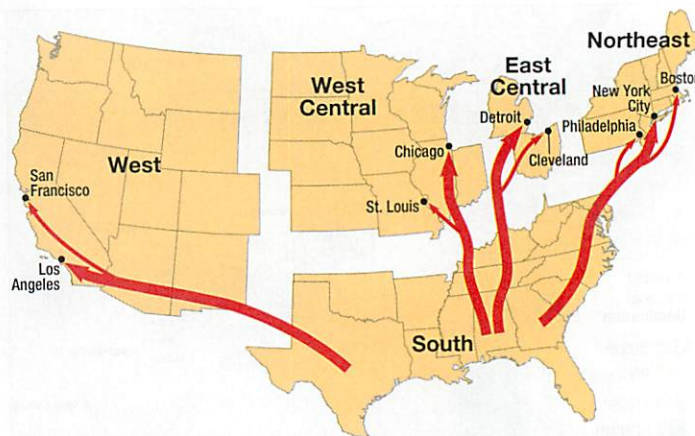
At the close of the Civil War, most African Americans were concentrated in the rural South. Today, as a result of interregional migration, many African Americans live in cities throughout the Northeast, Midwest, and West as well. Freed as slaves, most African Americans remained in the rural South during the late nineteenth century, working as sharecroppers (Figure 7-17). 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 decline in land devoted to cotton reduced demand for labor. At the same time 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 7-18). 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



▲ **FIGURE 7-17 SHARECROPPERS**
Thirteen-year-old African American sharecropper plowing, 1937.



▲ **FIGURE 7-18 INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION OF AFRICAN AMERICANS**
Migration followed four distinctive channels along the East Coast, east central, west central, and southwest regions of the country.

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

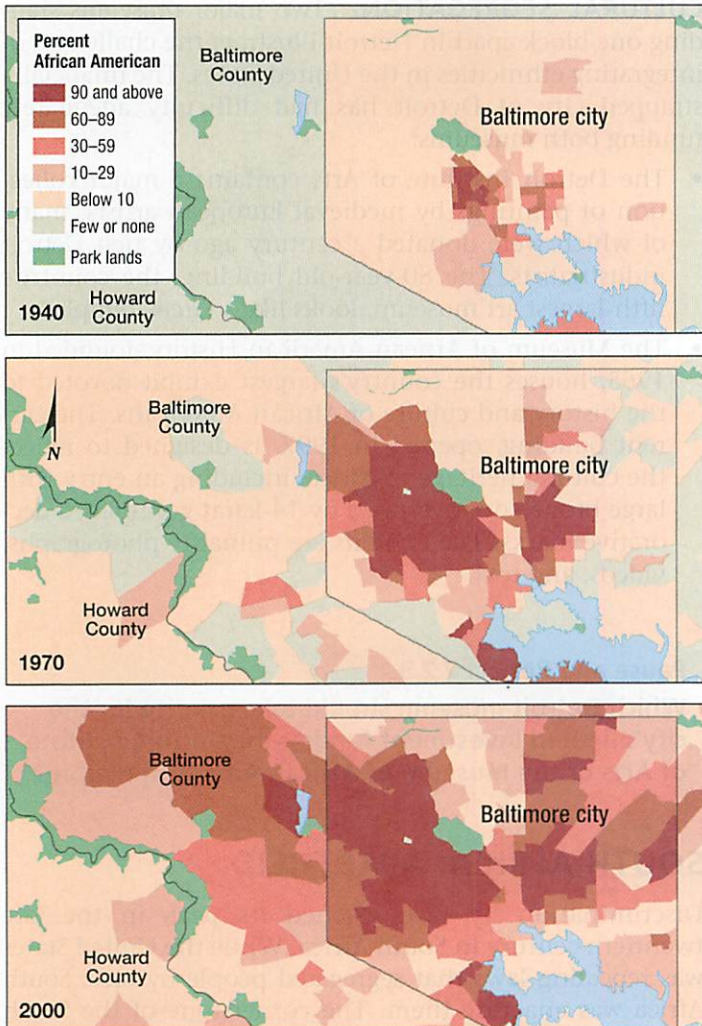
Intraregional migration—migration within cities and metropolitan areas—also changed the distribution of African Americans and people of other ethnicities. When they reached the big cities, African American immigrants clustered in the one or two neighborhoods where the small numbers who had arrived in 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.

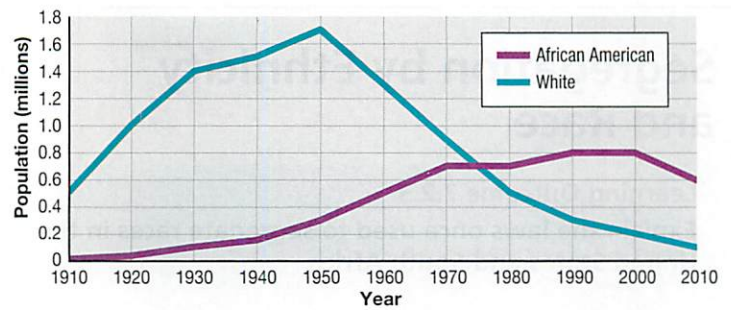
In Baltimore, for example, most of the city's quarter-million African Americans in 1950 were clustered in a 3-square-kilometer (1-square-mile) neighborhood northwest of downtown (Figure 7-19). The remainder were clustered east of downtown or in a large isolated housing project on the south side built 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 to 25 square kilometers (10 square miles) in 1970, and a



▲ FIGURE 7-19 EXPANSION OF THE GHETTO IN BALTIMORE

In 1950, most African Americans in Baltimore lived in a small area northwest of downtown. During the 1950s and 1960s, the African American area expanded to the northwest, along major radial roads, and a second node opened on the east side. The south-side African American area was an isolated public housing complex built for wartime workers in the nearby port industries.



▲ FIGURE 7-20 ETHNIC POPULATION CHANGE IN DETROIT

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

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 a clear example. African Americans poured into Detroit in the early twentieth century. Many found jobs in the rapidly growing auto industry (Figure 7-20). Immigration into Detroit from the South subsided during the 1950s, but as legal barriers to integration crumbled, whites began to emigrate out of Detroit. Detroit's white population dropped by about 1 million between 1950 and 1975 and by another half million between 1975 and 2000. As a result, 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 living near a black area 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 and Reflect 7.2.2

Referring to Figure 7-20, which figure is higher in Detroit since 1950: the increasing number of African Americans or the decreasing number of whites?

Segregation by Ethnicity and Race

Learning Outcome 7.2.3

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

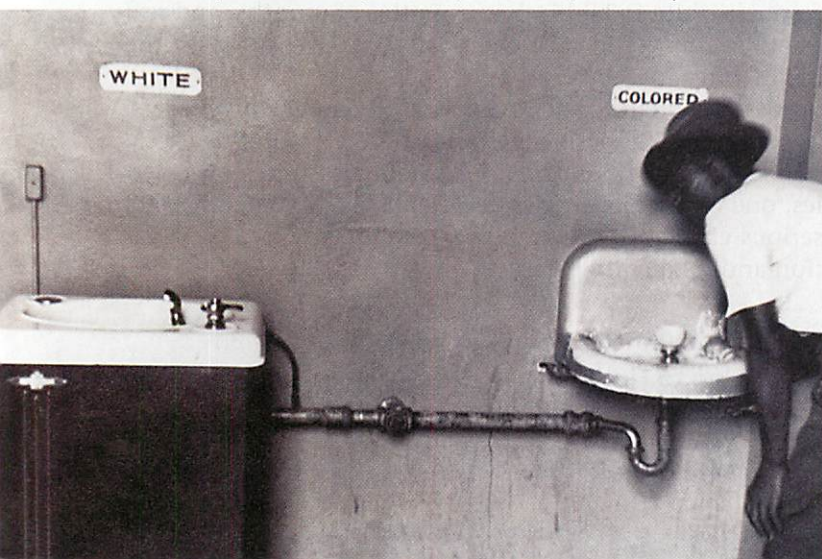
In explaining spatial regularities, geographers look for patterns of spatial interaction. A distinctive feature of ethnic relations in the United States and South Africa has been the strong discouragement of spatial interaction—in the past through legal means and today through cultural preferences or discrimination.

UNITED STATES: “SEPARATE BUT EQUAL”

The U.S. Supreme Court in 1896 upheld a Louisiana law that required black and white passengers to ride in separate railway 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.

SEGREGATION LAWS. Once the Supreme Court permitted “separate but equal” treatment of the races, southern states enacted a comprehensive set of laws to segregate blacks from whites as much as possible (Figure 7-21). 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, after all, 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

▼ **FIGURE 7-21 SEGREGATION IN THE UNITED STATES** Until the 1960s in the U.S. South, whites and blacks had to use separate drinking fountains, as well as separate restrooms, bus seats, hotel rooms, and other public facilities.



establishments served only blacks, and all of the schools had teachers and classrooms.

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 kept blacks from moving into an all-white neighborhood. 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.

U.S. segregation laws were eliminated during the 1950s and 1960s. 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.”

CULTURAL SEGREGATION. Two major museums standing one block apart in Detroit illustrate the challenges of integrating ethnicities in the United States. The financially strapped city of Detroit has had difficulty adequately funding both museums:

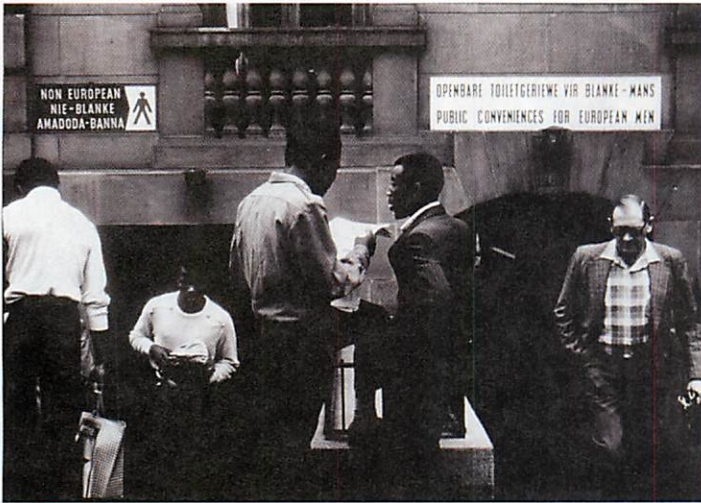
- The Detroit Institute of Arts contains a major collection of paintings by medieval European artists, many of which were donated a century ago by rich Detroit industrialists. The 80-year-old building, the country’s fifth-largest art museum, looks like a Greek temple.
- The Museum of African American History, founded in 1965, houses the country’s largest exhibit devoted to the history and culture of African Americans. The current building, opened in 1997, is designed to reflect the cultural heritage of Africa, including an entry with large bronze doors topped by 14-karat gold-plated decorative masks. The exhibits are primarily photographs, videos, and text.

Pause and Reflect 7.2.3

Which Detroit museum should take priority for the city’s limited investment funds—the Detroit Institute of Arts or the Museum of African American History?

SOUTH AFRICA: APARTHEID

Discrimination by race reached its peak in the late twentieth century in South Africa. While the United States was repealing laws that segregated people by race, South Africa was enacting them. The cornerstone of the South African policy was the creation of a legal system called apartheid (Figure 7-22). **Apartheid** was the physical separation of different races into different geographic areas. Although South Africa’s apartheid laws were repealed during the 1990s, it will take many years to erase the impact of those policies.



▲ **FIGURE 7-22 APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA** South Africa's apartheid laws were designed to spatially segregate races as much as possible. This 1984 image of City Hall in Johannesburg shows that whites and nonwhites were required to use separate bathrooms.

In South Africa, under apartheid, a newborn baby was classified as being one of four races—black, white, colored (mixed white and black), or Asian. Under apartheid, each of the four races had a different legal status in South Africa. The apartheid laws determined where different races could live, attend school, work, shop, and own land. Blacks were restricted to certain occupations and were paid far lower wages than were whites for similar work. Blacks 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 gained power at a time when colonial rule was being replaced in the rest of Africa by a collection of independent states run by the local black population. The Afrikaners vowed to resist pressures 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. To ensure geographic isolation of different races, the South African government designated 10 so-called homelands for blacks (Figure 7-23). 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 white-dominated 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



▲ **FIGURE 7-23 SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID HOMELANDS** As part of its apartheid system, the government of South Africa designated 10 homelands, expecting that ultimately every black would become a citizen of one of them. South Africa declared 4 of these homelands to be independent states, 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.

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.

Now that South Africa's apartheid laws have been dismantled and the country is governed by its black majority, other countries have reestablished economic and cultural ties. However, 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. Average income among white South Africans is about 10 times higher than that of blacks.

CHECK-IN: KEY ISSUE 2

Why Do Ethnicities Have Distinctive Distributions?

- ✓ Ancestors of African Americans immigrated to the United States primarily 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.

KEY ISSUE 3

Why Do Conflicts Arise among Ethnicities?

- Ethnicities and Nationalities
- Ethnic Competition
- Dividing Ethnicities

Learning Outcome 7.3.1

Explain the difference between ethnicity and nationality.

Ethnicity and race are distinct from nationality, another term commonly used to describe a group of people with shared traits. **Nationality** is identity with a group of people who share legal attachment and personal allegiance to a particular country. It comes from the Latin word *nasci*, which means “to have been born.”

Ethnicities and Nationalities

Nationality and ethnicity are similar concepts in that membership in both is defined through shared cultural values. 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.

NATIONALITIES IN NORTH AMERICA

In the United States, *nationality* is generally kept reasonably distinct from *ethnicity* and *race* in common usage:

- 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 cultural traditions, such as African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Chinese Americans, or Polish Americans.
- Race distinguishes blacks and other persons of color from whites.

The United States forged a nationality in the late eighteenth century out of a collection of ethnic groups gathered primarily from Europe and Africa, not through traditional means of issuing passports (African Americans weren't considered citizens then) or voting (women and African Americans couldn't vote then), but through sharing the values expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution. To be an American meant believing in the “unalienable rights” of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”



▲ **FIGURE 7-24 QUÉBEC INDEPENDENCE RALLY** Supporters of independence for Québec march through the streets of Montréal prior to a 1995 referendum in which voters voted 50.6 percent to 49.4 percent to remain part of Canada.

In Canada, the Québécois are clearly distinct from other Canadians in language, religion, and other cultural traditions. But do the Québécois form a distinct ethnicity within the Canadian nationality or a second nationality separate altogether from Anglo-Canadian? The distinction is critical because if Québécois is recognized as a separate nationality from Anglo-Canadian, the Québec government would have a much stronger justification for breaking away from Canada to form an independent country (Figure 7-24).

ETHNICITIES AND NATIONALITIES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Outside North America, distinctions between ethnicity and nationality are even muddier. An example of the complexity is the British Isles, which comprise several thousand islands, including Ireland (called Eire in Irish) and Great Britain. The British Isles contain four principal ethnicities (Figure 7-25):

- **English.** The English are descendants of Germanic tribes who crossed the North Sea and invaded the country in the fifth century (see Chapter 5).



► **FIGURE 7-25 ETHNICITIES AND NATIONALITIES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND** The British Isles comprise two countries: the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

- **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.
- **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.

Ireland and Great Britain are divided into two nationalities:

- **The United Kingdom** comprises Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The term *British* refers to the nationality.
- **The Republic of Ireland** comprises the southern 84 percent of the island of Ireland. The island of Ireland contains one predominant ethnicity—Irish—divided between two nationalities.

Within the United Kingdom, a strong element of ethnic identity comes from sports. Even though they are not separate countries, England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland field their own national soccer and compete separately in major international tournaments, such as the World Cup. The most important annual rugby tournament, known as the Six Nations' Championship, includes teams from England, Scotland, and Wales, as well as 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.

Sorting out ethnicity and nationality can be challenging for many, including prominent sports stars. The golfer Rory McIlroy's ethnicity is Irish Catholic, and his nationality is United Kingdom, because Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom. But many Catholics in Northern Ireland feel closeness to the Republic of Ireland (see Chapter 6).

Tiger Woods has the reverse situation. His nationality is clearly the United States, but his ethnicity is less clear. His father was a mix of African American, Native American, and possibly Chinese, and his mother was a mix of Thai, Chinese, and Dutch. Woods describes his complex ethnicity as "Cablinasian."

Pause and Reflect 7.3.1

If Scotland becomes an independent country, how would the arrangement of nationalities in the British Isles change?

NATIONALISM

A nationality, once established, must hold the loyalty of its citizens to survive (Figure 7-26). Politicians and governments try to instill loyalty through **nationalism**, which



▲ **FIGURE 7-26 NATIONALISM** Ukrainians celebrate independence day on August 24 by waving flags while walking along Khreshchatyk Street in the capital, Kiev. Ukraine declared its independence from the former Soviet Union on August 24, 1991.

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 nations. 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. The symbol of the hammer and sickle on a field of red was long synonymous with the beliefs of communism. After the fall of communism, one of the first acts in a number of Eastern European countries was to redesign flags without the hammer and sickle. Legal holidays were changed from dates associated with Communist victories to those associated with historical events that preceded Communist takeovers.

Nationalism can have a negative impact. The sense of unity within a nation-state is sometimes achieved through the creation of negative images of other nation-states. Travelers in southeastern Europe during the 1970s and 1980s found that jokes directed by one nationality against another recurred in the same form throughout the region, with only the name of the target changed. For example, "How many [fill in the name of a nationality] are needed to change a lightbulb?" Such jokes seemed harmless, but in hindsight reflected the intense dislike for other nationalities that led to conflict in the 1990s.

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.

Ethnic Competition

Learning Outcome 7.3.2

Identify and describe the principal ethnicities in Lebanon and Sri Lanka.

We have already seen in this chapter that identification with ethnicity and race can lead to discrimination and segregation. Confusion between ethnicity and nationality can lead to violent conflicts. Lebanon and Sri Lanka are examples of countries that have not successfully integrated diverse ethnicities.

ETHNIC COMPETITION IN LEBANON

Lebanon has 4 million people in an area of 10,000 square kilometers (4,000 square miles), a bit smaller and more populous than Connecticut. Once known as a financial and recreational center in the Middle East, Lebanon has been severely damaged by fighting among ethnicities since the 1970s.

Lebanon is divided between around 60 percent Muslims and 40 percent Christians (Figure 7-27). The precise distribution of religions in Lebanon is unknown because no census has been taken since 1932:

- **Christians.** Lebanon's most numerous Christian sect is Maronite, which split from the Roman Catholic Church in the seventh century. Maronites, ruled by the patriarch

of Antioch, perform the liturgy in the ancient Syrian language. The second-largest Christian sect is Greek Orthodox, the Orthodox church that uses a Byzantine liturgy.

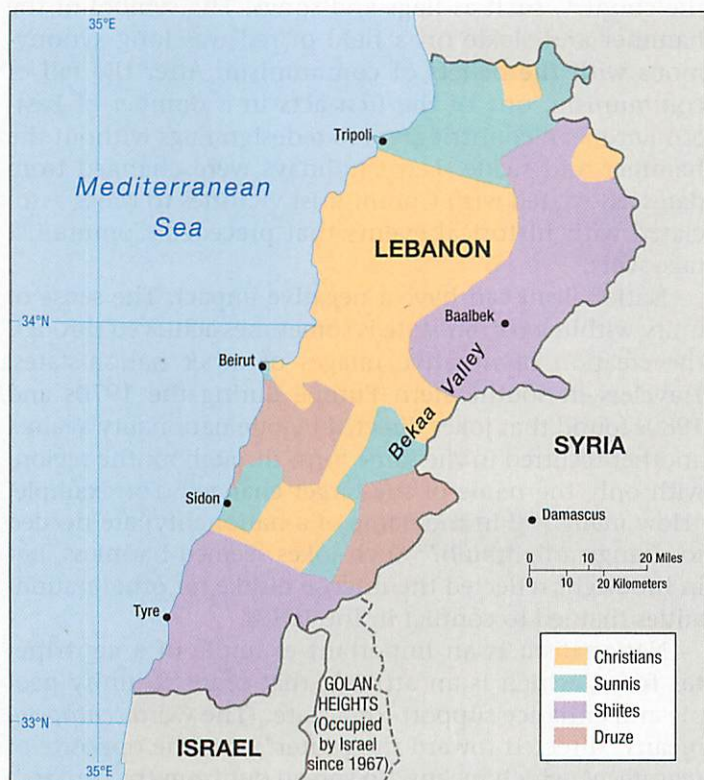
- **Muslims.** Most of Lebanon's Muslims belong to one of several Shiite sects. Sunnis, who are much more numerous than Shiites in the world, account for a minority of Lebanon's Muslims. Lebanon also has an important community of Druze, who were once considered to have a separate religion but now consider themselves Muslim. Many Druze rituals are kept secret from outsiders.

Lebanon's diversity may appear to be religious rather than ethnic. But most of Lebanon's Christians consider themselves ethnically descended from the ancient Phoenicians who once occupied present-day Lebanon. In this way, Lebanon's Christians differentiate themselves from the country's Muslims, who are considered Arabs.

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 part, 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 army or militia to guard its territory. The territory controlled by each militia changed according to results of battles with other religious groups.

When the governmental system was created, Christians constituted a majority and controlled the country's main businesses, but as Muslims became the majority, they demanded political and economic equality. The agreement ending the civil war in 1990 gave each religion one-half of the 128 seats in Parliament. Israel and the United States sent troops into Lebanon at various points in failed efforts to restore peace (Figure 7-28). The United States pulled out after 241 U.S. marines died in their barracks from a truck bomb in 1983. Lebanon was left under the control of neighboring Syria, which had a historical claim over the territory until it, too, was forced to withdraw its troops in 2005.



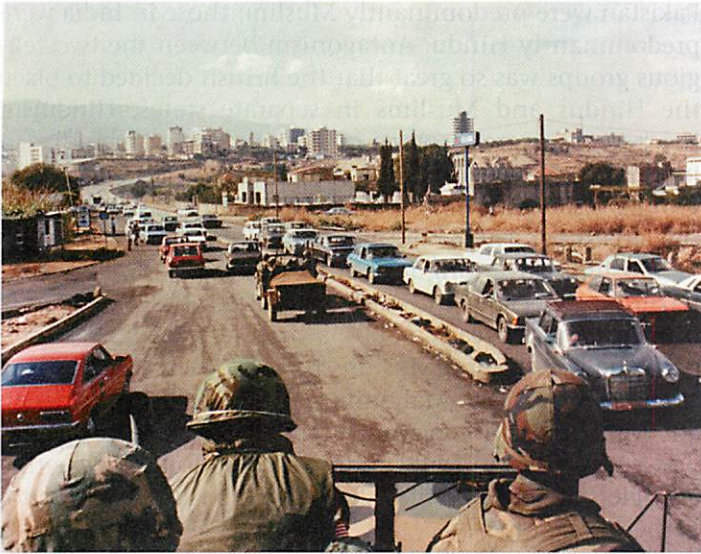
▲ **FIGURE 7-27 ETHNICITIES IN LEBANON** Christians dominate in the south and the northwest, Sunni Muslims in the far north, Shiite Muslims in the northeast and south, and Druze in the south-central and southeast.

Pause and Reflect 7.3.2

What country borders Lebanon on the south?
What conflict has been ongoing in that country, as described in Chapter 6?

ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN SRI LANKA

An island country of 19 million inhabitants off the Indian coast, Sri Lanka is inhabited by three principal ethnicities



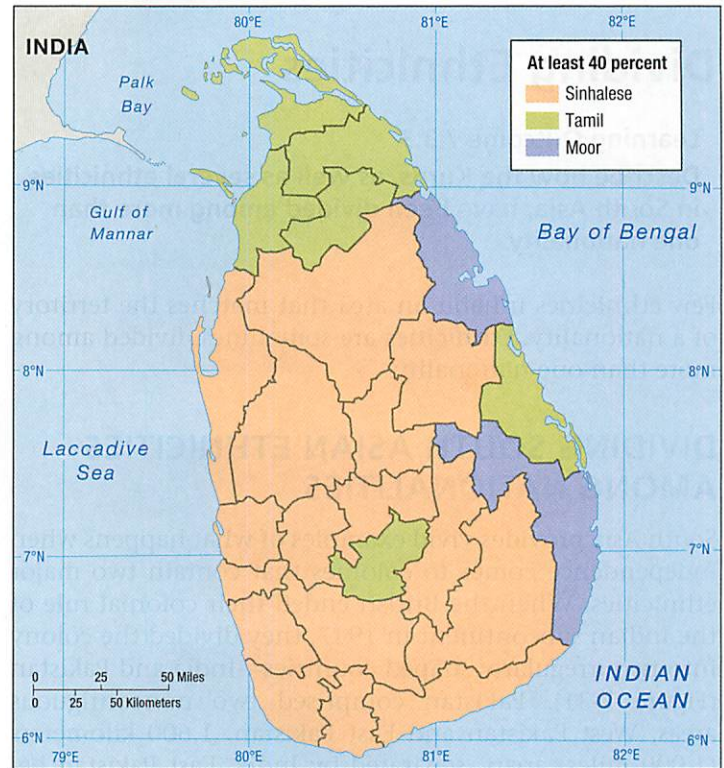
▲ FIGURE 7-28 ETHNIC CONFLICT IN LEBANON U.S. Marines patrol the streets of Beirut, Lebanon, in 1983.

known as Sinhalese, Tamil, and Moors (Figure 7-29). War between the Sinhalese and Tamil erupted in 1983 and continued until 2009. During that period, 80,000 died in the conflict between the two ethnicities:

- **Sinhalese**, who comprise 74 percent of Sri Lanka's population, migrated from northern India in the fifth century B.C., occupying the southern two-thirds of the island. Three hundred years later, the Sinhalese were converted to Buddhism, and Sri Lanka became one of that religion's world centers. Sinhalese is an Indo-European language, in the Indo-Iranian branch.
- **Tamils**, who comprise 16 percent of Sri Lanka's population, migrated across the narrow 80-kilometer-wide (50-mile-wide) Palk Strait from India beginning in the third century B.C. and occupied the northern part of the island. Tamils are Hindus, and the Tamil language, in the Dravidian family, is also spoken by 60 million people in India.
- **Moors**, who comprise 10 percent of Sri Lanka's population, are ethnic Arabs, descended from traders from Southwest Asia who settled in Sri Lanka beginning in the eighth century A.D. Moors adhere to Islam but speak either Tamil or Sinhalese.

The dispute between Sri Lanka's two largest ethnicities extends back more than 2,000 years but was suppressed during 300 years of European control. Since the country gained independence in 1948, Sinhalese have dominated the government, military, and most of the commerce. Tamils feel that they suffer from discrimination at the hands of the Sinhalese-dominated government and have received support for a rebellion that began in 1983 from Tamils living in other countries.

The long war between the ethnicities ended in 2009, with the defeat of the Tamils (Figure 7-30). With their defeat, the Tamils fear that the future of Sri Lanka as a



▲ FIGURE 7-29 ETHNICITIES IN SRI LANKA

The Sinhalese are Buddhists who speak an Indo-European language, whereas the Tamils are Hindus who speak a Dravidian language.

multinational state is jeopardized. Back in 1956, Sinhalese leaders made Buddhism the sole official religion and Sinhala the sole official language of Sri Lanka. The Tamils fear that their military defeat jeopardizes their ethnic identity again.

▼ FIGURE 7-30 ETHNIC CONFLICT IN SRI LANKA Tamils demonstrating in Switzerland for international support a few days before losing the war in 2009.



Dividing Ethnicities

Learning Outcome 7.3.3

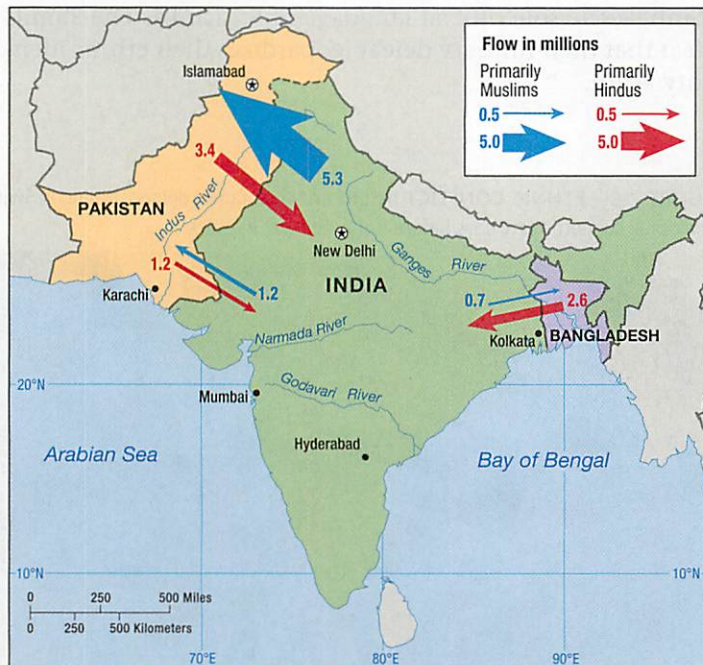
Describe how the Kurds, as well as several ethnicities in South Asia, have been divided among more than one nationality.

Few ethnicities inhabit an area that matches the territory of a nationality. Ethnicities are sometimes divided among more than one nationality.

DIVIDING SOUTH ASIAN ETHNICITIES AMONG NATIONALITIES

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 7-31). 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



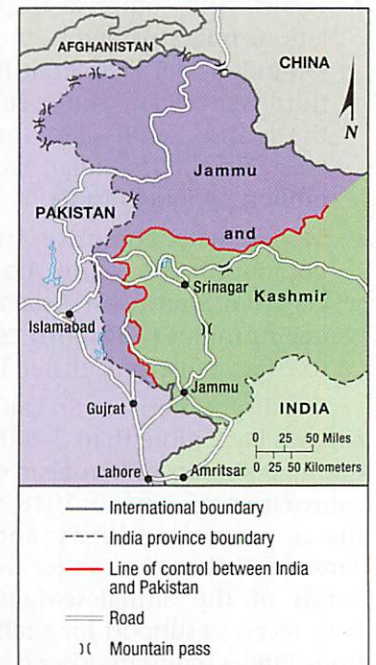
▲ **FIGURE 7-31 ETHNIC DIVISION OF SOUTH ASIA** In 1947, British India was partitioned into two independent states, India and Pakistan, which resulted in the migration of an estimated 17 million people. The creation of Pakistan as two territories nearly 1,600 kilometers (1,000 miles) apart proved unstable, and in 1971 East Pakistan became the independent country of Bangladesh.

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, the leading Hindu advocate of nonviolence and reconciliation with Muslims, was assassinated in 1948, ending the possibility 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 7-32). Since 1972, the two countries have maintained a “line of control” through the region, with Pakistan administering the northwestern portion and India the southeastern portion. Muslims, who comprise a majority in both portions, have fought a guerrilla war to secure reunification 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.



▲ **FIGURE 7-32 KASHMIR** India and Pakistan dispute the location of their border.



◀ **FIGURE 7-33 KURDS** Kurds in northern Iraq hold burning torches to celebrate their new year, which they call Newroz, on the first day of spring.

India's religious unrest is further complicated by the presence of 25 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, situated south of Kashmir along the border with Pakistan. Sikh extremists have fought for more control over the Punjab or even complete independence from India.

DIVIDING THE KURDS AMONG NATIONALITIES

A prominent example of an ethnicity divided among several countries in western Asia is the Kurds, who live in the Caucasus Mountains (Figure 7-33). 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, with boundaries nearly identical to the current ones. Kurdistan became part of Turkey and disappeared as an independent state.

Today the 30 million Kurds are split among several countries; 14 million live in eastern Turkey, 5 million in northern Iraq, 4 million in western Iran, 2 million in Syria,

and the rest in other countries. Kurds comprise 19 percent of the population in Turkey, 16 percent in Iraq, 9 percent in Syria, and 6 percent in Iran (refer ahead to Figure 7-34 on the next page).

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. Kurds in other countries have fared just as poorly as those in Turkey. Iran's Kurds secured an independent republic in 1946, but it lasted less than a year. 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 Iraqi army. After the United States attacked Iraq and deposed Saddam Hussein in 2003, Iraqi Kurds achieved even more autonomy, but still not independence. Thus, despite their numbers, the Kurds are an ethnicity with no corresponding Kurdish state today. Instead, they are forced to live under the control of the region's more powerful nationalities.

Pause and Reflect 7.3.3

Refer ahead to Figure 7-34 on the next page. What is the largest ethnicity in Pakistan?

ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN WESTERN ASIA

Learning Outcome 7.3.4

Identify and describe the principal ethnicities in western Asia.

The lack of correspondence between the territory occupied by ethnicities and nationalities is especially severe in western Asia. Four nationalities in the region—Iraqi, Iranian, Afghan, and Pakistani—encompass dozens of ethnicities, most of whom inhabit more than one of the region's countries (Figure 7-34):

ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN IRAQ. Approximately three-fourths of Iraqis are Arabs, and one-sixth are Kurds. The Arab population is divided among Muslim branches, with two-thirds Shiite and one-third Sunni.

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 (see Chapter 8).

Having invaded Iraq and removed Hussein from power, the United States expected an enthusiastic welcome from the Iraqi nation. Instead, the United States became embroiled in a complex and violent struggle among ethnic groups:

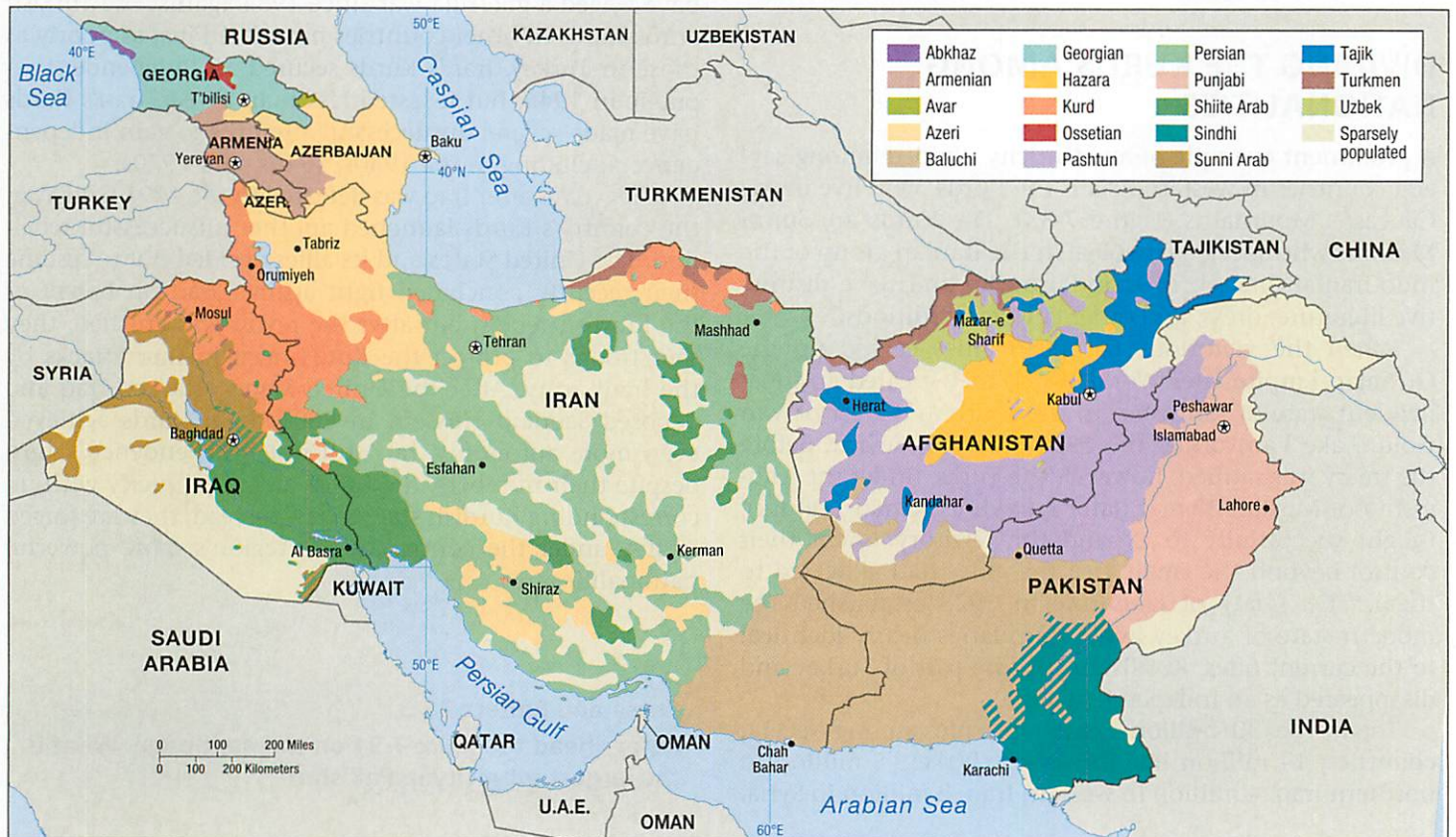
- Kurds welcomed the United States because they gained more security and autonomy than they had had under Hussein.
- Sunni Muslim Arabs opposed the U.S.-led attack because they feared loss of power and privilege given to them by Hussein, who was a Sunni.
- Shiite Muslim Arabs also opposed the U.S. presence. Although they had been treated poorly by Hussein and controlled Iraq's post-Hussein government, Shiites shared a long-standing hostility toward the United States with their neighbors in Shiite-controlled Iran.

Iraq's principal ethnic groups are split into regions, with Kurds in the north, Sunnis in the center, and Shiites in the south.

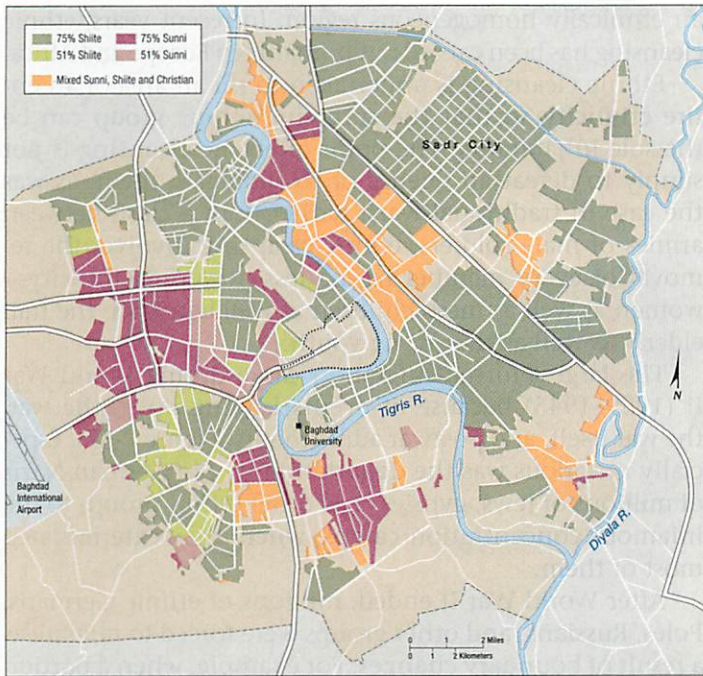
The capital, Baghdad, where one-fourth of the Iraqi people live, has some neighborhoods where virtually all residents are of one ethnicity, but most areas are mixed. In many of these historically mixed neighborhoods, the minority ethnicity has been forced to move away (Figure 7-35).

The major ethnicities are divided into numerous tribes and clans (Figure 7-36). Most Iraqis actually have stronger loyalty to a tribe or clan than to the nationality or a major ethnicity.

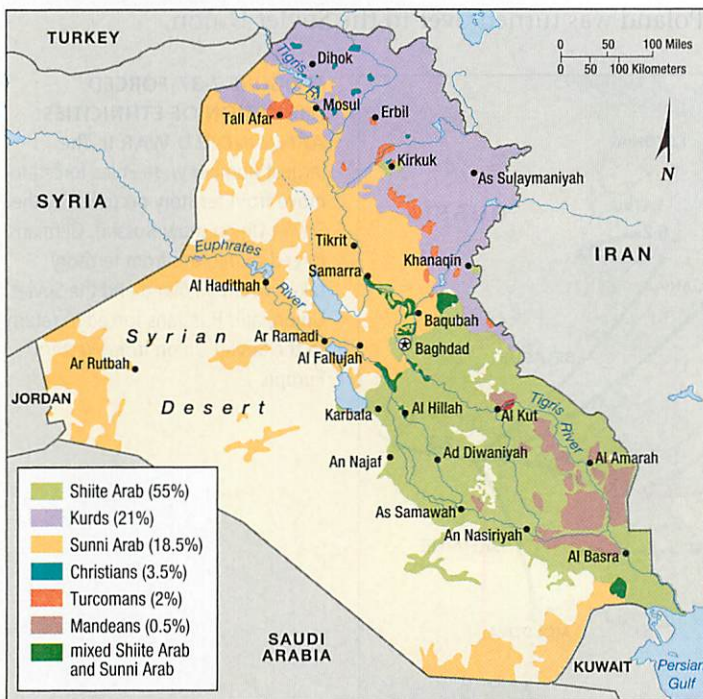
ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN IRAN. The most numerous ethnicity is Persian, but Azeri and Baluchi represent important minorities. Persians constitute the world's largest ethnic group that adheres to Shiite Islam. Persians



▲ FIGURE 7-34 ETHNICITIES IN WESTERN ASIA The complex distribution of ethnicities and nationalities across western Asia is a major source of conflict.



▲ FIGURE 7-35 ETHNICITIES IN BAGHDAD Baghdad contains a mix of Sunnis, Shiites, and other groups. Many neighborhoods were traditionally mixed, but in recent years the minority group has been forced to migrate.



▲ FIGURE 7-36 ETHNICITIES IN IRAQ Iraq is home to around 150 distinct tribes. Some of the larger ones are shown on the map.

are believed to be descendants of the Indo-European tribes that began migrating from Central Asia into what is now Iran several thousand years ago (see Chapter 5). The Persian Empire extended from present-day Iran west as far as Egypt during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. After the Muslim army conquered Persia in the seventh century, most Persians converted to Sunni Islam. The conversion to Shiite Islam came primarily in the fifteenth century.

ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN AFGHANISTAN. The most numerous ethnicities in Afghanistan are Pashtun, Tajik, and Hazara. The current unrest among Afghanistan's ethnicities dates from 1979, with the start of a rebellion by several ethnic groups against the government, which was being defended by more than 100,000 troops from the Soviet Union. Unable to subdue the rebellion, the Soviet Union withdrew its troops in 1989, and the Soviet-installed government in Afghanistan collapsed in 1992.

After several years of infighting among ethnicities, a faction of the Pashtun called the Taliban gained control over most of the country in 1995. The Taliban imposed very harsh, strict 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 ethnic groups, including the Taliban.

ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN PAKISTAN. The most numerous ethnicity in Pakistan is Punjabi, but the border area with Afghanistan is principally Baluchi and Pashtun. The Punjabi have been the most numerous ethnicity since ancient times in what is now Pakistan. As with the neighboring Pashtun, the Punjabi converted to Islam after they were conquered by the Muslim army in the seventh century. The Punjabi remained Sunni Muslims rather than convert to Shiite Islam like their neighbors the Pashtun, who comprise Pakistan's second-largest ethnicity, especially along the border with Afghanistan. Fighting between Pakistan's army and supporters of the Taliban forced Pakistanis to leave their homes and move into camps, where they were fed by international relief organizations.

Pause and Reflect 7.3.4

How do the ethnic complexities of western Asia make it difficult to set up stable democratic governments?

CHECK-IN: KEY ISSUE 3

Why Do Conflicts Arise among Ethnicities?

- ✓ Nationality is identity with a group of people who share legal attachment and personal allegiance to a particular country.
- ✓ Countries such as Lebanon and Sri Lanka have difficulty peacefully combining ethnicities into one nationality.
- ✓ 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 Asia.

KEY ISSUE 4

Why Do Ethnicities Engage in Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide?

- Ethnic Cleansing in the Balkans
- Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide in Sub-Saharan Africa

Learning Outcome 7.4.1

Describe the process of ethnic cleansing.

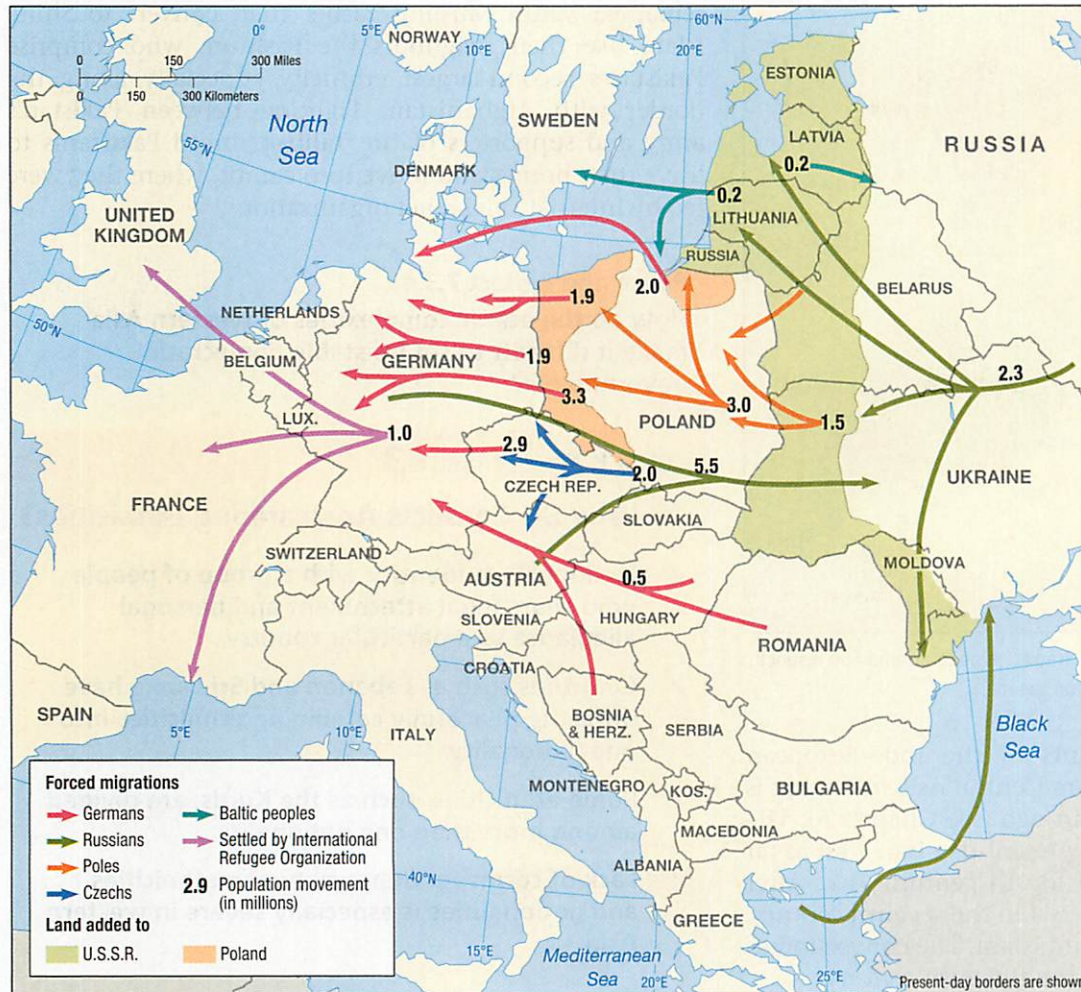
Throughout history, ethnic groups have been forced to flee from other ethnic groups' more powerful armies. **Ethnic cleansing** is a process in which a more powerful ethnic group forcibly removes a less powerful one in order to create

an ethnically homogeneous region. In recent years, ethnic cleansing has been carried out primarily in Europe and Africa.

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.

The largest forced migration came during World War II (1939–1945) because of events leading up to the war, the war itself, and postwar adjustments (Figure 7-37). 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. 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 7-37 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.

Ethnic Cleansing in the Balkans

The scale of forced migration during World War II has not been repeated, but in recent years ethnic cleansing within Europe has occurred in portions of former Yugoslavia, especially Bosnia & Herzegovina and Kosovo. Ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia is part of a complex pattern of ethnic diversity in the region of southeastern Europe known as the Balkan Peninsula. The region, about the size of Texas, is named for the Balkan Mountains (known in Slavic languages as Stara Planina), which extend east–west across the region. The Balkans includes Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Romania, as well as several countries that once comprised Yugoslavia.

MULTIETHNIC YUGOSLAVIA

In June 1914 the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary was assassinated in Sarajevo by a Serb who sought independence for Bosnia. The incident sparked World War I. After World War I, the allies created a new country, Yugoslavia, to unite several Balkan ethnicities that spoke similar South Slavic languages (Figure 7-38). The prefix “Yugo” in the country’s name derives from the Slavic word for “south.”

Under the long leadership of Josip Broz Tito, who governed Yugoslavia from 1953 until his death in 1980, Yugoslavs liked to repeat a refrain that roughly translates as follows: “Yugoslavia has seven neighbors, six republics, five nationalities, four languages, three religions, two alphabets, and one dinar” (Figure 7-39). Specifically:

- Seven neighbors of Yugoslavia included three longtime democracies (Austria, Greece, and Italy) and four states then governed by Communists (Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania). The diversity of neighbors reflected Yugoslavia’s strategic location between the Western democracies and Communist Eastern Europe. Although a socialist country, Yugoslavia was militarily neutral after it had been

expelled in 1948 from the Soviet-dominated military alliance for being too independent minded. Yugoslavia’s Communists permitted more communication and interaction with Western democracies than did other Eastern European countries.

- Six republics within Yugoslavia—Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia—had more autonomy from the national government to run their own affairs than was the case in other Eastern European countries.
- Five of the republics were named for the country’s five recognized ethnic groups—Croats, Macedonians, Montenegrans, Serbs, and Slovenes. Bosnia & Herzegovina contained a mix of Serbs, Croats, and Muslims.
- Four official languages were recognized—Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian, and Slovene. Montenegrans spoke Serbian.

Pause and Reflect 7.4.1

What is an example of another country that is inhabited primarily by people of Slavic ethnicity?



► **FIGURE 7-38 LANGUAGES IN SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE** After World War I, world leaders created several new states and realigned the boundaries of existing ones so that the boundaries of states matched language boundaries as closely as possible. These state boundaries proved to be relatively stable for much of the twentieth century. In the late twentieth century, the region became a center of conflict among speakers of different languages.



▲ **FIGURE 7-39 YUGOSLAVIA UNTIL ITS BREAKUP IN 1992** Yugoslavia comprised six republics (plus Kosovo and Vojvodina, autonomous regions within the Republic of Serbia).

- Three major religions included Roman Catholic in the north, Orthodox in the east, and Islam in the south. Croats and Slovenes were predominantly Roman Catholic, Serbs and Macedonians predominantly Orthodox, and Bosnians and Montenegrins predominantly Muslim.
- Two of the four official languages—Croatian and Slovene—were written in the Roman alphabet; Macedonian and Serbian were written in Cyrillic. Most linguists outside Yugoslavia considered Serbian and Croatian to be the same language except with different alphabets.
- One, the refrain concluded, was the dinar, the national unit of currency. This meant that despite cultural diversity, common economic interests kept Yugoslavia's nationalities unified.

The Balkan Peninsula, a complex assemblage of ethnicities, has long been a hotbed of unrest (Figure 7-40). Northern portions were incorporated into the Austro-Hungarian Empire; southern portions were ruled by the Ottomans. Austria-Hungary extended its rule farther south in 1878 to include Bosnia & Herzegovina, where the majority of the people had been converted to Islam by the Ottomans.

The creation of Yugoslavia brought stability that lasted for most of the twentieth century. Old animosities among ethnic groups were submerged, and younger people began to identify themselves as Yugoslavs rather than as Serbs, Croats, or Montenegrins.

Rivalries among ethnicities resurfaced in Yugoslavia during the 1980s after Tito's death, leading to the breakup of the country. Breaking away to form independent countries were Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, and Slovenia during the 1990s and Montenegro in 2006. The breakup left Serbia standing on its own as well.

As long as Yugoslavia comprised one country, ethnic groups were not especially troubled by the division of the country into six republics. But when Yugoslavia's republics were transformed from local government units into five separate countries, ethnicities fought to redefine the boundaries. Not only did the boundaries of Yugoslavia's six republics fail to match the territory occupied by the five major nationalities, but the country contained other important ethnic groups that had not received official recognition as nationalities.



▲ **FIGURE 7-40 THE BALKANS IN 1914**

At the outbreak of World War I, Austria-Hungary controlled the northern part of the region, including all or part of Croatia, Slovenia, and Romania. The Ottoman Empire controlled some of the south, although during the nineteenth century it had lost control of Albania, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Greece, Romania, and Serbia.

CONTEMPORARY GEOGRAPHIC TOOLS

Documenting 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.

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. Figure 7-41 is the first of the three photos:

- Illustrating step 1, the red circles in Figure 7-41 show the location of Serb armored vehicles along the main street of the village.

Figure 7-41 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. The white rectangles to

the north of the people are civilian cars and trucks.

- Illustrating step 3, the second photograph of the sequence 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 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 7-41 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 (left) side of the road. The villagers and their vehicles have been rounded up and placed in the field east of the road. The red circles show the locations of Serb armored vehicles.

ETHNIC CLEANSING IN BOSNIA

Learning Outcome 7.4.2

Explain the concept of ethnic cleansing in the Balkans.

The creation of a viable nationality has proved especially difficult in the case of Bosnia & Herzegovina. At the time of the breakup of Yugoslavia, the population of Bosnia & Herzegovina was 48 percent Bosnian Muslims, 37 percent Serbs, and 14 percent Croats. Bosnian Muslim was considered an ethnicity rather than a nationality. Rather than live in an independent multiethnic 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 Bosnian Muslims (Figure 7-42). 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 Bosnian Serbs against Bosnian Muslims was especially severe because much of the territory inhabited by Bosnian Serbs was separated from Serbia by areas with Bosnian Muslim majorities. By ethnically cleansing Bosnian Muslims from intervening areas, Bosnian Serbs created one continuous area of Bosnian Serb domination rather than several discontinuous ones.

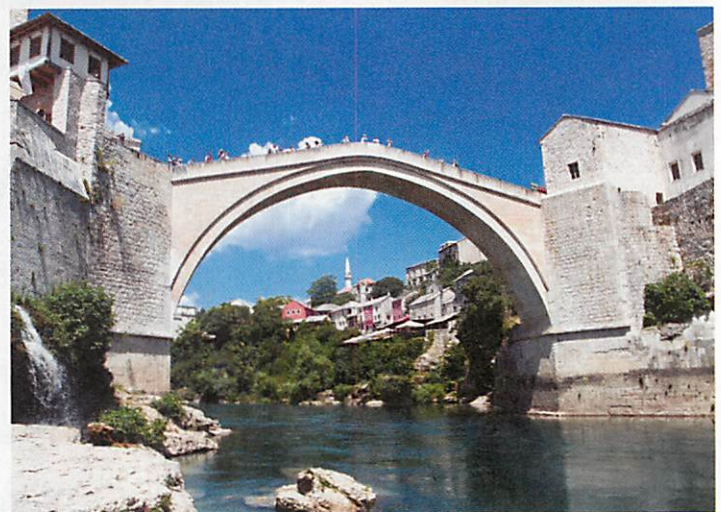
Accords reached in Dayton, Ohio, in 1996 by leaders of the various ethnicities divided Bosnia & Herzegovina into three regions, one each dominated, respectively, by the Bosnian Croats, Muslims, and Serbs. The Bosnian Croat and Muslim regions were combined into a federation, with some cooperation between the two groups, but the Serb region has operated with almost complete independence in all but name from the others. In recognition of the success of their ethnic cleansing, Bosnian Serbs received nearly half of the country, although they comprised one-third of the population, and Bosnian Croats got one-fourth of the land, although they comprised one-sixth of the population. Bosnian Muslims, one-half of the population before the ethnic cleansing, got one-fourth of the land (Figure 7-43).

Pause and Reflect 7.4.2

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

ETHNIC CLEANSING IN KOSOVO

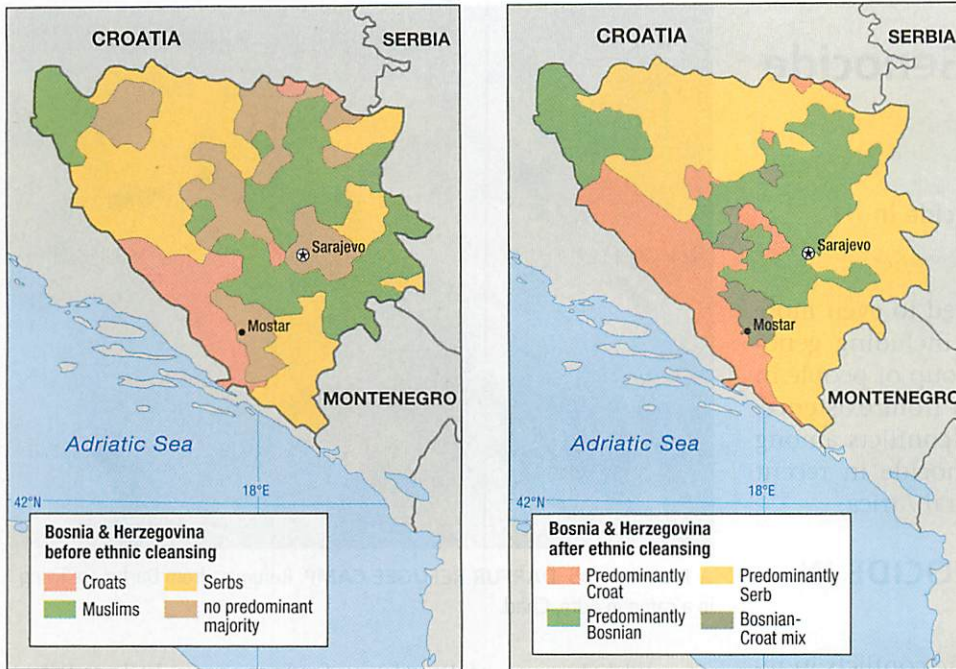
After the breakup of Yugoslavia, Serbia remained a multiethnic country. Particularly troubling was the province of Kosovo, where ethnic Albanians comprised 90 percent of



▲ **FIGURE 7-42 ETHNIC CLEANSING IN BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA** (top) The Stari Most (old bridge), built by the Turks in 1566 across the Neretva River, was an important symbol and tourist attraction in the city of Mostar. (middle) The bridge was blown up by Croats in 1993, in an attempt to demoralize Bosnian Muslims as part of ethnic cleansing (bottom). With the end of the war in Bosnia & Herzegovina, the bridge was rebuilt in 2004.

the population. Under Tito, ethnic Albanians in Kosovo received administrative autonomy and national identity.

Serbia had a historical claim to Kosovo, having controlled it between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Serbs fought an important—though losing—battle in



◀ **FIGURE 7-43 ETHNICITIES IN BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA BEFORE AND AFTER ETHNIC CLEANSING** The territory occupied by Bosnian Muslims (left) was considerably reduced as a result of ethnic cleansing by Bosnian Serbs and Croats (right).

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 of the Albanian majority. The process of ethnic cleansing involved four steps:

1. Move a large amount of military equipment and personnel into a village that has no strategic value (see the Contemporary Geographic Tools feature).
2. Round up all the people in the village. In Bosnia, Serbs often segregated men from women, children, and old people. The men were placed in detention camps or “disappeared”—undoubtedly killed—and the others were forced to leave the village. In Kosovo, men were herded together with the others rather than killed.
3. Force the people to leave the village. The villagers were typically forced into a convoy—some in the vehicles, others on foot—heading for the Albanian border.
4. Destroy the vacated village by setting it on fire.

At its peak in 1999, Serb ethnic cleansing had forced 750,000 of Kosovo’s 2 million ethnic Albanian residents from their homes, mostly to camps in Albania. 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 60 countries, including the United States, recognize Kosovo as an independent country, but Serbia and Russia oppose it.

BALKANIZATION

A century ago, the term **Balkanized** was widely used to describe a small geographic area that could not successfully be organized into one or more stable states because it was inhabited by many ethnicities with complex, long-standing antagonisms toward each other. World leaders at the time regarded **Balkanization**—the process by which a state breaks down through conflicts among its ethnicities—as a threat to peace throughout the world, not just in a small area. 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 have once again become Balkanized in the twenty-first century. Will the United States, Europe, and Russia once again be drawn reluctantly into conflict through entangled alliances in the Balkans? If peace comes to the Balkans, it will be because in a tragic way ethnic cleansing “worked.” Millions of people were rounded up and killed or forced to migrate because they constituted ethnic minorities. Ethnic homogeneity may be the price of peace in areas that once were multiethnic.

Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide in Sub-Saharan Africa

Learning Outcome 7.4.3

Identify the principal episodes of genocide in northeastern Africa.

In some places, ethnic competition has led to even more extreme actions than ethnic cleansing, including genocide. **Genocide** is the mass killing of a group of people in an attempt to eliminate the entire group from existence. Sub-Saharan Africa has been plagued by conflicts among ethnic groups that have resulted in genocide in recent years, especially in northeastern and central Africa.

ETHNIC CLEANSING AND GENOCIDE IN NORTHEASTERN AFRICA

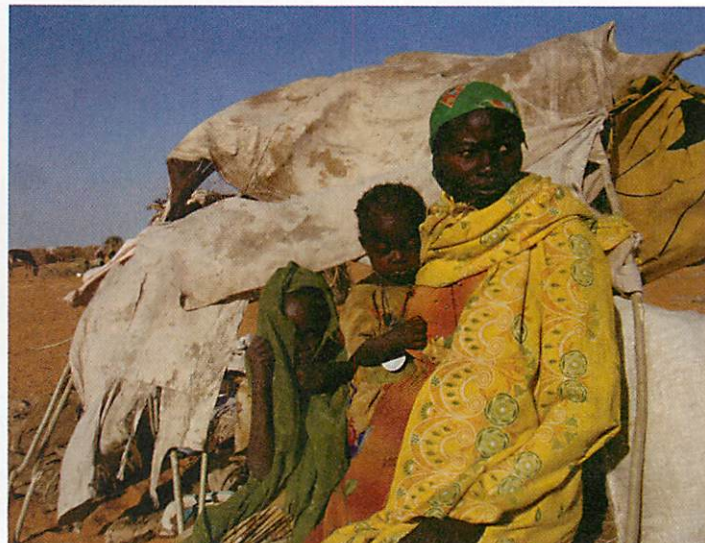
In northeastern Africa, three distinct ethnic conflicts in recent years have taken place in Sudan, Somalia, and Ethiopia.

SUDAN. In Sudan, several civil wars have raged since the 1980s between the Arab-Muslim dominated government in the north and other ethnicities in the south, west, and east (Figure 7-44):

- **South Sudan.** Black Christian and animist ethnicities resisted government attempts to convert the country from a multiethnic society to one nationality tied to Muslim traditions. A north–south war between 1983 and 2005 resulted in the death of an estimated 1.9 million Sudanese, mostly civilians. The war ended with the



▲ FIGURE 7-44 SUDAN AND SOUTH SUDAN South Sudan became an independent country in 2011.

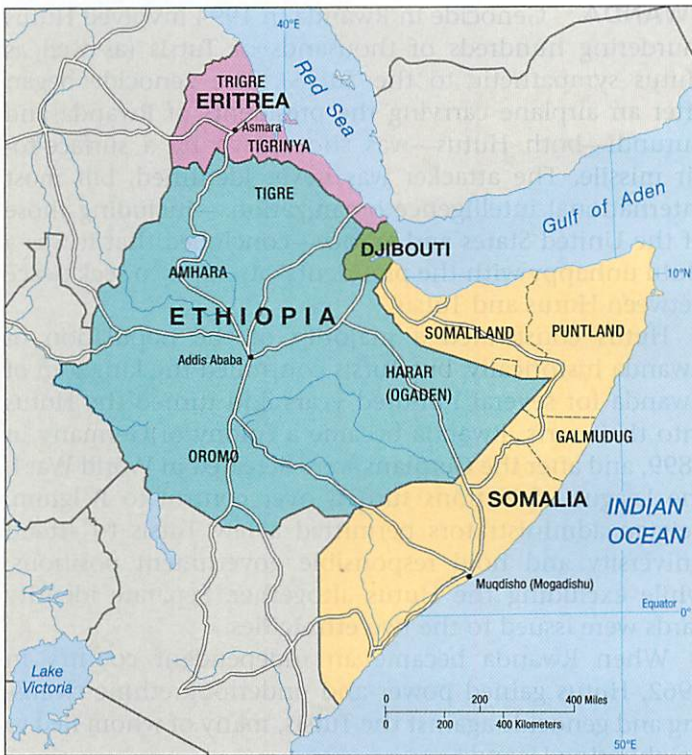


▲ FIGURE 7-45 DARFUR REFUGEE CAMP Refugees from Darfur are living in a camp in Adré, Chad.

establishment of Southern Sudan as an independent state in 2011. However, fighting resumed as the governments of Sudan and South Sudan could not agree on boundaries between the two countries.

- **Darfur.** As Sudan's religion-based civil war was winding down, an ethnic war erupted in Sudan's westernmost region, Darfur. Resenting discrimination and neglect by the national government, Darfur's black Africans launched a rebellion in 2003. Marauding Arab nomads, known as janjaweed, with the support of the Sudanese government, crushed Darfur's black population, made up mainly of settled farmers; 480,000 have been killed and another 2.8 million have been living in dire conditions in refugee camps in the harsh desert environment of Darfur (Figure 7-45). Actions of Sudan's government troops, including mass murders and rape of civilians, have been termed genocide by many other countries, and charges of war crimes have been filed against Sudan's leaders.
- **Eastern front.** Ethnicities in the east fought Sudanese government forces between 2004 and 2006, with the support of neighboring Eritrea. At issue was disbursement of profits from oil.

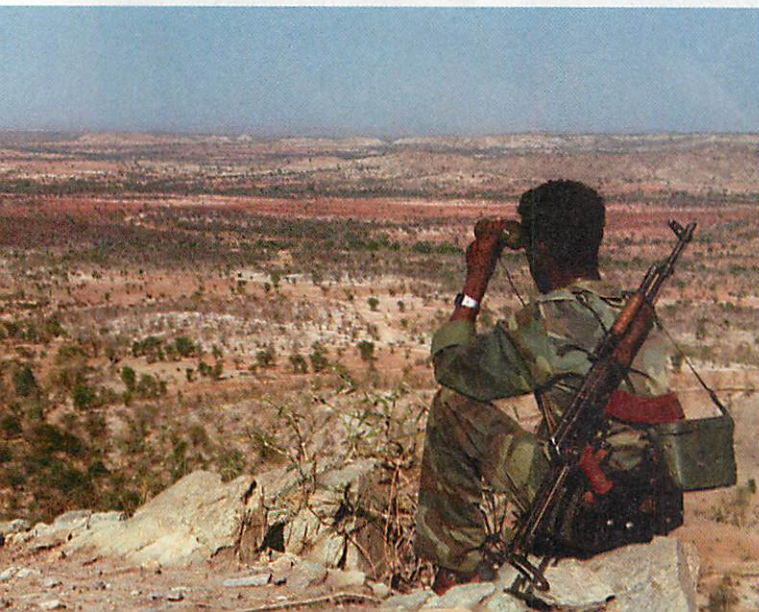
ETHIOPIA AND ERITREA. Eritrea, located along the Red Sea, became an Italian colony in 1890. Ethiopia, an independent country for more than 2,000 years, was captured by Italy during the 1930s. After World War II, Ethiopia regained its independence, and the United Nations awarded Eritrea to Ethiopia (Figure 7-46). The United Nations expected Ethiopia to permit Eritrea considerable authority to run its own affairs, but Ethiopia dissolved the Eritrean legislature and banned the use of Tigrinya, Eritrea's major local language. The Eritreans rebelled, beginning a 30-year fight for independence (1961–1991). During this civil war, an estimated 665,000 Eritrean refugees fled to neighboring Sudan.



▲ **FIGURE 7-46 HORN OF AFRICA** Eritrea broke away from Ethiopia to become an independent country in the early 1990s. Somalia is divided into several territories controlled by various ethnic groups.

Eritrean rebels defeated the Ethiopian army in 1991, and 2 years later Eritrea became an independent state. But war between Ethiopia and Eritrea flared up again in 1998 because of disputes over the location of the border. Eritrea justified its claim through a 1900 treaty between Ethiopia and Italy, which then controlled Eritrea, but Ethiopia cited a 1902 treaty with Italy. Ethiopia defeated Eritrea in 2000 and took possession of the disputed areas. Battles along the border have continued (Figure 7-47).

▼ **FIGURE 7-47 ERITREA–ETHIOPIA BORDER** The border between Eritrea (background) and Ethiopia (foreground) is unmarked here.



A country of 5 million people split evenly between Christian and Muslim, Eritrea has two principal ethnic groups: Tigrinya and Tigre. At least in the first years of independence, a strong sense of national identity united Eritrea's ethnicities as a result of shared experiences during the 30-year war to break free of Ethiopia.

Even with the loss of Eritrea, Ethiopia remained a complex multiethnic state. From the late nineteenth century until the 1990s, Ethiopia was controlled by the Amharas, who are Christians. After the government defeat in the early 1990s, power passed to a combination of ethnic groups. The Oromo, who are Muslim fundamentalists from the south, are the largest ethnicity in Ethiopia, at 34 percent of the population. The Amhara, who comprise 27 percent of the population, had banned the use of languages other than Amharic, including Oromo.

SOMALIA. On the surface, Somalia should face fewer ethnic divisions than its neighbors in the Horn of Africa. Somalis are overwhelmingly Sunni Muslims and speak Somali. Most share a sense that Somalia is a nation-state, with a national history and culture.

Somalia's 9 million inhabitants are divided among several ethnic groups known as clans, each of which is divided into a large number of subclans. Traditionally, the major clans occupied different portions of Somalia. In 1991, a dictatorship that ran the country collapsed, and various clans and subclans claimed control over portions of the country. Clans have declared independent states of Somaliland in the north, Puntland in the northeast, Galmudug in the center, and Southwestern Somalia in the south.

The United States sent several thousand troops to Somalia in 1992, after an estimated 300,000 people, mostly women and children, died from famine and from warfare among clans. The purpose of the mission was to protect delivery of food by international relief organizations to starving Somali refugees and to reduce the number of weapons in the hands of the clan and subclan armies. After peace talks among the clans collapsed in 1994, U.S. troops withdrew.

Islamist militias took control of much of Somalia between 2004 and 2006. Neighboring countries were drawn into the conflict, Eritrea on the side of the Islamists and Ethiopia against them. Claiming that some of the leaders were terrorists, the United States also opposed the Islamists and launched air strikes in 2007. The fighting generated several hundred thousand refugees. Islamist militias withdrew from most of Somalia in 2006 but have since returned and again control much of the country. The ongoing conflict worsened the impact of a recent drought (see the Sustainability and Inequality in Our Global Village feature and Figure 7-48).

Pause and Reflect 7.4.3

Which countries with ethnic conflicts described in Key Issues 3 and 4 have had U.S. troops sent to try to restore the peace?

ETHNIC CLEANSING AND GENOCIDE IN CENTRAL AFRICA

Learning Outcome 7.4.4

Identify the principal episodes of genocide in central Africa.

Long-standing conflicts between two ethnic groups, the Hutus and Tutsis, lie at the heart of a series of wars in central Africa. The two ethnicities speak the same language, hold similar beliefs, and practice similar social customs, and intermarriage has lessened the physical differences between the two groups. Yet Hutus and Tutsis have engaged in large-scale ethnic cleansing and genocide:

- Hutus were settled farmers, growing crops in the fertile hills and valleys of present-day Rwanda and Burundi, known as the Great Lakes region of central Africa.
- Tutsis were cattle herders who migrated to present-day Rwanda and Burundi from the Rift Valley of western Kenya beginning 400 years ago.

Relations between settled farmers and herders are often uneasy; this is also an element of the ethnic cleansing in Darfur described earlier in the chapter.

RWANDA. Genocide in Rwanda in 1994 involved Hutus murdering hundreds of thousands of Tutsis (as well as Hutus sympathetic to the Tutsis). The genocide began after an airplane carrying the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi—both Hutus—was shot down by a surface-to-air missile. The attacker was never identified, but most international intelligence organizations—including those of the United States and France—concluded that it was a Hutu unhappy with the presidents' attempts to seek peace between Hutus and Tutsis.

Hutus constituted a majority of the population of Rwanda historically, but Tutsis controlled the kingdom of Rwanda for several hundred years and turned the Hutus into their serfs. Rwanda became a colony of Germany in 1899, and after the Germans were defeated in World War I, the League of Nations turned over control to Belgium. Belgian administrators permitted a few Tutsis to attend university and hold responsible government positions, while excluding the Hutus altogether. Separate identity cards were issued to the two ethnicities.

When Rwanda became an independent country in 1962, Hutus gained power and undertook ethnic cleansing and genocide against the Tutsis, many of whom fled to neighboring Uganda.

Descendants of the ethnically cleansed Tutsis invaded Rwanda in 1990. An agreement to share power was signed

SUSTAINABILITY AND INEQUALITY IN OUR GLOBAL VILLAGE

Ethnic Cleansing and Drought

More than 2 million Somalis—one-fourth of the country's population—are classified as refugees or internally displaced persons. As elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, continued fighting among ethnic groups and the absence of a strong national government able to maintain order have contributed to the large number of refugees.

Adding to the woes of the Somali people, the worst drought in 60 years hit the country in 2010 and 2011, especially in the south (Figure 7-48). It is impossible to count the number of Somalis forced to migrate because of famine rather than civil war; both factors probably affect most Somalis. Because of the civil war, much of the food and water sent by international relief organizations could not get through to the people in need. Improved weather in 2012 resulted in a larger harvest, and more supplies were reaching people.



▲ FIGURE 7-48 SOMALIA Somali victims of fighting and famine line up for food and medical assistance in 2011.

International organizations distributed seeds and dug irrigation canals to help in the longer term, but

a renewal of fighting or a bit less rainfall could push the country back into famine.



▲ FIGURE 7-49 ETHNIC CLEANSING IN RWANDA Hutu refugees in Congo.

in 1993, but after the assassination of the president in 1994, Hutus launched genocide against Tutsis, killing an estimated 800,000. The Hutu genocide ended after three months, with Tutsis gaining control of the country. Two million Hutu fled to neighboring countries in the ethnic cleansing that followed the Tutsi victory (Figure 7-49).

CONGO. The conflict between Hutus and Tutsis spilled into neighboring countries, especially the Democratic Republic of Congo. The region's largest and most populous country, the Congo is thought to have seen the world's deadliest war since the end of World War II in 1945. An estimated 5.4 million had died in Congo civil wars as of 2008, when the most heated fighting ceased.

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



▲ FIGURE 7-50 AFRICA'S MANY ETHNICITIES The territory occupied by ethnic groups in Africa rarely matches the boundaries of countries.

from the sale of minerals while impoverishing the rest 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, as well as to Mayi Mayi, another ethnic group in the Congo that also hated Tutsis. Armies from Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and other neighboring countries came to Kabila's 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.

COLONIAL LEGACY. Ethnic conflict is widespread in Africa largely because the present-day boundaries of countries do not match the boundaries of ethnic groups (Figure 7-50). 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 ethnicities.

Traditionally, the most important unit of African society was the tribe rather than independent states with political and economic self-determination. Africa contains several thousand ethnicities (usually referred to as tribes) with a common sense of language, religion, and social customs (refer to Figure 5-18 for a map of African languages). The precise number of tribes is impossible to determine because boundaries separating them are not usually defined clearly. Further, it is hard to determine whether a particular group forms a distinct tribe or is part of a larger collection of similar groups.

When the European colonies in Africa became independent states, especially during the 1950s and 1960s, the boundaries of the new states typically matched the colonial administrative units imposed by the Europeans. As a result, some tribes were divided among more than one modern state, and others were grouped with dissimilar tribes.

Pause and Reflect 7.4.4

Referring to Figure 7-50, are there any countries in Africa where the boundaries match those of ethnicities?

CHECK-IN: KEY ISSUE 4

Why Do Ethnicities Engage in Ethnic Cleansing?

- ✓ 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 and 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 is often confused with race, which is identity with a group of people who share a biological ancestor.

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.1.1: Identify and describe the major ethnicities in the United States.

- The three most numerous ethnicities are Hispanics, African Americans, and Asian Americans.

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.1.2: Describe the distribution of major U.S. ethnicities among states and within urban areas.

- Hispanics are clustered in the Southwest, African Americans in the Southeast, and Asian Americans in the West.
- African Americans and Hispanics are highly clustered in urban areas, especially in inner-city neighborhoods.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY 7.1: A century ago European immigrants to the United States had much stronger ethnic ties than they do today, including clustering in specific neighborhoods. Discuss the rationale for retaining strong ethnic identity in the United States as opposed to full assimilation into the American nationality identity.

GOOGLE EARTH 7.1: Oldtown Mall in Baltimore is in a predominantly African American neighborhood. At Google Earth's ground-level view, does the mall look busy or quiet?



KEY ISSUE 2

Why Do Ethnicities Have Distinctive Distributions?

Ethnicities cluster within the United States as a result of distinctive patterns of migration.

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.2.1: Describe the patterns of forced and voluntary migration of African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans to the United States.

- Many African Americans trace their ancestry to forced migration from Africa for slavery.
- Many Hispanics and Asian Americans trace their heritage to people who migrated in the late twentieth century for economic prospects and political freedom.

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.2.2: Describe the patterns of migration of African Americans within the United States.

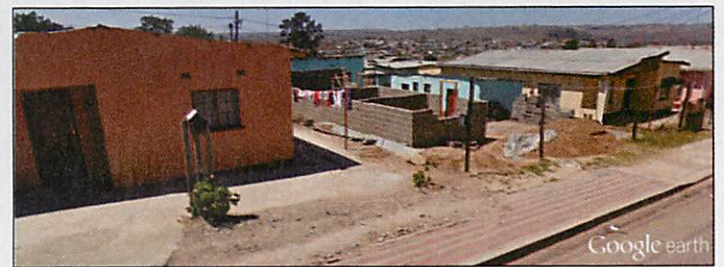
- African Americans migrated in large numbers from the South to the North and West in the early twentieth century.
- African Americans clustered in inner-city ghettos that have expanded in recent decades.

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.2.3: Explain the laws once used to segregate races in the United States and South Africa.

- Segregation of races was legal in the United States and South Africa until the late twentieth century.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY 7.2: Despite the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision that racially segregated school systems are inherently unequal, most schools remain segregated, with virtually none or virtually all African American or Hispanic pupils. As long as most neighborhoods are segregated, how can racial integration in the schools be achieved?

GOOGLE EARTH 7.2: Mthatha (known until 2004 as Umtata), South Africa, is a city in one of the homelands established during apartheid. In Google Earth's ground-level view, what is the race of nearly all of the people?



Key Terms

Apartheid (p. 236) Laws (no longer in effect) in South Africa that physically separated different races into different geographic areas.

Balkanization (p. 251) A process by which a state breaks down through conflicts among its ethnicities.

Balkanized (p. 251) Descriptive of a small geographic area that could not successfully be organized into one or more stable states because it was inhabited by many ethnicities with complex, long-standing antagonisms toward each other.

Blockbusting (p. 235) 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. 239) An attitude that tends to unify people and enhance support for a state.

Ethnic cleansing (p. 246) A process in which a more powerful ethnic group forcibly removes a less powerful one in order to create an ethnically homogeneous region.

Ethnicity (p. 227) Identity with a group of people that share distinct physical and mental traits as a product of common heredity and cultural traditions.

Genocide (p. 252) The mass killing of a group of people in an attempt to eliminate the entire group from existence.

Nationalism (p. 239) Loyalty and devotion to a particular nationality.

Nationality (p. 238) Identity with a group of people that share legal attachment and personal allegiance to a particular place as a result of being born there.

KEY ISSUE 3

Why Do Conflicts Arise among Ethnicities?

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.

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.3.1: Explain the difference between ethnicity and nationality.

- Nationality is identity with a group of people who share legal attachment and personal allegiance to a particular country.
- Nationalism is loyalty and devotion to a nationality.

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.3.2: Identify and describe the principal ethnicities in Lebanon and Sri Lanka.

- Lebanon and Sri Lanka are examples of countries where ethnicities have not been able to live in peace.

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.3.3: Describe how the Kurds, as well as ethnicities in South Asia, have been divided among more than one nationality.

- Some ethnicities find themselves divided among more than one nationality.

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.3.4: Identify and describe the principal ethnicities in western Asia.

- The lack of correspondence between the territory occupied by ethnicities and nationalities is especially severe in western Asia.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY 7.3: Ethnicities around the world seek the ability to be the majority in control of countries. What are some of the obstacles to multiple ethnicities sharing power in individual countries?

GOOGLE EARTH 7.3: Fly to Güven, Turkey to a village inhabited by Kurds. Turn on borders and labels; how far is Güven from Syria? From Iraq?



Race (p. 227) Identity with a group of people descended from a biological ancestor.

Racism (p. 227) 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. 227) A person who subscribes to the beliefs of racism.

Sharecropper (p. 234) 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. 233) 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.

KEY ISSUE 4

Why Do Ethnicities Engage in Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide?

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.

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.4.1: Describe the process of ethnic cleansing.

- Ethnic cleansing has been undertaken in recent years in the Balkans.

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.4.2: Explain the concept of ethnic cleansing in the Balkans.

- Balkanization is a process by which a state breaks down through conflicts among its ethnicities.

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.4.3: Identify the principal episodes of genocide in northeastern Africa.

- Genocide is the mass killing of a group of people in an attempt to eliminate the entire group from existence.

LEARNING OUTCOME 7.4.4: Identify the principal episodes of genocide in central Africa.

- Genocide has been practiced in several places in Africa, including Sudan, Somalia, Rwanda, and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY 7.4: Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia & Herzegovina, once was home to concentrations of many ethnic groups. In retaliation for ethnic cleansing by the Serbs and Croats, the Bosnian Muslims now in control of Sarajevo have been forcing other ethnic groups to leave the city, and Sarajevo is now inhabited overwhelmingly by Bosnian Muslims. Discuss the challenges in restoring Sarajevo as a multiethnic city.

GOOGLE EARTH 7.4: Gazi Husrev-beg Mosque in Sarajevo, Bosnia & Herzegovina, was heavily damaged during ethnic cleansing and since rebuilt. In ground-level view and 3D, pan around the mosque; what other religious structures are visible in 3D within 500 meters of the mosque?



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