Ethnicity

CHAPTER 7

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

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

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

KEY ISSUES

1. **Where are ethnicities distributed?**
2. **Why have ethnicities been transformed into nationalities?**
3. **Why do ethnicities clash?**
4. **What is ethnic cleansing?**

CASE STUDY

Ethnic Conflict in Rwanda

Samuel Ntawiniga, Helene Mukabutera, and their five children had a comfortable life in Rwanda, a small central African country about the size of Maryland. The family lived in the capital, Kigali, in a three-bedroom house with a modern kitchen and a television with videocassette recorder.

The Ntawiniga family's comfortable life was shattered in 1994 when a rocket brought down the airplane carrying the presidents of Rwanda and neighboring Burundi. The death of the two presidents in the plane crash destroyed a peace accord being negotiated at the time between Rwanda's two ethnicities, Hutu and Tutsi.

The next day soldiers broke into the Ntawiniga house and took their money after threatening to shoot them. Family members living elsewhere in the city were killed that night. The next day the family was ordered to leave their house or risk being shot. They walked for a week, until they reached the border town of Cyangugu, 130 kilometers (80 miles) away.

The Ntawinigas are Hutu, the ethnicity of 85 percent of the people of Rwanda when the killing started in 1994. It was Hutu soldiers who forced the Ntawinigas to flee, because Samuel and Helene looked like members of a different ethnicity, Tutsi, and the Hutus feared a Tutsi uprising after the president died. Both Samuel and Helene's mothers were Tutsi, but they were both considered Hutu because their fathers were Hutu.

After Tutsi rebels defeated the Hutu army and gained control of Rwanda, the Ntawinigas were forced to flee again, this time to a refugee camp at Nyarushishi. They joined millions of other Rwandans—Hutu and Tutsi—huddling together under blue plastic tarpaulins in a vain attempt to stay warm and dry. Many died in the camps from tuberculosis, pneumonia, malaria, and dysentery.

Ethnicity is identity with a group of people who share the cultural traditions of a particular homeland or hearth. Ethnicity comes from the Greek word *ethnikos*, which means "national." Ethnicity is distinct from **race**, which is identity with a group of people who share a biological ancestor. Race comes from a middle-French word for *generation*.

Geographers are interested in ***where*** ethnicities are distributed across ***space***, like other elements of culture. 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 derives from particular conditions and practices in the group's homeland.

The reason ***why*** 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 farfetched to envision a world where 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 areas 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

Where Are Ethnicities Distributed?

- Distribution of ethnicities in the United States
- Differentiating ethnicity and race

An ethnicity may be clustered in specific areas within a country, or the area it inhabits may match closely the boundaries of a country. This section of the chapter examines the clustering of ethnicities within countries, and the next key issue looks at ethnicities on the national scale.

Distribution of Ethnicities in the United States

The two most numerous ethnicities in the United States are African Americans and Hispanics or Latinos, about 13 percent each. In addition, about 4 percent are Asian American and 1 percent American Indian.

Clusterings of Ethnicities

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 neighborhoods within cities.

Regional Concentrations of Ethnicities. On a regional scale, ethnicities have distinctive distributions within the United States. African Americans are clustered in the Southeast, Hispanics in the Southwest, Asian Americans in the West, and American Indians in the Southwest and Plains states.

African Americans comprise at least one-fourth of the population in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina, and more than one-third in Mississippi (Figure 7–1). Concentrations are even higher in selected counties. At the other extreme, nine states have fewer than 1 percent African Americans, including the upper New England states of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, as well as the Plains states of Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming.

About 13 percent of Americans identify themselves as being of Hispanic or Latino ethnicity. *Hispanic* or *Hispanic American* is a term that the U.S. government chose in 1973 to describe the group because it was an inoffensive label that could be applied to all people from Spanish-speaking countries. Some Americans of Latin American descent have adopted the term *Latino* instead.

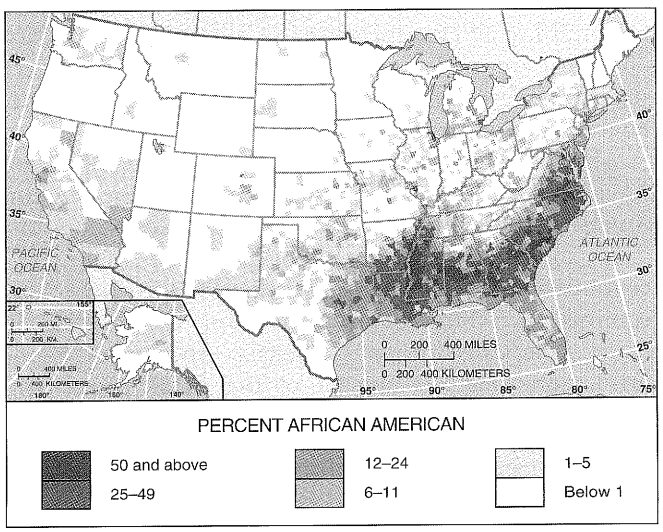


FIGURE 7–1 *Distribution of African Americans in the United States. The highest percentages of African Americans are in the rural South and in northern cities.*

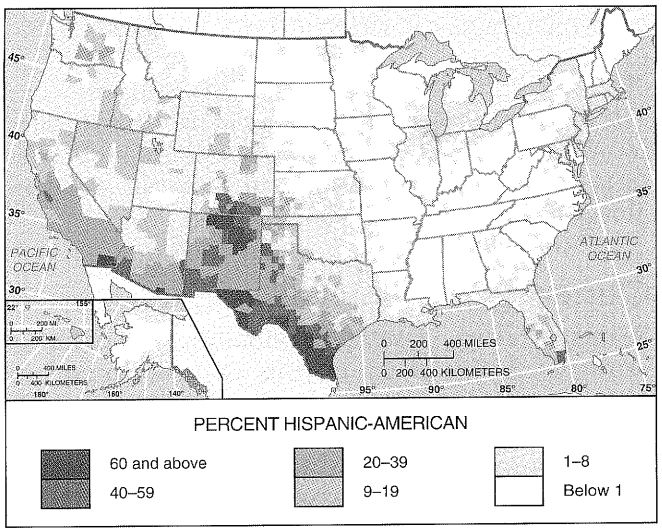


FIGURE 7–2 *Distribution of Hispanic Americans in the United States. The highest percentages are in the Southwest, near the Mexican border, and in northern cities.*

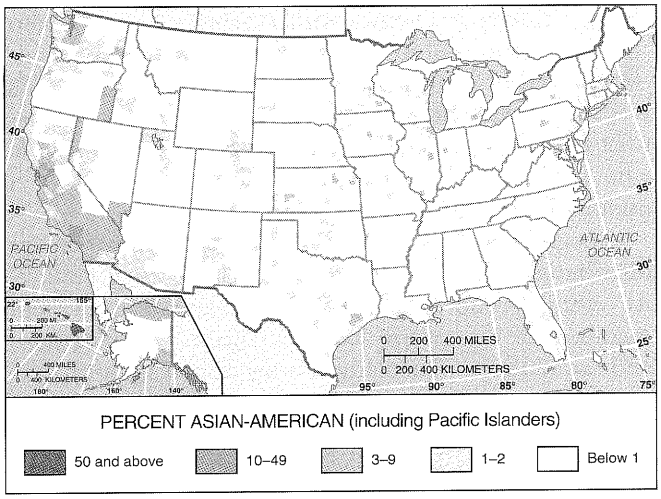


FIGURE 7–3 *Distribution of Asian Americans in the United States. The highest percentages are in Hawaii and California.*

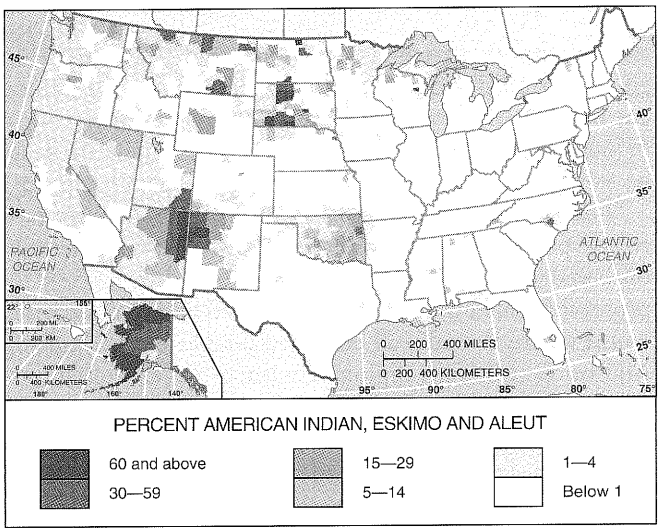


FIGURE 7–4 *Distribution of American Indians in the United States. The highest percentages are in Alaska and Plains states.*

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*.

Most Hispanics identify with a more specific ethnic or national origin. The largest number of Hispanics, about 63 percent, come from Mexico and are sometimes called Chicanos (males) or Chicanas (females). Originally the term was considered insulting, but beginning in the 1960s Mexican American youths in Los Angeles began to call themselves Chicanos and Chicanas with pride. Puerto Ricans comprise the second-largest group of Hispanics, about 11 percent, followed by Cubans, about 5 percent.

Within the United States, Hispanics are heavily clustered in the four southwestern states of Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas, where they constitute more than one-fourth of the total population (Figure 7–2). One-third of all Hispanics live in California and another one-third are in Texas, New York, and Florida. Eleven states have fewer than 1 percent Hispanic, mostly in the Southeast other than Florida.

About 4 percent of the U.S. population are Asian Americans. Chinese account for about 25 percent of Asian Americans, Filipinos 20 percent, and Japanese, Asian Indians, and Vietnamese 12 percent each. The largest concentration of Asian Americans is in Hawaii, where they comprise two-thirds of the population. One-half of all Asian Americans live in California, where they comprise more than 10 percent of the state's population (Figure 7–3).

American Indians and Alaska Natives make up about 1 percent of the U.S. population. Within the 48 continental United States, American Indians are most numerous in the Southwest and the Plains states (Figure 7–4).

Concentration of Ethnicities in Cities. African Americans are highly clustered within cities. About one-fourth of all Americans live in cities, whereas more than half of African Americans live in cities.

The contrast is greater at the state level. For example, African Americans comprise fourth-fifths of the population in the city of Detroit and only one-fourteenth 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. 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 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.

The clustering of ethnicities is especially pronounced on the scale of neighborhoods within cities. In the early twentieth century Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and other midwestern 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.

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 rather 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 7–5).

In Los Angeles, which contains large percentages of African Americans, Hispanics, and Asian Americans, the major ethnic groups are clustered in different areas (Figure 7–6). 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.

The proximity of Asian American ethnic groups to African Americans proved volatile in Los Angeles in 1992. After white police officers were acquitted—despite videotaped evidence—of beating an African American (Rodney King), unrest broke out in African American southside neighborhoods. Many of the stores that were looted or burned were owned by Asian Americans.

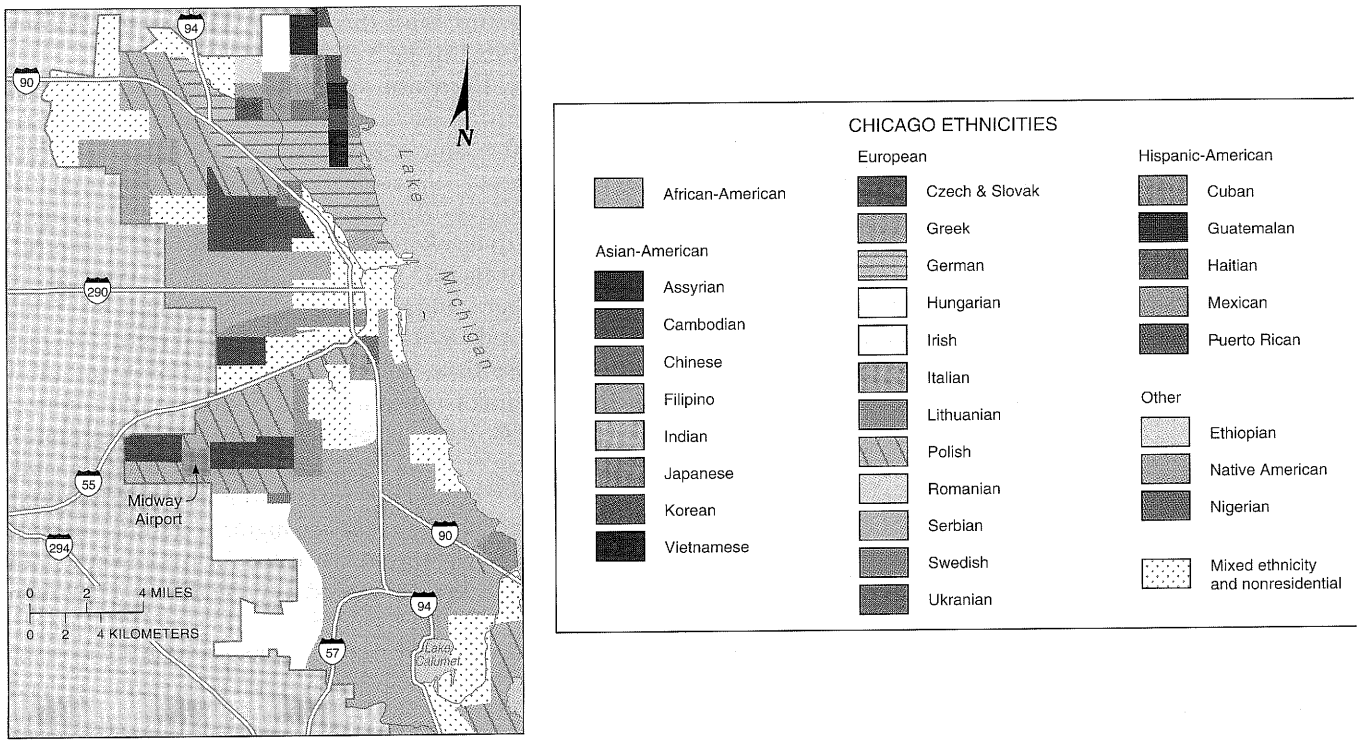


FIGURE 7–5 *Distribution of ethnicities in Chicago. African Americans occupy extensive areas on the south and west sides. Hispanic Americans are clustered in several neighborhoods on the west side. European ethnic groups are located to the northwest, southwest, and far south side. Asian ethnic groups are clustered in the far north side.*

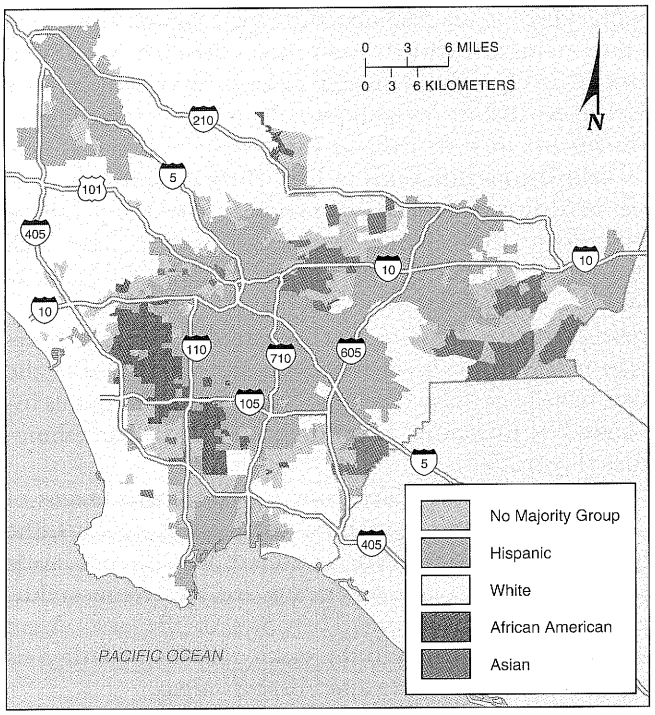


FIGURE 7–6 *Distribution of ethnicities in Los Angeles. African Americans are clustered to the south of downtown Los Angeles, and Hispanics to the east. Asian American neighborhoods are contiguous to the African American and Hispanic areas.*

African American Migration Patterns

The clustering of ethnicities within the United States is partly a function of the same process that helps geographers to explain the regular distribution of other cultural factors, such as language and religion—namely migration. The migration patterns of African Americans have been especially distinctive. Three major migration flows have shaped their current distribution within the United States:

- immigration from Africa to the American colonies in the eighteenth century;
- immigration from the U.S. South to northern cities during the first half of the twentieth century;
- immigration from inner-city ghettos to other urban neighborhoods in the second half of the twentieth century.

Forced Migration from Africa. Most African Americans are descended from Africans forced to migrate to the Western Hemisphere as slaves. Slavery is a system whereby one person owns another person as a piece of property and can force that slave to work for the owner's benefit.

The first Africans brought to the American colonies as slaves arrived at Jamestown, Virginia, on a Dutch ship in 1619. During the eighteenth century the British shipped about 400,000 Africans to the 13 colonies that later formed the United States. 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. This large-scale slave trade was a response to a shortage of labor in the sparsely inhabited Americas. Europeans who owned large plantations in the Americas turned to African slaves as a cheap and abundant source of labor.

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 market. 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 on ships to Brazil.

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

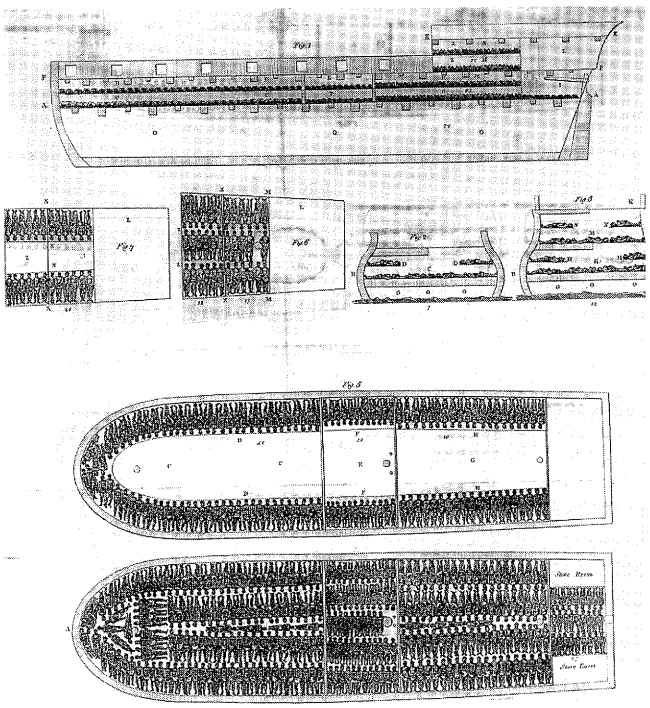
Different European countries operated in various regions of Africa, each sending slaves to different destinations in the Americas (Figure 7–7, right). The Portuguese shipped slaves primarily from their principal African colonies—Angola and Mozambique—to their major American colony, Brazil. Other European countries took slaves primarily from a coastal strip of West Africa between Liberia and the Congo, 4,000 kilometers (2,500 miles) long and 160 kilometers (100 miles) wide. The majority of these slaves went to Caribbean islands and most of the remainder to Central and South America. Fewer than 5 percent of the slaves ended up in the United States.

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 7–7, left). 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.

The large-scale forced migration of Africans obviously 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 blacks 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 bitterly debated whether to permit slavery in the new states. The Civil War (1861–65) was fought to prevent 11 pro-slavery Southern states from seceding from the Union. In 1863, during the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the slaves in the 11 Confederate states. The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, adopted eight months after the South surrendered, outlawed slavery.



The diagram of a slave ship shows the extremely high density by which Africans were transported to the Americas to be sold as slaves.

Freed as slaves, most African Americans remained in the rural South during the late nineteenth century working as sharecroppers. 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.

Immigration to the North. Sharecropping declined in the early twentieth century as the introduction of farm machinery and 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 to 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 7–8). Most traveled by bus and car along the major two-lane long-distance U.S. roads that had been paved and signposted in the early decades of the twentieth century and since replaced by interstate highways.

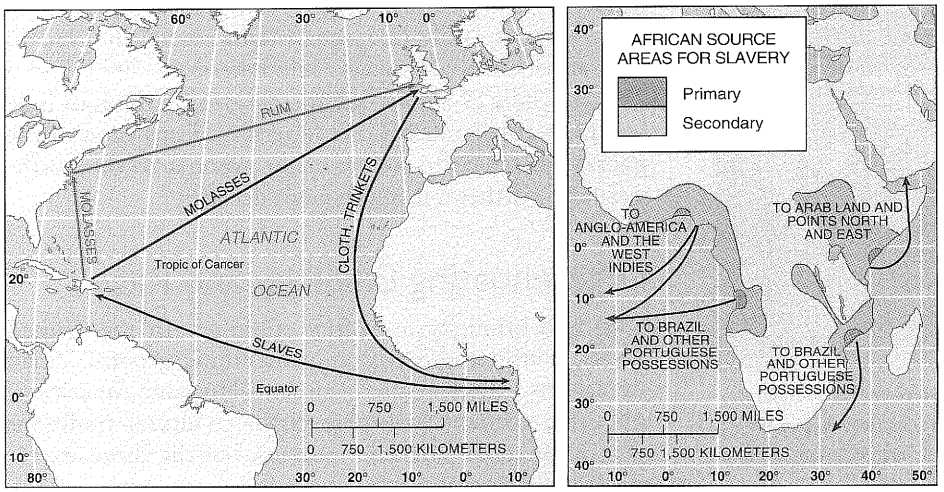


FIGURE 7–7 *(Left) Triangular slave pattern. The British initiated a triangular slave trading pattern in the eighteenth century. Cloth, iron bars, and other goods were carried by ship from Britain to Africa to buy slaves. The same ships transported slaves from Africa to the Caribbean islands. The ships then completed the triangle by returning to Britain with molasses to make rum. Sometimes the ships formed a rectangular pattern by carrying the molasses from the Caribbean islands to the North American colonies, where the rum was distilled and shipped to Britain. (Right) The British and other European powers obtained slaves primarily from a narrow strip along the west coast of Africa, from Liberia to Angola. In the early days of colonization, Europeans secured territory along the Atlantic Coast and rarely ventured more than 160 kilometers (100 miles) into the interior of the continent.*

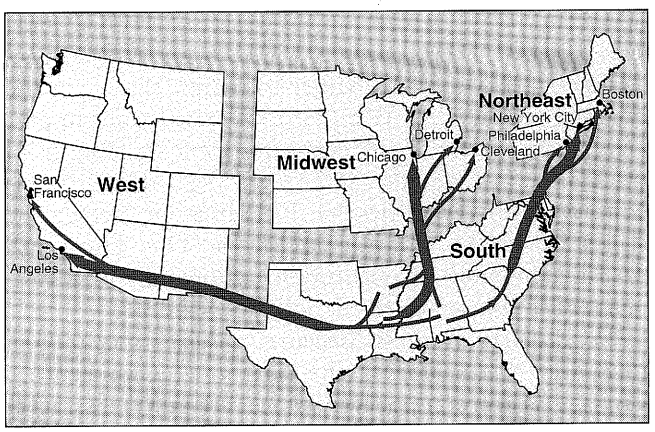


FIGURE 7–8 *African American twentieth-century migration within the United States. Migration followed distinctive channels, including from the Carolinas to the Northeast, from Alabama and Mississippi to the Midwest, and from Texas to California.*

- 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).
- 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).
- From Mississippi and western Tennessee north to St. Louis and Chicago, along U.S. routes 61 and 66 (present-day I-55).
- From Texas west to California, along U.S. routes 80 and 90 (present-day I-10 and I-20).

Sharecroppers. Many African Americans became sharecroppers after slavery was abolished. These sharecroppers were living in a squatters camp in Sikeston, Missouri, in 1939, after being evicted from their land for failure to deliver promised profits to the property owner.

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 material, 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.

For example, only 5,741 of Detroit's 465,766 inhabitants were African American in 1910. With the expansion of the auto industry during the 1910s and 1920s, the African American population increased to 120,000 in 1930, 300,000 in 1950, and 500,000 in 1960.

Expansion of the Ghetto. 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). A half-million African Americans jammed into Chicago's 3-square-mile (8-square-kilometer) South Side ghetto.

In 1950 most of Baltimore's quarter-million African Americans lived in a 1-square-mile (3-square-kilometer) neighborhood northwest of downtown. 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 (Figure 7–9).

Densities in the ghettos were high, with 100,000 inhabitants per square mile (40,000 per square kilometer) common. Contrast that density with the current level found in typical American suburbs of 5,000 inhabitants per square mile (2,000 per square kilometer). 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.

African Americans moved from the tight ghettos into immediately adjacent neighborhoods during the 1950s and 1960s. In Chicago, African Americans pushed south from the old South Side neighborhood at the rate of 1 square mile (2.5 square kilometers) per year. In Baltimore, the West Side African American area expanded from 1 square mile (2.5 square kilometers) in 1950 to 10 square miles (25 square kilometers) in 1970, and a 2-square-mile (5-square-kilometer) area on the East Side became virtually all African American. Expansion of the ghetto continued to follow major avenues to the northwest and northeast in subsequent decades.

Differentiating Ethnicity and Race

Race and ethnicity are often confused. In the United States, consider three prominent ethnic groups—Asian Americans, African Americans, and Hispanic Americans. All three ethnicities display distinct cultural traditions that originate at particular hearths, but the three are regarded in different ways:

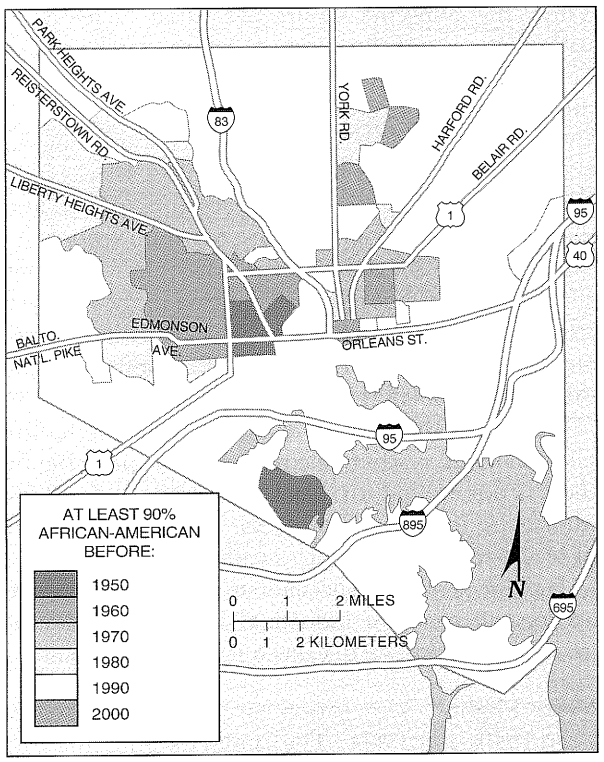


FIGURE 7–9 *Expansion of African American ghetto in Baltimore, Maryland. In 1950 most African Americans in Baltimore lived in a small area northwest of downtown. During the 1950s and 1960s the African American area expanded to the northwest, along major radial roads, and a second node opened on the east side. The south-side African American area was an isolated public housing complex built for wartime workers in the nearby port industries.*

- Asian is recognized as a distinct race by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, so Asian as a race and Asian American as an ethnicity encompass basically the same group of people. However, the Asian American ethnicity lumps together people with ties to many countries in Asia.
- African American and black are different groups, although the 2000 census combined the two. Most black Americans are descended from African immigrants and therefore also belong to an African American ethnicity. Some American blacks, however, trace their cultural heritage to regions other than Africa, including Latin America, Asia, or Pacific islands.
- Hispanic or Latino is not considered a race, so on the census form members of the Hispanic or Latino ethnicity select any race they wish—white, black, or other.

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. Nearly everyone is born with the ability to produce lactase, which enables infants to digest the large amount of lactose in milk. Lactase production typically slackens during childhood, leaving some with difficulty in absorbing a large amount of lactose as adults. A large percentage of persons of Northern European descent have a genetic mutation that results in lifelong production of lactase.

Biological features of all humans, 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 into a handful of world races. At best, however, 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 of 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.

Ethnicity is important to geographers because its characteristics derive from the distinctive features of particular places on Earth. In contrast, contemporary geographers reject the entire biological basis of classifying humans into a handful of races because these features are not rooted in specific places. Geographers stress the heterogeneity of the human population, and an examination of biological differences among people does not explain why people live as they do.

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 most fundamental basis by which people in many societies sort out where they reside, attend school, recreate, and perform many other activities of daily life.

The term *African American* identifies a group with an extensive cultural tradition, whereas the term *black* in principle denotes nothing more than a dark skin. Because many Americans make judgments about the values and behavior of others simply by observing skin color, black is substituted for African American in daily language.

Race in the United States

Every 10 years the U.S. Bureau of the Census asks people to classify themselves according to the race with which they most closely identify. Americans were asked in 2000 to identify themselves by checking the box next to one of the following fourteen races:

- White
- Black, African American, or Negro
- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Asian Indian
- Chinese
- Filipino

- Japanese
- Korean
- Vietnamese
- Native Hawaiian
- Guamanian or Chamorro
- Samoan
- Other Pacific Islander
- Other race

If American Indian, Other Pacific Islander, or Other race were selected, the respondent was asked to write in the specific name.

In 2000 about 75 percent of Americans checked that they were white, 12 percent black, 4 percent Asian (Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, or Vietnamese), 1 percent American Indian or Alaska Native, 0.1 percent Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander (including Guamanian and Samoan), and 6 percent some other race. The 2000 census permitted people to check more than one box, and 2 percent of the respondents did that.

"Separate But Equal" Doctrine. In explaining spatial regularities, geographers look for patterns of spatial interaction. A distinctive feature of race relations in the United States has been the strong discouragement of spatial interaction—in the past through legal means, today through cultural preferences or discrimination.

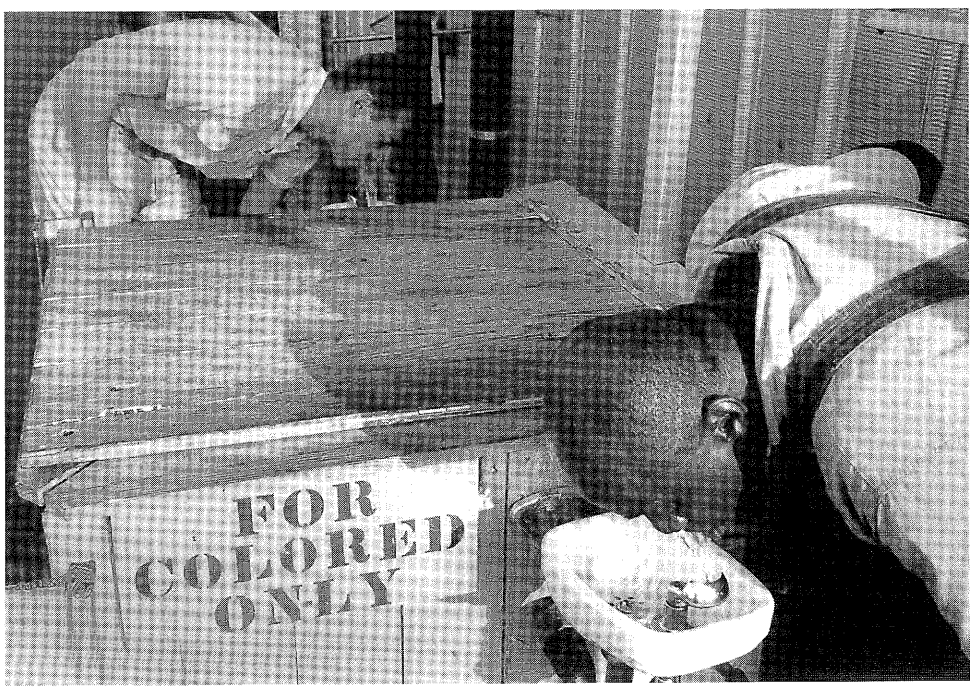
The U.S. Supreme Court in 1896 upheld a Louisiana law that required black and white passengers to ride in separate railway cars. In *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court stated that Louisiana's law was constitutional because it provided separate, *but equal*, treatment of blacks and whites, and equality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

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. 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 back of buses, and shops, restaurants, and hotels could choose to serve only whites. Separate schools were established for blacks and whites. After all, white southerners argued, the bus got blacks sitting in the rear to the destination at the same time as the whites in the front, some commercial establishments served only blacks, and all 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 legally mandated.

"White Flight." 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 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."

Rather than integrate, whites fled. 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. Detroit provides a clear example. Black immigration into



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.

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. While whites fled, Detroit's black population continued to grow, but at a more modest rate, as a result of natural increase.

In sum, Detroit in 1950 contained about 1.7 million whites and 300,000 blacks. The black population increased to 500,000 in 1960, 700,000 in 1970, and 800,000 in both 1990 and 2000, while the white population declined from 1.7 million in 1950 to 1.3 million in 1960, 900,000 in 1970, 500,000 in 1980, 300,000 in 1990, and 200,000 in 2000.

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. Four decades later, despite serious efforts to integrate and equalize the two, segregation and inequality persist.

Division by Race in South Africa

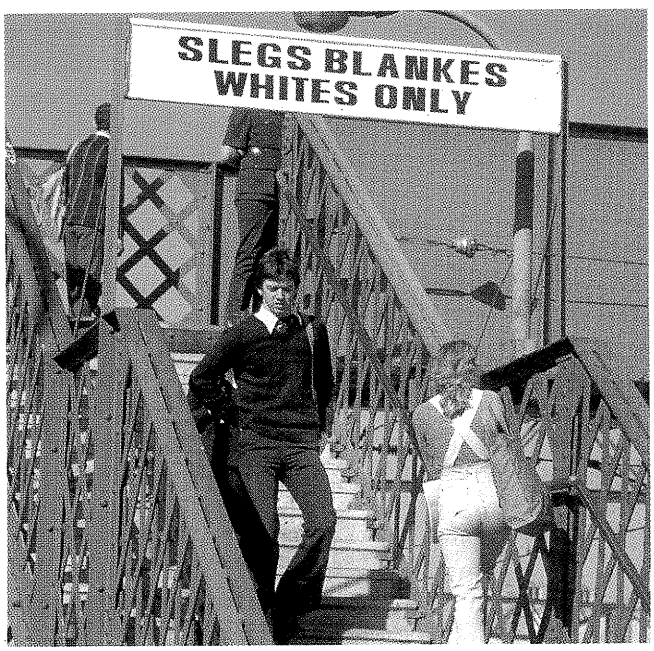
Discrimination by race reached its peak in the late twentieth century in South Africa. While the United States was repealing laws that segregated people by race, South Africa was enacting them. The cornerstone of the South African policy was the creation of a legal system called apartheid. **Apartheid** 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 for it to erase the impact of past policies.

Apartheid System. 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. According to the most recent census, blacks constitute about 75 percent of South Africa's population, whites 14 percent, colored 9 percent, and Asians 3 percent.

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 Holland 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 at Cape Town for military reasons in 1795. To escape British administration and the freeing of slaves in 1833, about 12,000 Boers



South Africa's apartheid laws were designed to spatially segregate races as much as possible. Blacks and whites reached the platform at this train station in Johannesburg by walking up separate stairs. Whites waited at the front of the platform to get into cars at the head of the train, while blacks waited at the rear.

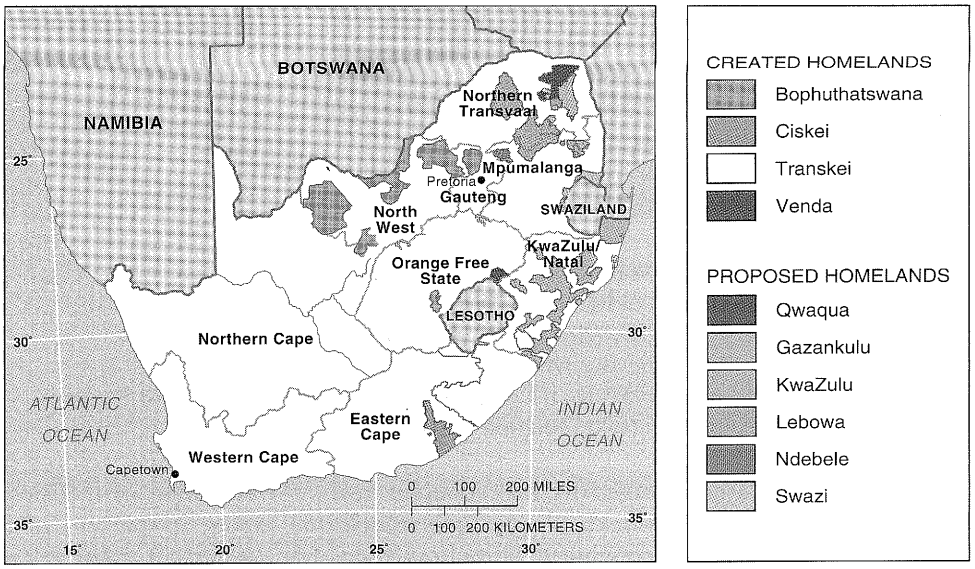


FIGURE 7–10 *Homelands in South Africa. As part of its apartheid system, the government of South Africa designated ten homelands, expecting that ultimately every black would become a citizen of one of them. South Africa declared four of these homelands to be independent states, but no other country recognized 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 nine provinces.*

trekked northeast into the interior of South Africa and settled in the regions known as the Transvaal and the Orange Free State (Figure 7–10). After diamonds and gold were discovered in the Transvaal during the 1860s and 1870s, the British followed the Boers into South Africa's interior. A series of wars between the British and the Boers culminated in a British victory in 1902, and all of South Africa became part of the British Empire.

British descendants continued to control 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.

Because they opposed apartheid, other countries cut off most relations with South Africa during the 1970s and 1980s. Foreign companies such as Ford and General Motors stopped operating factories in South Africa, and foreign athletes and teams refused to play in the country. However, neighboring countries felt compelled to maintain economic ties with South Africa because they needed to ship their goods through South African ports. South Africa also played an important economic role in the entire southern Africa region because it provided jobs for unemployed people from the much poorer neighboring countries, and it supplied the more developed countries with mineral resources critical for manufacturing and chemical processes, including chromium, platinum, and manganese.

To ensure further geographic isolation of different races, the South African government designated 10 so-called homelands for blacks. 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 were black.

The first four homelands designated by the government were called Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei, and Venda (Figure 7–10). Bophuthatswana included six discontinuous areas, Transkei three discontinuous areas, and Venda two discontinuous areas. South Africa declared Bophuthatswana, Transkei, and Venda to be independent countries during the 1970s, but no other government in the world recognized the claim.

The first four homelands comprised about 9 percent of South Africa's land area and 19 percent of the population; if the government policy had been fully implemented, the ten black homelands together would have contained approximately 44 percent of South Africa's population on only 13 percent of the land.

Dismantling of Apartheid. The white-dominated government of South Africa repealed the apartheid laws in 1991, including restrictions on property ownership and classification of people at birth by race. The principal anti-apartheid organization, the African National Congress, was legalized, and its leader, Nelson Mandela, was released from jail after more than 27 years. 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. Whites were guaranteed representation in the government during a five-year transition period, until 1999. South Africa no longer considered the four homelands to be independent countries.

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 for blacks.

The unifying force of such a song is very powerful, especially to older people and to those who have served in a country's armed forces.

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 nation-states find that the best way to achieve citizen support is to emphasize shared attitudes that unify the people.

Multinational States

A state that contains more than one ethnicity is a **multi-ethnic state**. In some multi-ethnic states, ethnicities all contribute cultural features to the formation of a single nationality. Belgium is a good example of a multi-ethnic state. As discussed in Chapter 5, Belgium is divided among the Dutch-speaking Flemish and the French-speaking Walloons. Both groups consider themselves belonging to the Belgian nationality.

Other multi-ethnic states, known as **multinational states**, contain two ethnic groups with traditions of self-determination that agree to coexist peacefully by recognizing each other as distinct nationalities. A multinational state contains two or more nationalities with traditions of self-determination. Relationships among nationalities vary in different multinational states. In some states, one nationality tries to dominate another, especially if one of the nationalities is much more numerous than the other, whereas in other states nationalities coexist peacefully. The people of one nation may be assimilated into the cultural characteristics of another nation, but in other cases, the two nationalities remain culturally distinct.

One example of a multinational state is the United Kingdom, which contains four main nationalities—England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. The four display some ethnic differences, but the main reason for considering them as distinct nationalities is that each had very different historical experiences.

Wales was 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. English became the official language of Wales, although Welsh is still spoken and is now being preserved (see Chapter 5).

Scotland was an independent country for nearly a thousand 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. England, Wales, and Scotland together comprise Great Britain, and the term British refers to the combined nationality of the three groups.

Northern Ireland, along with the rest of Ireland, was ruled by the British until the 1920s, as discussed in Chapter 6. The 1801 Act of Union created the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. During the 1920s most of Ireland became a separate country, but the northern portion—with a majority of Protestants—remained under British control. The official name of the country was changed to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Today the four nationalities hold little independent political power, although Scotland and Wales now have separately elected governments. The main element of distinct national identity comes from sports. England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland field their own national soccer teams and compete separately in major international tournaments, such as the World Cup. The most important annual rugby tournament, known as the Five Nations' Cup, includes teams from England, Scotland, and Wales, as well as Ireland and France. Given the history of English conquest, the other nationalities typically root against England when it is playing teams from other countries.

Former Soviet Union: The Largest Multinational State

The Soviet Union was an especially prominent example of a multinational state until its collapse in the early 1990s. When the Soviet Union existed, its 15 republics were based on the 15 largest ethnicities. Less numerous ethnicities were not given the same level of recognition. With the breakup of the Soviet Union into 15 independent countries, a number of these less numerous ethnicities are now divided among more than one state. The 15 republics that once constituted the Soviet Union are now independent countries (Figure 7–11).

These 15 newly independent states consist of five groups:

- 3 Baltic: Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania
- 3 European: Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine
- 5 Central Asian: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan
- 3 Caucasus: Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia
- Russia

Reasonably good examples of nation-states have been carved out of the Baltic, European, and some Central Asian states. On the other hand, peaceful nation-states have not been created in any of the small Caucasus states,

FIGURE 7–11 *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The former Soviet Union included 15 republics, named for the country's largest ethnicities. With the breakup of the Soviet Union, the 15 republics became independent states.*

and Russia is an especially prominent example of a state with major difficulties in keeping all of its ethnicities contented.

New Baltic Nation-States. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are known as the Baltic states for their location on the Baltic Sea. They had been independent countries between the end of World War I in 1918 and 1940, when the former Soviet Union annexed them under an agreement with Nazi Germany.

Of the three Baltic states, Lithuania most closely fits the definition of a nation-state, because 81 percent of its population are ethnic Lithuanians. In Estonia, ethnic Estonians comprise only 65 percent of the population; in Latvia, only 57 percent are ethnic Latvians. In 2000, Russians comprised 9 percent of the population in Lithuania, 26 percent in Estonia, and 30 percent in Latvia. Those percentages had declined in the decade since independence, as ethnic Russians emigrated from the Baltic states back into nearby Russia.

These three small neighboring Baltic countries have clear cultural differences and distinct historical traditions. Most Estonians are Protestant (Lutherans), most Lithuanians are Roman Catholics, and Latvians are predominantly Lutheran with a substantial Roman Catholic minority. Estonians speak a Uralic language related to Finnish, whereas Latvians and Lithuanians speak languages of the Baltic group within the Balto-Slavic branch of the Indo-European language family.

New European Nation-States. To some extent, the former Soviet republics of Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine now qualify as nation-states. Belarusians comprise 78 percent of the population of Belarus, Moldovans comprise 65 percent of the population of Moldova, and Ukrainians comprise 73 percent of the population of Ukraine.

The ethnic distinctions among Belarusians, Ukrainians, and Russians are somewhat blurred. The three groups speak similar East Slavic languages, and all are predominantly Eastern Orthodox Christians (some western Ukrainians are Roman Catholics).

Belarusians and Ukrainians became distinct ethnicities because they were isolated from the main body of Eastern Slavs—the Russians—during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This was the consequence of Mongolian invasions and conquests by Poles and Lithuanians. Russians conquered the Belarusian and Ukrainian homelands in the late 1700s, but after five centuries of exposure to non-Slavic influences, the three Eastern Slavic groups displayed sufficient cultural diversity to consider themselves as three distinct ethnicities.

Russians actually constitute two-thirds of the population in the Crimean Peninsula of Ukraine. The Crimean Peninsula had been part of Russia until 1954, when the Soviet government turned over its administration to Ukraine, as a gift in honor of the 300th anniversary of Russian-Ukrainian friendship.

As long as both Russia and Ukraine were part of the Soviet Union, the Russians living in the Crimea were not concerned about the republic to which they were attached. After Russia and Ukraine became separate countries, a majority of the Crimeans voted to become independent of Ukraine. Control of the Crimean Peninsula was also important to both Russia and Ukraine because one of the Soviet Union's largest fleets was stationed there. The two countries agreed to divide the ships and to jointly maintain the naval base at Sevastopol.

Compounding the problem in the Crimea, 166,000 Tatars have migrated there from Central Asia in recent years. The Tatars once lived in the Crimea, but the Soviet leadership, suspecting them of sympathizing with the Germans during World War II, deported them to Central Asia. The Tatars prefer to be governed by Ukraine because of long-standing suspicion of the Russians, who dominated the government of the Soviet Union.

The situation is different in Moldova. Moldovans are ethnically indistinguishable from Romanians, and Moldova (then called Moldavia) was part of Romania until the Soviet Union seized it in 1940. When Moldova changed from a Soviet republic back to an independent

country in 1992, many Moldovans pushed for reunification with Romania, both to reunify the ethnic group and to improve the region's prospects for economic development.

But it was not to be that simple. When Moldova became a Soviet republic in 1940, its eastern boundary was the Dniester River. The Soviet government increased the size of Moldova by about 10 percent, transferring from Ukraine a 3,000-square-kilometer (1,200-square-mile) sliver of land on the east bank of the Dniester. The majority of the inhabitants of this area, known as Trans-Dniestria, are Ukrainian and Russian. They, of course, oppose Moldova's reunification with Romania.

New Central Asian States. The five states in Central Asia carved out of the former Soviet Union display varying degrees of conformance to the principles of nation-state. Together the five provide an important reminder that multinational states can be more peaceful than nation-states.

In Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, the leading ethnic group has an overwhelming majority—77 percent Turkmen and 80 percent Uzbek, respectively. Both ethnic groups are Muslims who speak an Altaic language. They were conquered by Russia in the nineteenth century, but Russians comprise only 6 percent of the population in Turkmenistan and 5 percent in Uzbekistan. Turkmen and Uzbeks are examples of ethnicities split into more than one country, the Turkmen between Turkmenistan and Russia, and Uzbeks among Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.

Kyrgyzstan is 52 percent Kyrgyz, 18 percent Russian, and 13 percent Uzbek. The Kyrgyz—also Muslims who speak an Altaic language—resent the Russians for seizing the best farmland when they colonized this mountainous country early in the twentieth century.

In principle, Kazakhstan, twice as large as the other four Central Asian countries combined, is a recipe for ethnic conflict. The country is divided almost evenly between Kazakhs, who comprise 46 percent of the population, and Russians, at 34 percent. Kazakhs are Muslims who speak an Altaic language similar to Turkish, whereas the Russians are Eastern Orthodox Christians who speak an Indo-European language. Tensions do exist between the two groups, but Kazakhstan has been peaceful, in part because it has a somewhat less depressed economy than its neighbors.

In contrast, Tajikistan—65 percent Tajik, 25 percent Uzbek, and only 3 percent Russian—would appear to be a stable country, but it suffers from a civil war among the Tajik people, Muslims who speak a language in the Indic group of Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European language. The civil war has been between Tajiks who are former Communists and an unusual alliance of Muslim fundamentalists and Western-oriented intellectuals. Fifteen percent of the population has been made homeless by the fighting.

Russia: Now the Largest Multinational State

Russia officially recognizes the existence of 39 nationalities, many of which are eager for independence. Russia's ethnicities are clustered in two principal locations (Figure 7–12). Some are located along borders with neighboring states, including Buryats and Tuvinian near Mongolia, and Chechen, Dagestan, Kabardin, and Ossetian near the two former Soviet republics of Azerbaijan and Georgia.

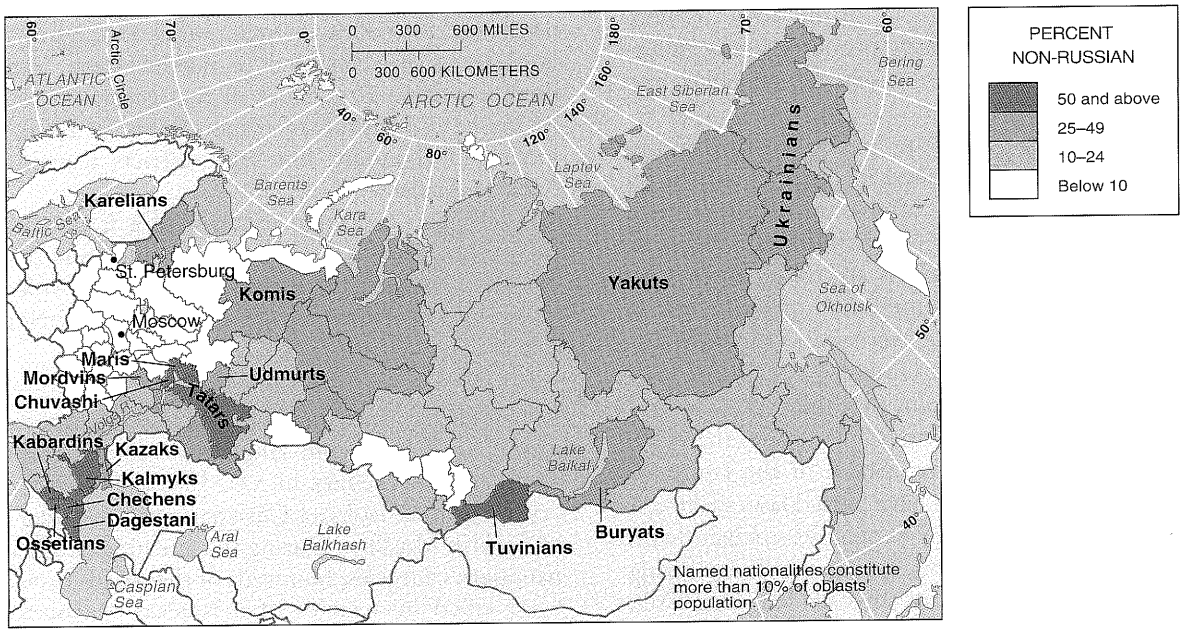


FIGURE 7–12 *Ethnicities in Russia. Russians are clustered in the western portion of Russia, and the percentage declines to the south and east. The largest numbers of non-Russians are found in the center of the country between the Volga River and the Ural Mountains and near the southern boundaries.*

Other ethnicities are clustered in the center of Russia, especially between the Volga River basin and the Ural Mountains. Among the more numerous in this region are Bashkirs, Chuvash, and Tatars, who speak Altaic languages similar to Turkish, and Mordvins and Udmurts, who speak Uralic languages similar to Finnish. Most of these groups were conquered by the Russians in the sixteenth century under the leadership of Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible).

Independence movements are flourishing because Russia is less willing to suppress these movements forcibly than the Soviet Union had once been. Particularly troublesome for the Russians are the Chechens, a group of Sunni Muslims who speak a Caucasian language and practice distinctive social customs.

Chechnya was brought under Russian control in the nineteenth century only after a 50-year fight. When the Soviet Union broke up into 15 independent states in 1991, the Chechens declared their independence and refused to join the newly created country of Russia. Russian leaders ignored the declaration of independence for three years but then sent in the Russian army in an attempt to regain control of the territory.

Russia fought hard to prevent Chechnya from gaining independence because it feared that other ethnicities would follow suit. Chechnya was also important to Russia because the region contained deposits of petroleum. Russia viewed political stability in the area as essential for promoting economic development and investment by foreign petroleum companies.

Russians in Other States. Decades of Russian domination has left a deep reservoir of bitterness among other ethnicities once part of the Soviet Union. Because Russians were the dominant ethnicity in the Soviet Union, they were blamed for confiscating property and prohibiting the use of local languages in schools, hospitals, and factories.

Years after the demise of the Soviet Union, Russian soldiers have remained stationed in other countries, in part because Russia cannot afford to rehouse them. Other ethnicities fear that the slow withdrawal of Russian troops indicates that the Russians are trying to reassert the dominance over the economies and governments of other countries that they once exercised as the most numerous ethnicity in the Soviet Union.

For their part, Russians claim that they are now subject to discrimination as minorities in countries that were once part of the Soviet Union. Some of the countries once part of the Soviet Union have passed laws making it difficult for Russians to vote or to qualify as citizens with full civil rights. Russians are being passed over for hiring and promotion unless they learn the local languages. Yet, despite local hostility, Russians living in other countries of the former Soviet Union feel that they cannot migrate to Russia, because they have no jobs, homes, or land awaiting them there.

Turmoil in the Caucasus

The Caucasus region, an area about the size of Colorado, situated between the Black and Caspian seas, gets its name from the mountains that separate Russia from Azerbaijan and Georgia. The region is home to several ethnicities, with Azeris, Armenians, and Georgians the most numerous. Other important ethnicities include Abkhazians, Chechens, Ingush, and Ossetians. Kurds and Russians—two ethnicities that are more numerous in other regions—are also represented in the Caucasus.

When the entire Caucasus region was part of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government promoted allegiance to communism and the Soviet state and quelled disputes among ethnicities, by force if necessary. But with the breakup of the region into several independent countries, long-simmering conflicts among ethnicities have erupted into armed conflicts.

Each ethnicity has a long-standing and complex set of grievances against others in the region. But from a political geography perspective, every ethnicity in the Caucasus has the same aspiration: to carve out a sovereign nation-state. The region's ethnicities have had varying success in achieving this objective, but none have fully achieved it.

Azeris. Azeris (or Azerbaijanis) trace their roots to Turkish invaders who migrated from Central Asia in the eighth and ninth centuries and merged with the existing Persian population. An 1828 treaty allocated northern Azeri territory to Russia and southern Azeri territory to Persia (now Iran). In 1923 the Russian portion became the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic within the Soviet Union. With the Soviet Union's breakup in 1991, Azerbaijan became an independent country again.

More than 7 million Azeris now live in Azerbaijan, 90 percent of the country's total population. Another 6 million Azeris are clustered in northwestern Iran, where they constitute 10 percent of that country's population. Azeris hold positions of responsibility in Iran's government and economy, but Iran restricts teaching of the Azeri language.

Azerbaijan is a good example of a fragmented state: the western part of the country, Nakhichevan (named for the area's largest city), is separated from the rest of Azerbaijan by a 40-kilometer (25-mile) corridor belonging to Armenia.

Armenians. More than 3,000 years ago Armenians controlled an independent kingdom in the Caucasus. Converted to Christianity in A.D. 303, they lived for many centuries as an isolated Christian enclave under the rule of Turkish Muslims. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, hundreds of thousands of Armenians were killed in a series of massacres organized by the Turks. Others were forced to migrate to Russia, which had gained possession of eastern Armenia in 1828.

After World War I the allies created an independent state of Armenia, but it was soon swallowed by its

neighbors. In 1921, Turkey and the Soviet Union agreed to divide Armenia between them. The Soviet portion became the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic and then an independent country in 1991. More than 90 percent of the population in Armenia are Armenians, making it the most ethnically homogeneous country in the region.

Armenians and Azeris both have achieved long-held aspirations of forming nation-states, but the two have been at war with each other since 1988 over the boundaries between the two nationalities (Figure 7–13). The conflict concerns possession of Nagorno-Karabakh, a 5,000-square-kilometer (2,000-square mile) enclave within Azerbaijan that is inhabited primarily by Armenians but placed under Azerbaijan's control by the Soviet Union during the 1920s.

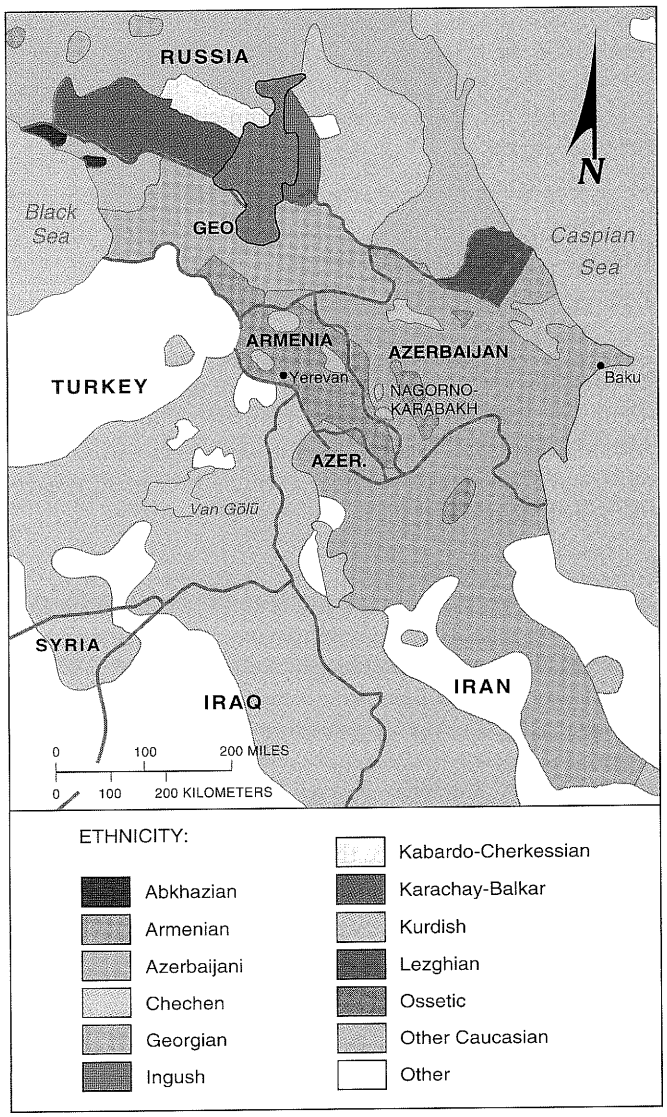


FIGURE 7–13 *Ethnicities in the Caucasus. Armenians, Azeris, and Georgians are examples of ethnicities that were able to dominate new states during the 1990s, following the breakup of the Soviet Union. But the boundaries of the states of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia do not match the territories occupied by the Armenian, Azeri, and Georgian ethnicities. The Abkhazians, Chechens, Kurds, and Ossetians are examples of ethnicities in this region that have not been able to organize nation-states.*

Georgians. The population of Georgia is more diverse than that in Armenia and Azerbaijan. Only 70 percent of the people living in Georgia are ethnic Georgians. The country includes about 8 percent Armenian, 6 percent each Azeri and Russian, 3 percent Ossetian, 2 percent Abkhazian, and 1 percent Ajars.

Georgia's cultural diversity has been a source of unrest, especially among the Ossetians and Abkhazians. The Abkhazians have fought for control of the northwestern portion of Georgia and would like to form an independent nation-state. Rather than a sovereign nation-state, the Ossetians want South Ossetia transferred from Georgia to Russia and united with North Ossetia, already part of Russia.

Revival of Ethnic Identity

Europeans thought that ethnicity had been left behind as an insignificant relic, such as wearing quaint costumes to amuse tourists. Karl Marx wrote that nationalism was a means for the dominant social classes to maintain power over workers, and he believed that workers would identify with other working-class people instead of with an ethnicity. But Europeans were wrong, because in the late twentieth century ethnic identity once again became more important than nationality even in much of Europe.

Ethnicity and Communism

From the end of World War II in 1945 until the early 1990s, attitudes toward communism and economic cooperation were more important political factors in Europe than the nation-state principle. For example, the Communist government of Bulgaria repressed cultural differences by banning the Turkish language and the practice of some Islamic religious rites. The government took these steps to remove what it saw as obstacles to unifying national support for the ideology of communism. More than 1 million Bulgarian citizens of Turkish ancestry migrated to Turkey. The town of Bursa, about 100 kilometers (60 miles) south of Istanbul, became the largest settlement of Turkish refugees from Bulgaria.

Until they lost power in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Communist leaders in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union used centripetal forces to discourage ethnicities from expressing their cultural uniqueness. Writers and artists were pressured to conform to a style known as "socialist realism," which emphasized Communist economic and political values. Use of the Russian language was promoted as a centripetal device throughout the former Soviet Union. It was taught as the second language in other Eastern European countries. The role of organized religion was minimized, suppressing a cultural force that competed with the government.

The Communists did not completely suppress ethnicities in Eastern Europe: the administrative structures of the former Soviet Union and two other multi-ethnic Eastern European countries—Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—recognized the existence of ethnic groups. In the Soviet

Union, 15 republics were created as principal units of local government. Six local units were created in Yugoslavia, and two in Czechoslovakia. All were designed to coincide as closely as possible with the territory occupied by the most numerous ethnicities. Ten of the Soviet Union's 15 republics and one in Yugoslavia were further divided into local government units to grant some autonomy to ethnicities that were too few to merit designation as republics.

Rebirth of Nationalism in Eastern Europe

Ethnic identity was effectively suppressed by Communists when they controlled the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries. But during the 1990s, nationalism was resurgent and once again is important in forming peoples' cultural identities in the region.

In Eastern Europe the breakup of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia during the 1990s has given more numerous ethnicities the opportunity to organize nation-states. But the less numerous ethnicities still find themselves existing as minorities in multinational states, or divided among more than one of the new states. Especially severe problems have occurred in the Balkans, a rugged, mountainous region where nation-states could not be delineated peacefully.

With the fall of the Communist government in the 1990s, Bulgaria's Turkish minority pressed for more rights, including permission to teach the Turkish language as an optional subject in school. But many Bulgarians opposed these efforts. Although communism declined in importance in Bulgaria—as well as in other former Communist countries in Eastern Europe—it was replaced by an ideology that encouraged traditional cultural features, such as language and religion.

The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia were dismantled in the 1990s largely because minority ethnicities opposed the long-standing dominance of the most numerous ones in each country—Russians in the Soviet Union, Serbs in Yugoslavia, and Czechs in Czechoslovakia. The dominance was pervasive, including economic, political, and cultural institutions.

No longer content to control a province or some other local government unit, ethnicities sought to be the majority in completely independent nation-states. Republics that once constituted local government units within the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia generally made peaceful transitions into independent countries—as long as their boundaries corresponded reasonably well with the territory occupied by a clearly defined ethnicity.

Slovenia is a good example of a nation-state that was carved from the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. More than 90 percent of the residents of Slovenia are Slovenes, and nearly all the world's 2 million Slovenes live in Slovenia. The relatively close coincidence between the boundaries of the Slovene ethnic group and the country of Slovenia has promoted the country's relative peace and stability, compared to other former Yugoslavian republics.

For new nation-states in Eastern Europe such as Slovenia, sovereignty has brought difficulties in converting from Communist economic systems and fitting into the global economy (see Chapters 9 and 11). But their problems of economic reform are minor compared to the conflicts that have erupted in portions of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, where nation-states could not be created.

KEY ISSUE 3

Why Do Ethnicities Clash?

- Ethnic competition to dominate nationality
- Dividing ethnicities among more than one state

Ethnicities do not always find ways to live together peacefully. In some cases, ethnicities compete in civil wars to dominate the national identity. In other cases, problems result from division of ethnicities among more than one state.

Ethnic Competition to Dominate Nationality

Sub-Saharan Africa has been a region especially plagued by conflicts among ethnic groups competing to become dominant within the various countries. The Horn of Africa and central Africa are the two areas within sub-Saharan Africa where conflicts among ethnic groups have been particularly complex and brutal.

Ethnic Competition in the Horn of Africa

The Horn of Africa encompasses the countries of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia. Especially severe problems have been found in Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia, as well as the neighboring country of Sudan.

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 7–14).

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 (1961–91). During this civil war, an estimated 665,000 Eritrean refugees fled to neighboring Sudan, especially north to the city of Būr Sūdān (Port Sudan) along the Red Sea and west to Khartoum, the capital, as well as to Kassalā, a smaller border town.

In 1991 Eritrean rebels defeated the Ethiopian army, and in 1993 Eritrea became an independent state. But

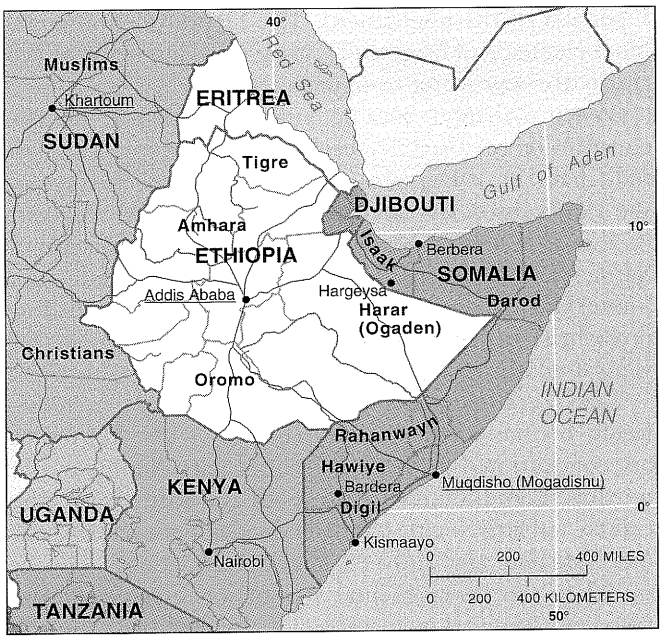
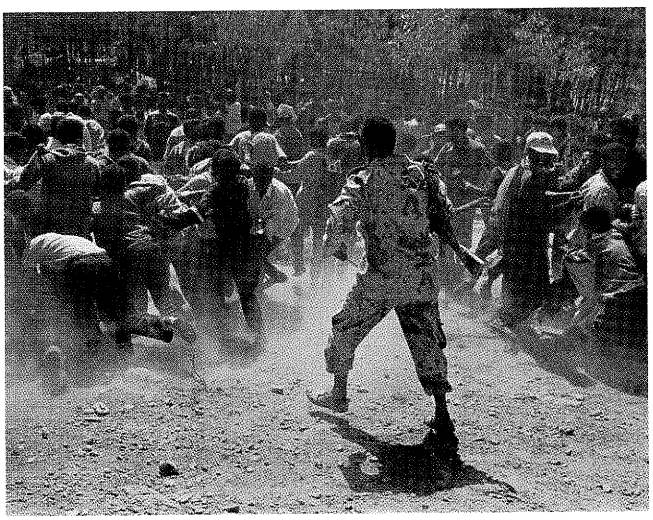


FIGURE 7–14 *Ethnic diversity in the Horn of Africa. Conflicts have been widespread within the East African countries in the area known as the Horn of Africa, because each contains numerous ethnicities.*

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, whereas Ethiopia cited a 1902 treaty with Italy. Ethiopia defeated Eritrea in 2000 and took possession of the disputed areas.

Even with the loss of Eritrea, Ethiopia remained a complex multi-ethnic 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, 40 to 50 percent of the population. Tigres live in the far north, the birthplace of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The Amhara had banned the languages and cultures of these groups since conquering Ethiopia in the late nineteenth century.

A country of 5 million people split evenly between Christian and Muslim, Eritrea has nine major ethnic groups. 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.



Ethiopian refugees in Eritrea. War between Eritrea and Ethiopia has continued even after Eritrea gained independence from Ethiopia during the 1990s. In 2000, Eritrean soldiers rounded up several thousand Ethiopians living in southern Eritrea and placed them in this camp in Sheketi, Eritrea.

Sudan. In Sudan, a country of about 40 million inhabitants, a civil war has raged since the 1980s between two ethnicities, the black Christian and animist rebels in the southern provinces and the Arab–Muslim-dominated government forces in the north. The black southerners have been resisting government attempts to convert the country from a multi-ethnic society to one nationality tied to Muslim traditions.

The government of Sudan has adopted laws designed to segregate the sexes in public. All schools are single sex, and men are prohibited from "lurking" outside all-female schools. Barriers must be erected to separate men and women at weddings, parties, and picnics. Women are not permitted to sit near the driver on buses. Sporting events involving women must be held in private, and female players are not allowed to wear tight-fitting clothes.

Where contact between men and women is unavoidable, laws prohibit provocative behavior. Women working in restaurants may not wear jewelry or perfume. Women shopping after dark must be accompanied by a male relative. Men as well as women must wear clothing that substantially covers the body, although women are allowed to wear their traditional colorful flowing gowns called *tobes* and do not have to wear veils. More streetlights have been installed to prevent amorous couples from vanishing into the darkness.

More than 2 million Sudanese—5 per cent of the population—have died in the civil war, and another 1 million have been forced to migrate from the south to the north or to Ethiopia. Sudan accuses Ethiopia and Eritrea, as well as Uganda, of helping the mostly Christian and animist rebels. For its part, Eritrea accuses Sudan of trying to undermine its government, and it has turned over Sudan's embassy to opposition groups.

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, with 8 million inhabitants, contains six major ethnic groups known as clans, each of which is divided into a large number of sub-clans. Traditionally, the six major clans occupied different portions of Somalia—Isaak, Darod, and Dir to the north; Digil, Hawiye, and

Rahanwayn to the south. Until 1991, a Darod sub-clan known as Mahareen ruled Somalia, but in 1991 rebels dominated by the Hawiye clan took control of southern Somalia, while the Isaak clan gained control of much of the north.

A complex series of splits within clans and alliances between clans muddled the traditional geographic divisions during the 1990s. The Isaak clan declared the north a separate state of Somaliland and adopted its own flag and currency. During the colonial period the territory that the Isaaks call Somaliland had been ruled by the British, whereas the rest of Somalia was an Italian colony.

With the collapse of a national government in Somalia, various clans and sub-clans claimed control over portions of the country. As the armies of the individual clans and sub-clans seized food, property, and weapons, members of less powerful clans and sub-clans migrated to refugee camps to seek safety and food. In 1992, after an estimated 300,000 people, mostly women and children, died from famine and from warfare between clans, the United States sent several thousand troops to Somalia. 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 sub-clan armies. After peace talks among the clans collapsed in 1994, U.S. troops withdrew.

Ethnic Competition in Lebanon

Lebanon has nearly 4 million people in an area of about 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 religious factions since the 1970s.

Lebanon's most numerous Christian sect, accounting for about two-thirds of the country's Christians, 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—about one-sixth of the country's Christians—are Greek Orthodox, the Eastern Orthodox church that uses a Byzantine liturgy. The remaining one-sixth of Christian sects in Lebanon include Greek Catholic, Armenian, Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites), and Chaldeans (Assyrian).

The precise distribution of religions in Lebanon is unknown, because no census has been taken since 1932. Current estimate is about 60 percent Muslim, 30 percent Christian, and 10 percent other.

Two-thirds of Lebanon's Muslims belong to one of several Shiite sects. Largest is Mitwali, but in recent years more militant sects have gained power, especially Hezbollah, the Party of God. Sunnis, which are much more numerous than Shiites in the world, account for only one-third of Lebanon's Muslims.

Lebanon also has non-Christian and non-Muslim groups, most important of which is the Druze (about 7 percent of the population). The Druze religion combines elements of Islam and Christianity, but many of the rituals are kept secret from outsiders.

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 (Figure 7–15). 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 an eastern Christian zone and a Muslim western zone.

When the governmental system was created, Christians constituted a majority and controlled the country's main businesses, but as the Muslims became the majority, they demanded political and economic equality. Lebanon's government was unable to deal with changing social and economic conditions. A civil war broke out in 1975, and 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.

Syria, Israel, and the United States sent troops into Lebanon at various points to try to restore peace. About 150,000 Lebanese have died in the fighting, and 241 U.S. marines died in 1983 in their barracks from a truck bomb. Most of Lebanon is now controlled by Syria, which has a historical claim over the territory.

War and peace in Lebanon. The building in the background was destroyed during Lebanon's civil war between Christians and Muslims during the 1970s and 1980s. The new building on the right was constructed on the site of the "Green Line," which separated Muslim West Beirut from Christian East Beirut during the civil war.

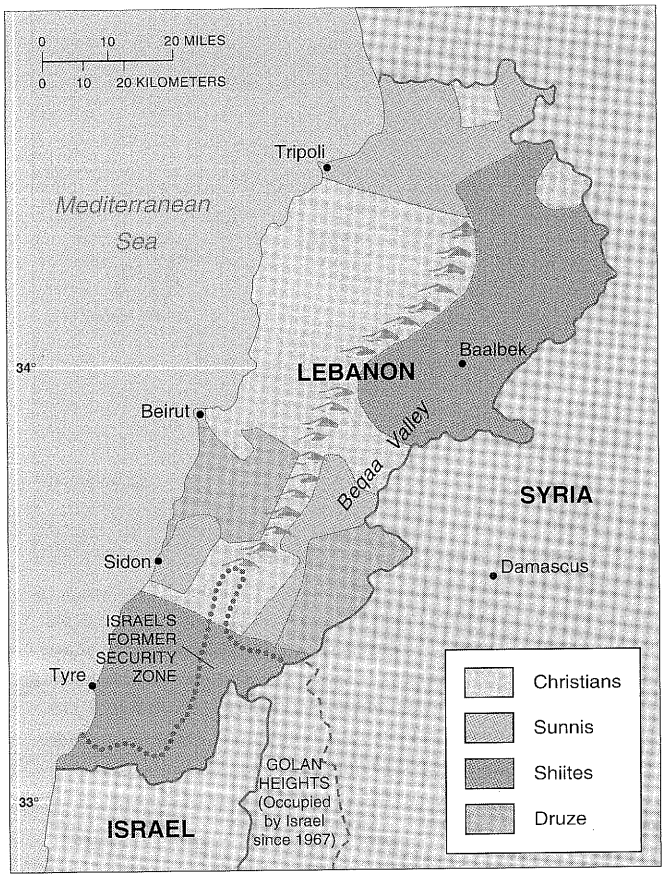


FIGURE 7-15 *Ethnicities in Lebanon. Christians dominate in the south and the northwest, Sunni Muslims in the far north, Shiite Muslims in the northeast and south, and Druze in the south-central and southeast.*

Dividing Ethnicities Among More Than One State

Newly independent countries were often created to separate two ethnicities. However, two ethnicities can rarely be segregated completely. Conflicts arise when an ethnicity is split among more than one country (see Global Forces, Local Impacts box).

Dividing Ethnicities in South Asia

South Asia provides a vivid example of what happens when independence comes to a colony that contains 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. Pakistan comprised two noncontiguous areas, West Pakistan and East Pakistan—1,600 kilometers (1,000 miles) apart, separated by India. East Pakistan became the independent state of Bangladesh in 1971. An eastern region of India was also practically cut off from the rest of the country, attached only by a narrow corridor north of Bangladesh that is less than 13 kilometers (8 miles) wide in some places.

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

Global Forces, Local Impacts

Dividing the Kurds

An example of an ethnicity divided among several states is the Kurds, who live in the Caucasus south of the Armenians and Azeris. 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.

Kurds lived in an independent nation-state called Kurdistan during the 1920s, but today 25 million Kurds are split among six countries. Fifteen million live in eastern Turkey, 5 million in western Iran, 4 million in northern Iraq, and smaller numbers in Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Syria (refer to Figure 7-13). Kurds comprise one-fifth of the population in Iraq, one-sixth in Turkey, and one-tenth in Iran.

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 Ataturk), 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.

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 did send 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.

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. Around A.D. 1000, Mahmud, the Muslim king of Ghazni (modern-day Afghanistan), led raids on the Punjab area of northern India. His purpose originally was to acquire treasure from Hindu temples, but the raids turned into a Muslim-Hindu religious war. The Punjab became part of the Ghazni kingdom, with a governor at Lahore.

The fragmented Hindu kingdoms were unable to stop a second set of invasions by Muslims, who in the thirteenth century seized most of northern India as far east as Bengal. The population consisted primarily of Hindus and Buddhists, but the number of Muslims grew within a few generations as a result of intermarriage and further immigration from the west.

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. Muslims believed that the British discriminated more against them than against the Hindus. When the British granted independence to the region following World War II, Hindus and Muslims fought over the organization of the newly independent region. 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 lived together peacefully.

Forced Migration. 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 (Figure 7–16).

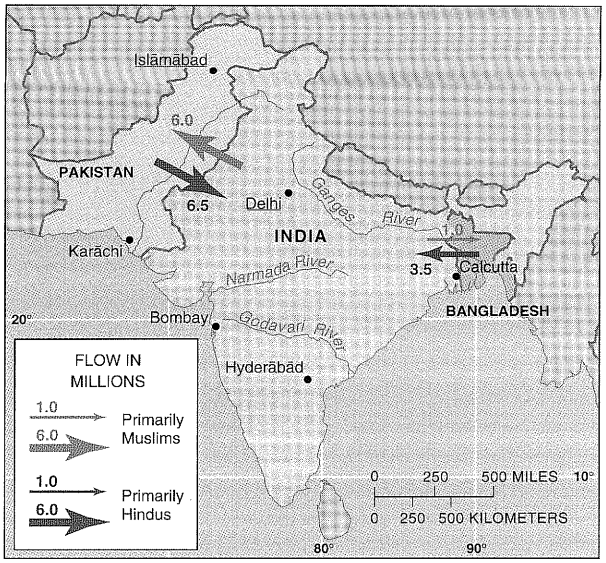


FIGURE 7–16 *Ethnic division of South Asia. In 1947 British India was partitioned into two independent states, India and Pakistan, which resulted in the migration of an estimated 17 million people. The creation of Pakistan as two territories nearly 1,600 kilometers (1,000 miles) apart proved unstable, and in 1971 East Pakistan became the independent country of Bangladesh. In the photo below, the train station in Amritsar, India, October 17, 1947, is crowded with Hindus who have been brought from Pakistan.*

Hindus in Pakistan and Muslims in India were killed attempting to reach the other side of the new border by people from the rival religion. Extremists attacked small groups of refugees traveling by road and halted trains to massacre the passengers.

Ethnic Disputes. Pakistan and India never agreed on the location of the boundary separating the two countries in the northern region of Kashmir. 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 7–17).

India's religious unrest is further complicated by the presence of 19 million Sikhs, who have long resented that they were not given their own independent country when

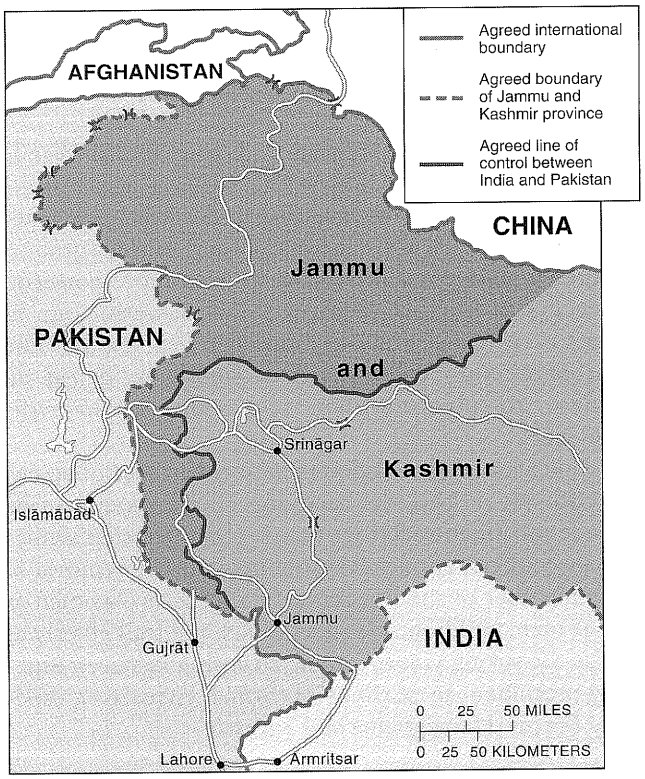


FIGURE 7–17 *Kashmir. India and Pakistan dispute the location of their border. India claims Kashmir, in northernmost Pakistan, and India accuses Pakistan of encouraging unrest in India's state of Jammu and Kashmir, where the majority is Muslim.*

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 Sri Lanka Among Ethnicities

Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon), an island country of 20 million inhabitants off the Indian coast, has been torn by fighting between the Sinhalese and the Tamils (Figure 7–18). Since fighting began in 1983, 60,000 have 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 portion 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—18 percent of Sri Lanka's population—migrated across the narrow 80-kilometer-wide (50-mile) 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 70 million people in India.

The dispute between Sri Lanka's two ethnicities extends back more than 2,000 years but was suppressed during 300 years of European control. Since 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. A Tamil assassinated the Sinhalese president in 1993 and wounded his successor in 1999.

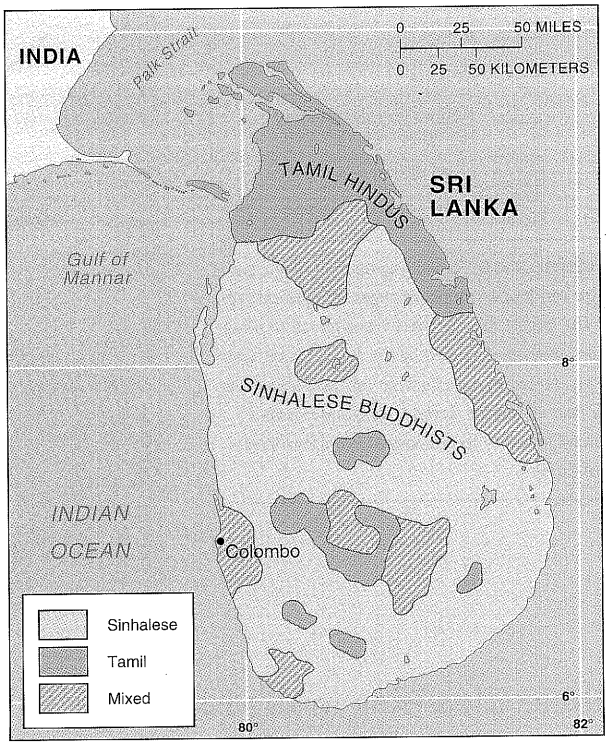


FIGURE 7–18 *Sinhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese are Buddhists who speak an Indo-European language, whereas the Tamils are Hindus who speak a Dravidian language. The striped areas show where the two groups intermingle. A Tamil rebel was suspected of detonating a suicide bomb in this truck when stopped by Sinhalese police in Sri Lanka's capital Colombo in October 2001.*

KEY ISSUE 4

What Is Ethnic Cleansing?

- Ethnic cleansing in Yugoslavia
- Ethnic cleansing in Central Africa

Throughout history, ethnic groups have been forced to flee from other ethnic groups' more powerful armies. The largest level of forced migration came during World War II (1939–45) because of events leading up to the war, the war itself, and postwar adjustments. Especially notorious was the deportation by the German Nazis of millions of Jews, gypsies, and other ethnic groups to the infamous concentration camps, where they exterminated most of them.

After World War II ended, millions of ethnic Germans, Poles, Russians, and other groups were forced to migrate as a result of boundary changes (Figure 7–19). 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.

The scale of forced migration during World War II has not been repeated, but in the 1990s a new term—"ethnic cleansing"—was invented to describe new practices by ethnic groups against other ethnic groups. **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. The point of ethnic cleansing is not simply to defeat an enemy or to subjugate them, as was the case in traditional wars.

Ethnic cleansing is undertaken to rid an area of an entire ethnicity so that the surviving ethnic group can be the sole inhabitants. 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. Ethnic cleansing has been especially prominent in portions of former Yugoslavia, especially Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo.

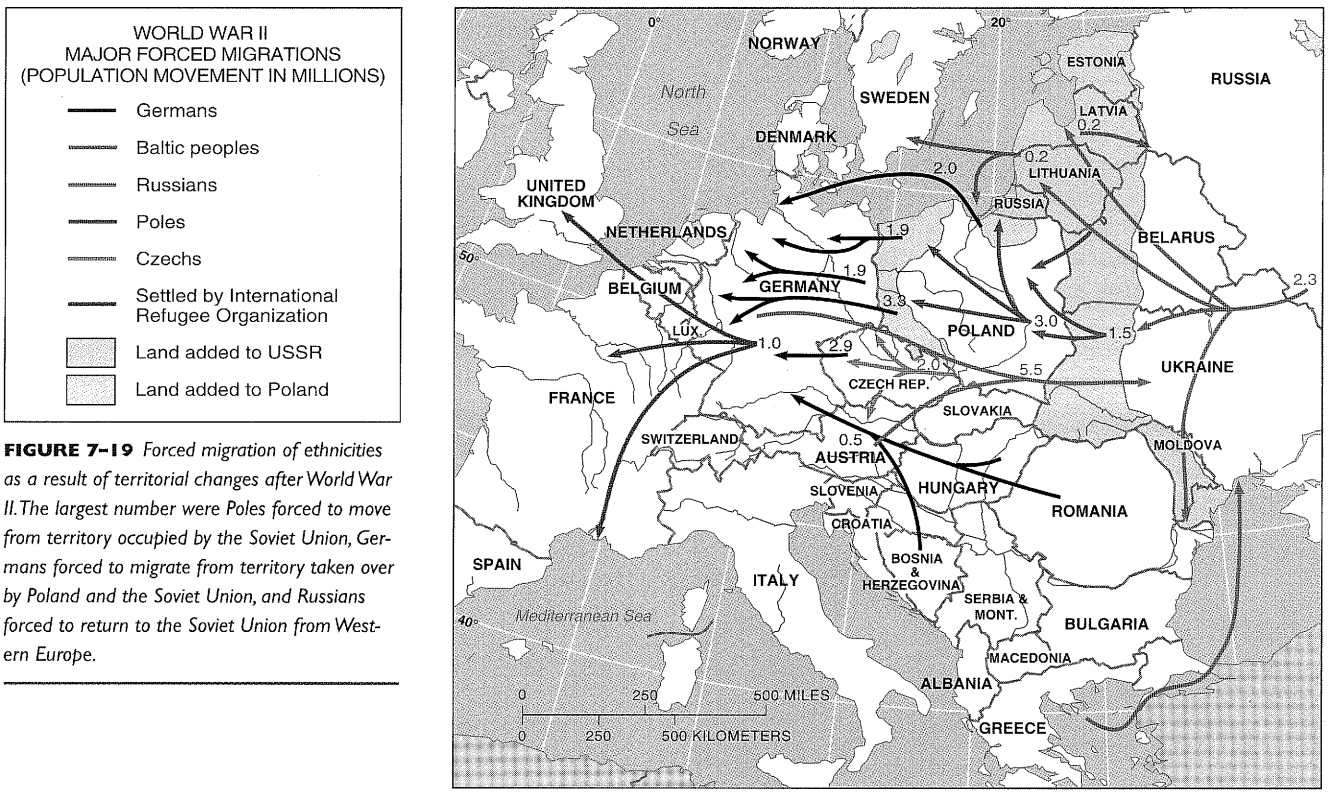


FIGURE 7–19 *Forced migration of ethnicities as a result of territorial changes after World War II. The largest number were Poles forced to move from territory occupied by the Soviet Union, Germans forced to migrate from territory taken over by Poland and the Soviet Union, and Russians forced to return to the Soviet Union from Western Europe.*

Ethnic Cleansing in Yugoslavia

Ethnic cleansing in 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 (Figure 7–20).

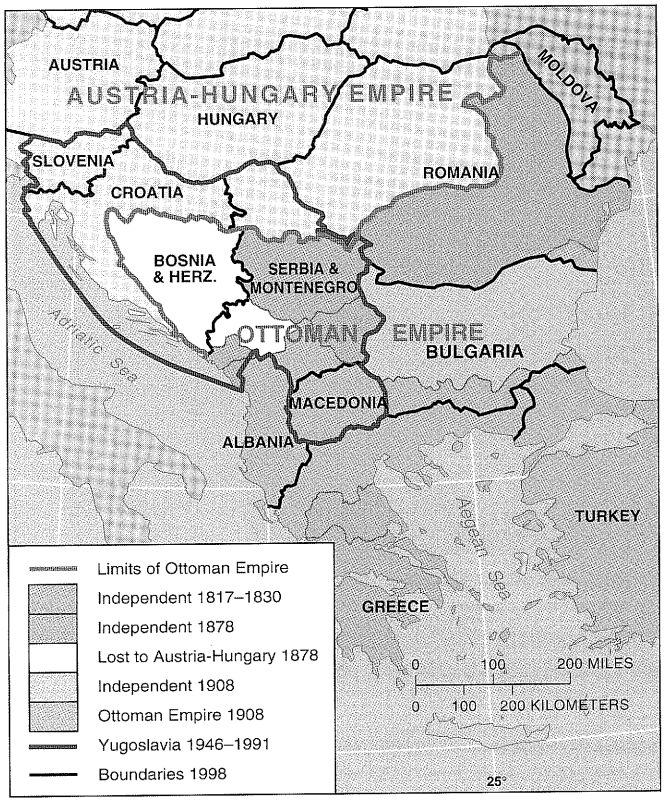


FIGURE 7–20 *The Balkans in 1914. At the outbreak of World War I, Austria-Hungary controlled the northern part of the region, including all or part of Croatia, Slovenia, and Romania. The Ottoman Empire controlled some of the south, although during the nineteenth century it had lost control of Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Greece, Romania, and Serbia.*

Creation of Multi-Ethnic Yugoslavia

The Balkan Peninsula has long been a hotbed of unrest, a complex assemblage of ethnicities. Northern portions were incorporated into the Austria-Hungary Empire, whereas southern portions were ruled by the Ottomans. Austria-Hungary extended its rule farther south in 1878 to include Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the majority of the people had been converted to Islam by the Ottomans. 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 7–21). The most numerous ethnicities brought into Yugoslavia were Serbs and Croats; others included Slovenes, Macedonians, and Montenegrens. The prefix "Yugo" in the country's name derives from the Slavic word for "south."

Ethnic Diversity in the Former Yugoslavia. 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." Specifically:

- Yugoslavia's ***seven*** neighbors 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.
- The ***six*** republics—Bosnia and 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 nationalities—Croats, Macedonians, Montenegrens, Serbs, and Slovenes. Bosnia and Herzegovina contained a mix of Serbs, Croats, and Muslims.
- Yugoslavia had ***four*** official languages—Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian, and Slovene (Montenegrens spoke Serbian).
- The ***three*** major religions included Roman Catholic in the north, Eastern Orthodox in the east, and Islam in the south. Croats and Slovenes were predominantly Roman Catholic, Serbs and Macedonians predominantly Eastern Orthodox, and the Bosnians and Montenegrens predominantly Muslim.
- ***Two*** of the four official languages—Croatian and Slovene—were written in the Roman alphabet, whereas Macedonian and Serbian were written in Cyrillic. Most linguists outside Yugoslavia considered Serbian and Croatian to be the same language except for different alphabets.
- The refrain concluded that Yugoslavia had ***one*** dinar, the national unit of currency. Despite cultural diversity, according to the refrain, common economic interests kept Yugoslavia's nationalities unified.

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 Montenegrens.

Destruction of Multi-Ethnic Yugoslavia

Rivalries among ethnicities resurfaced in Yugoslavia during the 1980s after Tito's death, leading to the breakup of the country in the early 1990s. Breaking away to form independent countries were Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, and Slovenia. Only Montenegro and Serbia remained in Yugoslavia.

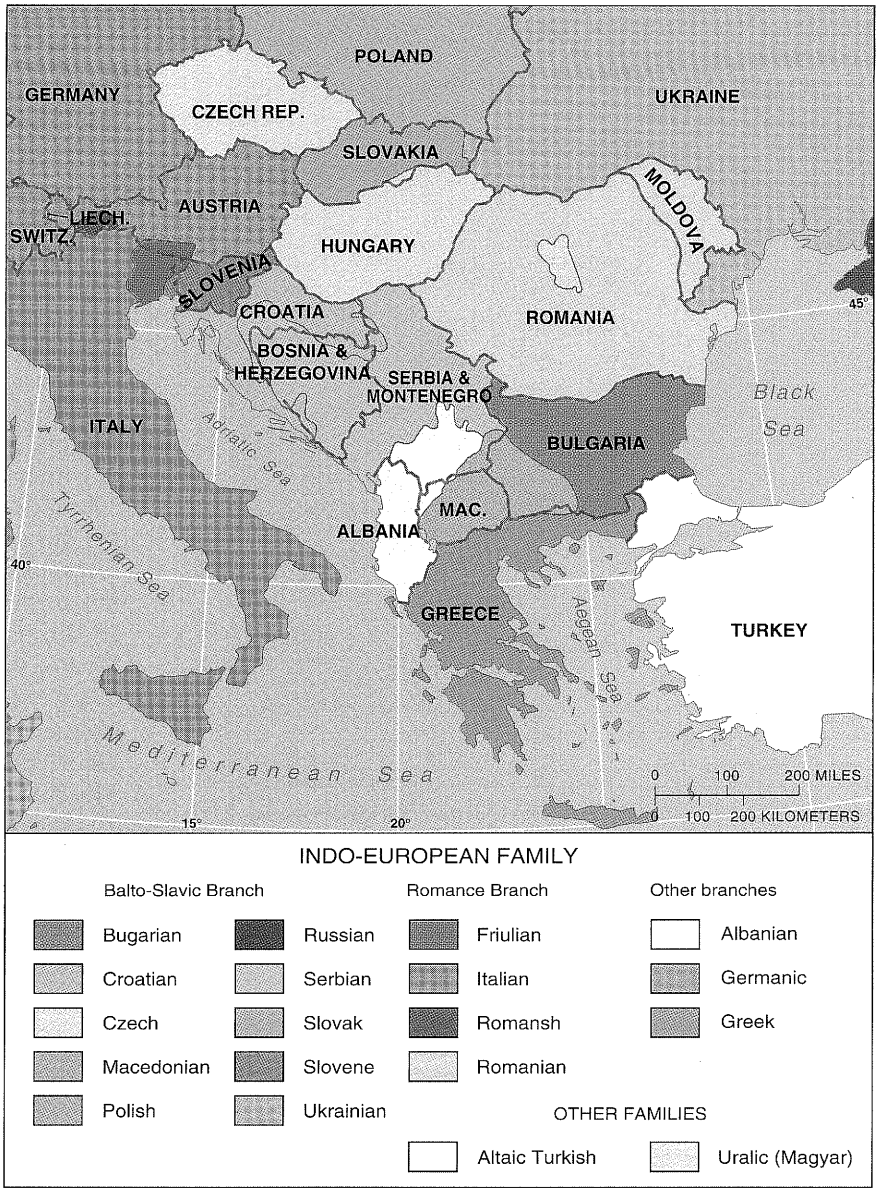


FIGURE 7–21 *Languages in Southern and Eastern Europe. After World War I, world leaders created several new states and realigned the boundaries of existing ones so that the boundaries of states matched language boundaries as closely as possible. These state boundaries proved to be relatively stable for much of the twentieth century. But in the 1990s the region became a center of conflict among speakers of different languages.*

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 (Figure 7–22). 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.

Ethnic Cleansing in Bosnia. The creation of a viable country proved especially difficult in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Four of Yugoslavia's five officially recognized nationalities—Croats, Macedonians, Serbs, and Slovenes—were able to constitute majorities in four of the five independent countries carved out of Yugoslavia, and the fifth recognized nationality—Montenegrens—chose to remain in the smaller country with the Serbs.

In contrast, at the time of Yugoslavia's breakup, the largest group in Bosnia and Herzegovina—Bosnian Muslim—was considered an ethnicity rather than a nationality. Bosnian Muslims comprised 40 percent of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The remainder of Bosnia and Herzegovina consisted of 32 percent Serb and 18 percent Croat.

Rather than live in an independent multi-ethnic country with a Muslim plurality, Bosnia and 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 and Herzegovina, Serbs and Croats engaged in ethnic cleansing of Bosnian Muslims. 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

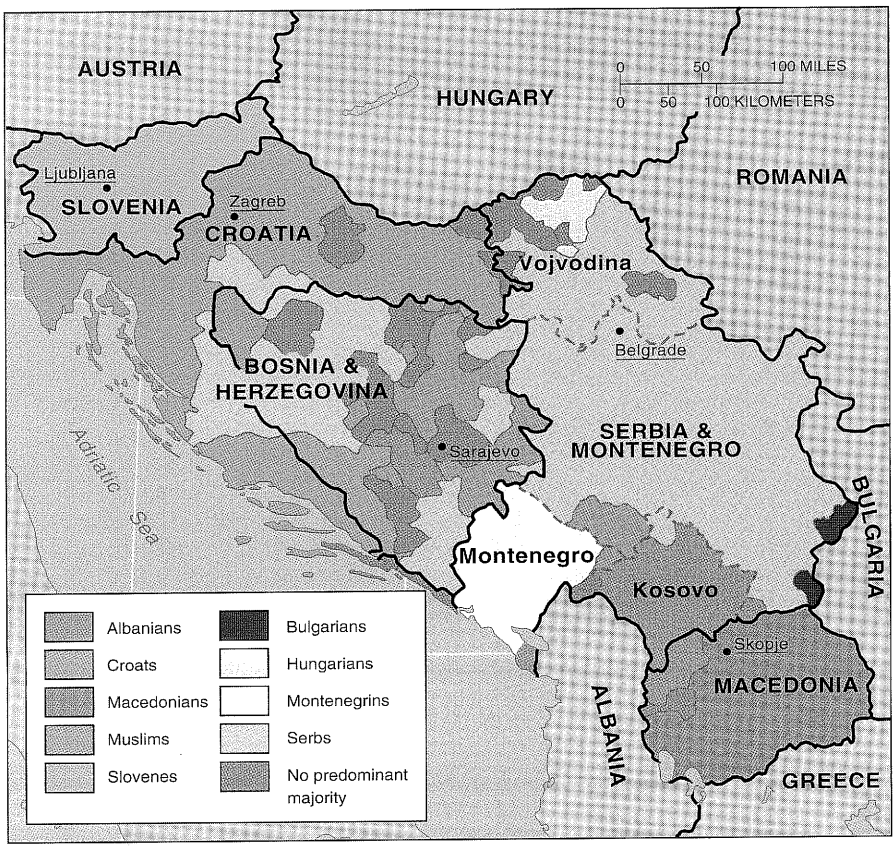


FIGURE 7–22 *Yugoslavia, until its breakup in 1992. Yugoslavia comprised six republics (plus Kosovo and Vojvodina, autonomous regions within the Republic of Serbia). According to the country's last census, taken in 1981, the territory occupied by the various nationalities did not match the boundaries of the republics or autonomous regions.*

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.

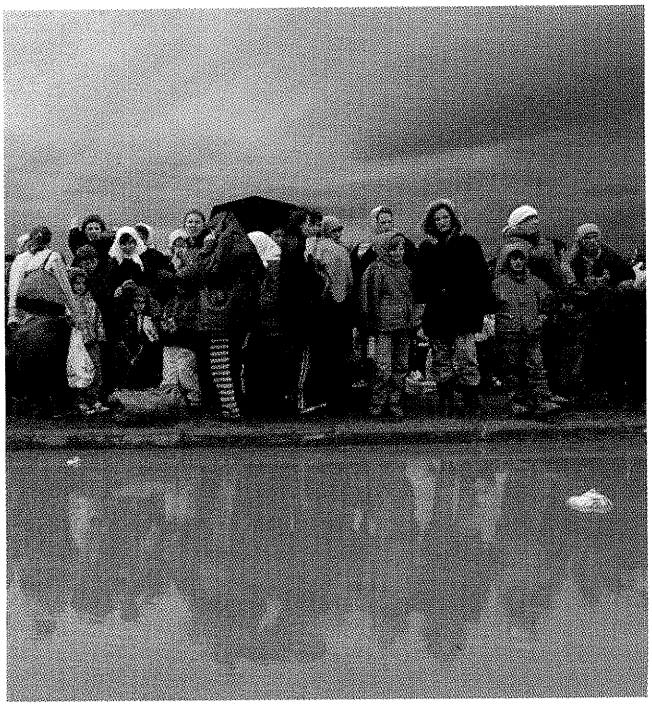
Accords reached in Dayton, Ohio, in 1996 by leaders of the various ethnicities divided Bosnia and Herzegovina into three regions, one each dominated respectively by the Bosnian Croats, Muslims, and Serbs. The Bosnian Croat and Muslim regions were combined into a federation, with some cooperation between 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 less than one third of the population, and Bosnian Croats got one-fourth of the land, although they comprised one-sixth of the population. Bosnian Muslims, 44 percent of the population before the ethnic cleansing, got 27 percent of the land.

Ethnic Cleansing in Kosovo. Despite the loss of Bosnia, Croatia, and Slovenia in the early 1990s, Yugoslavia remained a multi-ethnic country, although dominated by Serbs. Particularly troubling was the province of Kosovo, where ethnic Albanians comprised 90 percent of the population.

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

Under Tito, ethnic Albanians in Kosovo received administrative autonomy and national identity. As most



Glodane, Kosovo, during ethnic cleansing.

CONTEMPORARY GEOGRAPHIC TOOLS

Documenting Ethnic Cleansing

Early reports of ethnic cleansing by Serbs in 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.

The process of ethnic cleansing involved four steps. A series of three photographs taken by NATO air reconnaissance over the village of Glodane, in western Kosovo, illustrated the four steps. The first step was to move a large amount of military equipment and personnel into a village with no strategic value. The photograph 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, in rural settlements in most of the world, houses and farm buildings are clustered together and surrounded by fields rather than the pattern of isolated, individual farms typical of North America. The red circles on the photograph show the location of Serb armored vehicles along the main street of the village.

The second step in ethnic cleansing was to round up all the people in the village. In Bosnia, Serbs often segregated men from women, children, and old people. The men were either placed in detention camps or "disappeared"—undoubtedly killed—whereas the others were forced to leave the village. In Kosovo, men were herded together with the others rather than killed. In the photograph of Glodane, 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.

The third step in ethnic cleansing was to force the people to leave the village. This step appeared dramatically in the second photograph of the sequence, depicting the same location a short time later. The second photograph showed one major change: the people and vehicles massed in the field in the first photograph were gone—no people and no vehicles. The villagers were forced into a convoy—some in the vehicles, others on foot—heading for the Albanian border 16 kilometers (10 miles) to the west.

The fourth step in ethnic cleansing was to destroy the vacated village. The third photograph of the sequence 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.

Ethnic cleansing by Serbs forced Albanians living in Kosovo to flee in 1999.

Serbs emigrated from Kosovo north into Serbia, the percentage of Albanians in Kosovo increased from one-half in 1946 to three-fourths at the time of Yugoslavia's last formal census in 1981.

With the breakup of Yugoslavia, Serbia took direct control of Kosovo and launched a campaign of ethnic cleansing of the Albanian majority. 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 democracies, 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. NATO sent in 50,000 troops to protect the Albanians, nearly all of whom returned home. The United Nations took on formal responsibility for administering Kosovo. Most Serbs still in Kosovo left for Serbia.

The name Yugoslavia was formally abolished in 2002, and the country was renamed Serbia and Montenegro. Serbs comprise two-thirds of the population, and dominate the government and economy of the country.

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 directly led to World War I, because the various nationalities in the Balkans dragged into the war the larger powers with whom they had alliances.

At the end of the twentieth century—after two world wars and the rise and fall of communism—the Balkans have once again become Balkanized. Will the United States, Western 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 multi-ethnic.

Ethnic Cleansing 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 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. The Tutsi 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 cattle herders are always uneasy, and the Tutsi took control of the kingdom of Rwanda and turned the Hutu into their serfs, although Tutsi comprised only about 15 percent of the population.

Rwanda, as well as Burundi, became a colony of Germany in 1899, and after the Germans were defeated in World War I, the League of Nations gave a mandate over the two small colonies to Belgium. Under German and Belgian control, differences between the two ethnicities were reinforced. Colonial administrators permitted a few Tutsis to attend university and hold responsible government positions, while excluding the Hutu altogether.

Shortly before Rwanda gained its independence in 1962, Hutus killed or ethnically cleansed most of the Tutsis out of fear that the Tutsis would seize control of the newly independent country. Those fears were realized in 1994 after the airplane carrying the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi back from peace talks was shot down, probably by a Hutu. Children of the ethnically cleansed Tutsis, most of whom lived in neighboring Uganda, poured back into Rwanda, defeated the Hutu army, and killed a half-million Hutus, while suffering a half-million casualties of their own. Through ethnic cleansing, 3 million of the country's 7 million Hutus fled to Zaire, Tanzania, Uganda, and Burundi.

The conflict between Hutus and Tutsis spilled into neighboring countries of central Africa, especially the Democratic Republic of Congo, with 2.3 million square kilometers (900,000 square miles) and 50 million inhabitants in the region's largest and most populous country. Tutsis were instrumental in the successful overthrow of the Congo's longtime president, Joseph Mobutu, in 1997, replacing him with Laurent Kabila. But Tutsis soon split with Kabila and led a rebellion that gained control of the eastern half of the Congo.

The Belgian Congo, as it was known until independence from Belgium in 1960, was a major world producer of copper, diamonds, gold, and other valuable minerals. Under Mobutu's leadership between 1965 and 1997, European influence in the Congo was reduced. Mobutu changed the name of the country to Zaire and ordered cities and families to switch from European to African names as well. However, Mobutu amassed a several-billion-dollar personal fortune from the sale of minerals while impoverishing the rest of the country.

Rebel groups in Zaire tried for years to overthrow Mobutu without success until Tutsi-controlled Rwanda joined with them. Tutsis supported the rebellion against Mobutu because they hoped to put an end to attacks launched by Hutu rebels based in eastern Zaire. Further, Mobutu had ordered the Zaire army to expel Tutsis who had lived in the eastern portion of Zaire for 200 years.

After succeeding Mobutu as president in 1997, Kabila relied heavily on Tutsis and permitted them to kill some of the Hutus who had been responsible for atrocities against Tutsis back 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. After two years of war, rebels held the eastern half of the Congo.

SUMMARY

Two major museums standing one block apart in Detroit illustrate the challenges of encouraging respect for different ethnic identities in the United States. One of the museums, the Detroit Institute of Arts (DIA), contains a major collection of paintings by medieval European artists, many of which were donated a century ago by rich Detroit industrialists. The DIA's most famous work is an enormous mural completed in 1932 by the Mexican muralist Diego Rivera, glorifying workers in Detroit's auto factories. The 75-year-old building, the country's fifth-largest art museum, looks like a Greek temple.

The nearby Museum of African American History houses the nation's largest exhibit devoted to the history and culture of African Americans. Founded in 1965, the museum has moved twice to larger buildings, including the current one opened in 1997. The building is designed to reflect the cultural heritage of Africa, including an entry with large bronze doors topped by 14-carat gold-plate decorative masks. The exhibits are primarily photographs, videos, and text.

The financially strapped city of Detroit has had difficulty adequately funding both museums, so it has had to make choices. Which museum should take priority—a crumbling temple of European masterpieces or an emotionally powerful testimony to the rich cultural traditions of America's most numerous ethnic minority? Does it matter that Detroit's African American population was 5 percent when the DIA was built and 75 percent when the Museum of African American history was built?

Here again are the key issues for Chapter 7:

1. **Where are ethnicities distributed?** Major ethnicities in the United States include African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans. These ethnic groups are clustered in regions of the country and within urban neighborhoods. In the United States, race and ethnicity are often used interchangeably, because members of the African American ethnic group are also distinguished as members of the black race (although not all blacks are African Americans).

2. **Why have ethnicities been transformed into nationalities?** Nationalities are ethnic groups that possess among their cultural traditions the attachment and loyalty to a particular country. A nationality combines an ethnic group's language, religion, and artistic expressions with a country's particular independence movement, history, and other patriotic events. During the past two centuries, many countries have been created that attempt to transform single ethnic groups into single nationalities.

3. **Why do ethnicities clash?** 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.

4. **What is ethnic cleansing?** Ethnic cleansing is an attempt by a more powerful ethnic group to create an ethnically homogeneous region by forcibly evicting all members of another ethnic group. The practice has been especially widespread in the countries that comprise the former country of Yugoslavia.

CASE STUDY REVISITED

Ethnic Cleansing in Central Africa

Line up five Hutus and five Tutsis, and the ethnic origin of perhaps half would be plain. 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. Yet Hutus and Tutsis have engaged in ethnic cleansing on a scale greater than even in the former Yugoslavia.

Conflict is widespread in Africa largely because the present-day boundaries of states were drawn by European colonial powers about a hundred years ago without regard for the traditional distribution of ethnicities (Figure 7–23). European exploration of the African coast began in the 1400s, but until the late nineteenth century, Africa was largely free of foreign control. Between the 1880s and the outbreak of World War I in 1914, European countries carved up the continent into a collection of colonies. The shapes of these colonies were dictated primarily by competition among the European colonial powers to control resources in the interior rather than the distribution of ethnicities.

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, most African states contained large numbers of ethnicities. For example, the British colony of the Gold Coast became the independent state of Ghana in 1956. Ghana's territory includes the historic homelands of the Ashanti, Fanti, Mole-Dagbani, Ewe, and Ga-Adangme tribes.

Sub-Saharan Africa has some tradition of state control, especially in West Africa. Important states in West Africa, based in present-day Mali and Mauritania, included Ghana (800 kilometers northwest of the present-day state of Ghana) between the eighth and twelfth centuries, Mali between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, and Songhai during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Other kingdoms were located closer to the coast of West Africa. The Kongo kingdom, based near the mouth of the Congo (Zaire) River in present-day Angola and Zaire, flourished from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. A group of

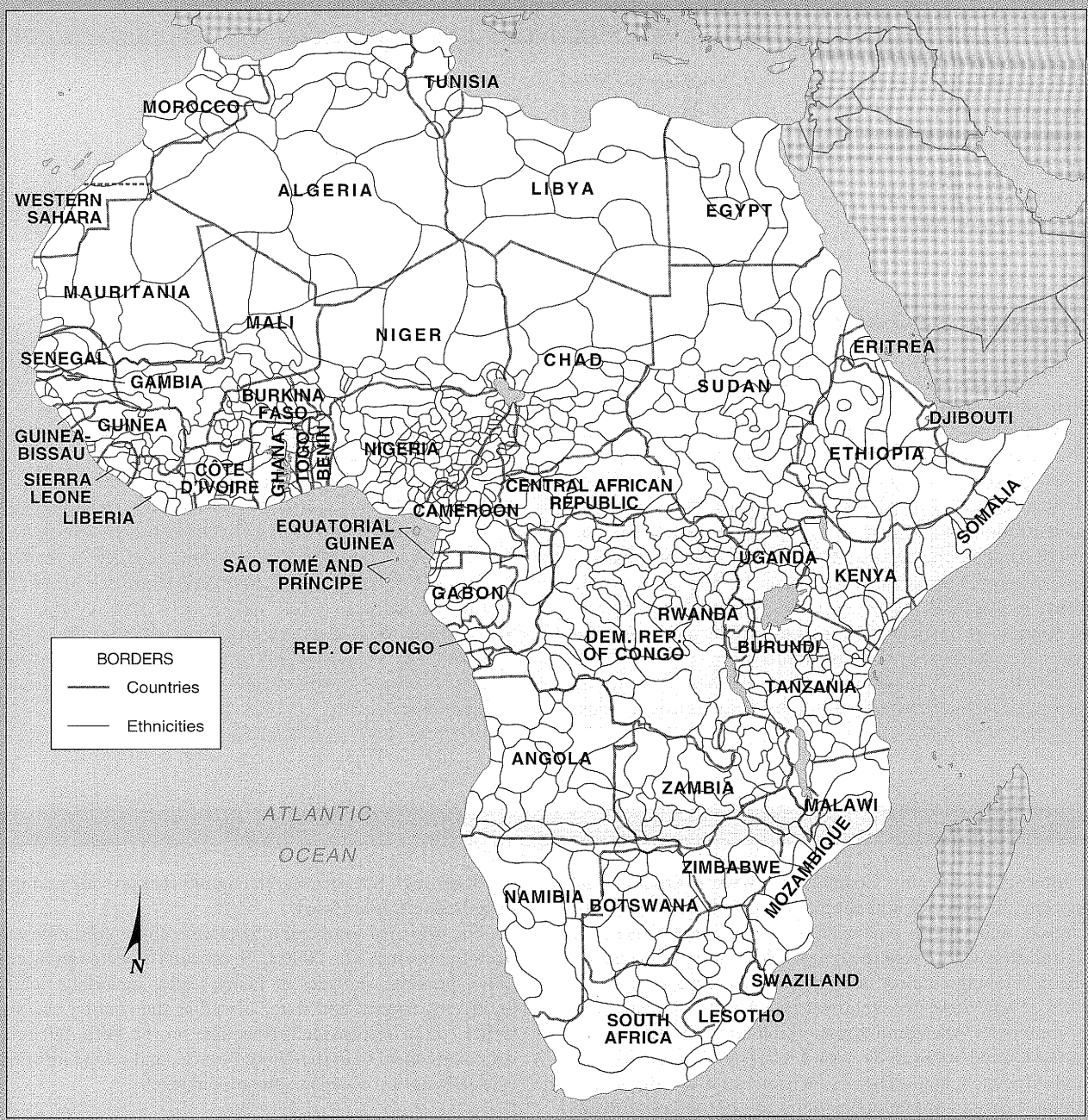


FIGURE 7–23 *Ethnicities in Africa. The boundaries of modern African states do not match the territories long occupied by thousands of ethnic groups. State boundaries derive from the administrative units imposed by European colonial powers a century ago.*

Ewe-speaking people called the Aja established the Great Ardra kingdom in present-day Benin, which reached its height in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The Aja mixed with other local groups to form the Fon or Dahomey ethnic group. Four hundred kilometers (250 miles) west, the Ashanti ethnic group established a confederation in the seventeenth century in the central part of present-day Ghana, which survived until the late nineteenth century.

Traditionally, though, 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 5–14 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 very similar groups.

Some tribes are divided among more than one modern state, whereas others have been grouped with dissimilar tribes. The lack of correspondence between traditional tribes and modern states lies at the heart of the ethnic unrest in sub-Saharan Africa.

KEY TERMS

Apartheid (p. 235)
Balkanization (p. 255)
Balkanized (p. 255)
Blockbusting (p. 235)
Centripetal force (p. 239)
Ethnic cleansing (p. 250)
Ethnicity (p. 227)
Multi-ethnic state (p. 239)
Multinational state (p. 239)
Nationalism (p. 238)
Nationality (p. 237)
Nation-state (p. 237)
Race (p. 227)
Racism (p. 233)
Racist (p. 233)
Self-determination (p. 237)
Sharecropper (p. 231)
Triangular slave trade (p. 230)

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY

1. The 2000 U.S. Census permited people to identify themselves as being of more than one race, in recognition that several million American children have parents of two races. Discuss the merits and difficulties of permitting people to choose more than one race.
2. Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, once contained 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 merits and obstacles in restoring Sarajevo as a multi-ethnic city.
3. 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?
4. A century ago European immigrants to the United States had much stronger ethnic ties than today, including clustering in specific neighborhoods. Discuss the merits and disadvantages of retaining strong ethnic identity in the United States as opposed to full assimilation into the American nationality identity.
5. With the removal of the apartheid laws, South Africa now offers legal equality to all races in principle. Discuss obstacles that South Africa's blacks face in achieving cultural and economic equality.

ON THE INTERNET

Our Internet focus in Chapter 7 (**www.prenhall.com/rubenstein**) is ethnicity and the revival of ethnic identity. In text, music, and videos, you explore the ethnic cleansing of Bosnia and Kosovo; we visit the first world country of Germany and the developing country of Turkey for a compare and contrast look at how these two countries accept and assimilate their ethnic minorities. We examine the ethnic mix and distribution within the United States in the year 2000, as well as provide online and interactive map exercises focusing on these ethnic distributions. There is also an opportunity to explore key terms in depth through Internet search engines that provide examples of how these terms are used.

The principal source of information about ethnicities comes from the census. The 2000 U.S. census Web site (**www.census.gov**), provides statistics at many scales, including neighborhood, city, county, and state, as well as the country as a whole. Other countries provide census data on the Web, but in a less systematic form than the United States, and ethnic information is usually not provided at subnational levels.

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