

Chapter 7

Ethnicity

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?

(208)

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*. It is distinct from **race**, which is identity with a group of people who share a biological ancestor. Geographers are interested in *where* ethnicities are distributed across *space*, like other elements of culture. 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. The study of ethnicity lacks the tension in *scale* between preservation of local diversity and *globalization* observed in other cultural elements.

No ethnicity is attempting or even aspiring to achieve global dominance. In the face of globalization ethnicity stands as the strongest bulwark for the preservation of local diversity.

Key Issue 1. Where Are Ethnicities Distributed?

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

This section of the chapter examines the clustering of ethnicities within countries, and the next key issue looks at ethnicities at the national scale.

Distribution of Ethnicities in the United States

The two most numerous ethnicities in the United States are African Americans, about 15 percent, and Hispanics or Latinos, about 13 percent. In addition, about 4 percent of the population are Asian American, and 1 percent is American Indian.

(209)

Clustering of Ethnicities

Clustering of ethnicities can occur at two scales, particular regions of the country, and particular neighborhoods within cities.

Regional Concentrations of Ethnicities. On a regional scale, ethnicities have distinctive distributions within the United States:

- **Hispanic or Latino/Latina.** Clustered in the four southwestern states, California is home to one-third of all Hispanics. *Hispanic* or *Hispanic American* is a term that the U.S. government chose in 1973 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. Most Hispanics identify with a more specific ethnic or national origin.
- **African Americans.** Clustered in the Southeast, they comprise between one-fourth to more than one-third in many southern states, yet, 9 states have fewer than 1 percent African Americans.

- **Asian Americans.** Clustered in the west and over 40 percent of the population of Hawaii, one-half of all Asian Americans live in California. Chinese account for one-fourth of Asian Americans, Indians and Filipinos one-fifth each, and Korean and Vietnamese one-tenth each.
- **American Indians and Alaska Natives.** Within the 48 continental United States, American Indians are most numerous in the Southwest and the Plains states.

(210)

Concentration of Ethnicities in Cities. African Americans and Hispanics are highly clustered in urban areas. Their distinctive distribution is especially noticeable at the levels of states and neighborhoods. For example, at the state level, African Americans comprise 85 percent of the population in the city of Detroit and only 7 percent in the rest of Michigan. The distribution of Hispanics is similar to that of African Americans in large northern cities. In the states with the largest Hispanic populations — California and Texas — the distribution is mixed. The clustering of ethnicities is especially pronounced at the scale of neighborhoods within cities. During the twentieth century, the children and grandchildren of European immigrants moved out of most of the original inner-city neighborhoods. 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. Ethnic concentrations in U.S. cities increasingly consist of African Americans who migrate from the South, or immigrants from Latin America and Asia. In Los Angeles, which contains large percentages of African Americans, Hispanics, and Asian Americans, the major ethnic groups are clustered in different areas.

(211)

African American Migration Patterns

Three major migration flows have shaped African-American distribution within the United States: forced migration from Africa in the eighteenth century; immigration from the South to northern cities during the first half of the twentieth century; and immigration from inner-city ghettos to other urban neighborhoods in the second half of the twentieth century.

Forced Migration from Africa. The first Africans brought to the American colonies as slaves arrived in 1619. During the eighteenth century, the British shipped about 400,000 Africans to the 13 colonies. In 1808, the United States banned bringing in slaves, but an estimated 250,000 were illegally imported during the next half century. Slavery was widespread during the time of the Romans but was replaced in Europe by a feudal system, in which laborers were bound to the land and not free to migrate elsewhere. Although slavery was rare in Europe, Europeans were responsible for diffusing the practice to the Western Hemisphere. 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. (212) 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**. 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.

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. Attitudes toward slavery dominated U.S. politics during the nineteenth century.

The Civil War (1861–1865) was fought to prevent 11 pro-slavery southern states from seceding from the Union. 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. 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 farm machinery and decline in 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 the major two-lane long-distance U.S. roads that had been paved and signposted in the early decades of the twentieth century. 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.

(213)

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. African Americans moved from the tight ghettos into immediately adjacent neighborhoods during the 1950s and 1960s.

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:

- Asian as a race and Asian American as an ethnicity encompass basically the same group.
- African American and black are different groups. Some American blacks trace their cultural heritage to regions other than Africa, including Latin America, Asia, or Pacific islands.
- The term African American identifies a group with an extensive cultural tradition, whereas black in principle denotes nothing more than dark skin.
- Hispanic or Latino is not considered a race.

The traits that characterize race are those that can be transmitted genetically from parents to children: lactose intolerance, for example. Biological features are so highly variable among members of a race that any prejudged classification is meaningless. 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.

Race in the United States

Every 10 years the U.S. Bureau of the Census asks people to classify themselves according to races with which they most closely identify. The 2000 census permitted people to check more than 1 of 14 categories listed, and 2 percent of Americans did.

“Separate but Equal” Doctrine. 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. In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a Louisiana law that required black and white passengers to ride in separate railway cars, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. 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. 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.

“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 having separate schools for blacks and whites was unconstitutional. 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.”

Detroit provides a clear example. White flight was encouraged by unscrupulous real estate practices, especially **blockbusting**. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders wrote in 1968 that U.S. cities were divided into two separate and unequal societies. 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. **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.

In South Africa, under apartheid, a newborn baby was classified as being one of four races: black, white, colored (mixed white and black), or Asian. Under apartheid, each of the four races had a different legal status. The apartheid system was created by descendants of whites who arrived in South Africa from Holland in 1652. 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 controlled South Africa’s government until 1948, when the Afrikaner-dominated Nationalist Party won elections. The Afrikaners gained power at a time when colonial rule was being replaced in the rest of Africa by a collection of independent states run by the local black population. The Nationalist Party created the apartheid laws in the next few years to perpetuate white dominance of the country. To ensure further geographic isolation of different races, the South African government designated 10 so-called *homelands* for blacks.

(217)

In 1991, the white-dominated government of South Africa repealed the apartheid laws. The African National Congress was legalized, and its leader, Nelson Mandela, was released from jail after more than 27 years. In April 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. 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. Average income among white South Africans is about 10 times higher than for blacks.

Key Issue 2. Why Have Ethnicities Been Transformed into Nationalities?

- **Rise of nationalities**
- **Multinational states**
- **Revival of ethnic identity**

Ethnicity and race are distinct from nationality, another term commonly used to describe a group of people with shared traits. **Nationality** is identity with a group of people who share legal attachment and personal allegiance to a particular country.

Rise of Nationalities

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

- Nationality identifies citizens of the U.S., including those born in the country and those who immigrated and became citizens.
- Ethnicity identifies groups with distinct ancestry and cultural traditions.
- Race distinguishes people of color from whites.

The United States forged a nation in the late eighteenth century out of a collection of ethnic groups. To be an American meant believing in the “unalienable rights” of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” In Canada, the Québécois are clearly distinct from other Canadians in language, religion, and other cultural traditions. But do the Québécois form a distinct ethnicity within the Canadian nationality or a second nationality separate altogether from Anglo-Canadian? The distinction is critical. Outside North America, distinctions between ethnicity and nationality are even muddier. Confusion between ethnicity and nationality can lead to violent conflicts.

Nation-States

A **nation-state** is a state whose territory corresponds to that occupied by a particular ethnicity that has been transformed into a nationality. The concept that ethnicities have the right to govern themselves is known as **self-determination**.

Denmark: There Are No Perfect Nation-States. Denmark is a fairly good example of a European nation-state. The territory occupied by the Danish ethnicity closely corresponds to the state of Denmark. But even Denmark is not a perfect example of a nation-state. The country’s southern boundary with Germany does not divide Danish and German nationalities precisely. Denmark controls two territories in the Atlantic Ocean that do not share Danish cultural characteristics — the Faeroe Islands and Greenland. In 1979, Greenlanders received more authority to control their own domestic affairs. One decision was to change all place names in Greenland from Danish to the local Inuit language.

Nation-States in Europe. Ethnicities were transformed into nationalities throughout Europe during the nineteenth century. Most of Western Europe was made up of nation-states by the early twentieth century.

(219)

Germany did not emerge as a nation-state until 1871, more recently than its neighbors. During the 1930s, German National Socialists (Nazis) claimed that all German-speaking parts of Europe constituted one nationality and should be unified into one state. Other European powers did not attempt to stop the Germans from taking over Austria and the German-speaking portion of Czechoslovakia. Not until the Germans invaded Poland (not a German-speaking country) in 1939 did England and France try to stop them. After it was defeated in World War II, Germany was divided into two countries until the end of communist rule in 1990.

Nationalism

A nationality, once established, must hold the loyalty of its citizens to survive. **Nationalism** typically promotes a sense of national consciousness that exalts one nation above all others.

States foster nationalism by promoting symbols of the nation-state, such as flags and songs. 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. 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.)

Multinational States

In some **multi-ethnic states**, ethnicities all contribute cultural features to the formation of a single

nationality. The United States has numerous ethnic groups, all of whom consider themselves as belonging to the American 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. (220) One example of a multinational state is the United Kingdom, which contains four main nationalities — England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. Today, the strongest element of national identity comes from sports. The four nationalities all have their own national soccer teams and compete separately in major international tournaments. 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. The 15 republics that once constituted the Soviet Union are now independent countries. 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 a number of these less numerous ethnicities are now divided among more than one state. The 15 newly independent states consist of five groups; 3 Baltic, 3 European, 5 Central Asian, 3 Caucasus, and Russia.

Reasonably good examples of nation-states have been carved out of the Baltic, European, and some Central Asian states but not in any of the small Caucasus 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 had been independent countries between 1918 and 1940. Of the three Baltic states, Lithuania most closely fits the definition of a nation-state, because 83 percent of its population is ethnic Lithuanian. These three small neighboring Baltic countries have clear cultural differences and distinct historical traditions.

(221)

New European Nation-States. To some extent, the former Soviet republics of Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine now qualify as nation-states. The ethnic distinctions among Belarusians, Ukrainians, and Russians are somewhat blurred. 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. 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. In 1992, many Moldovans pushed for reunification with Romania. But it was not to be that simple. The Soviet government increased the size of Moldova by about 10 percent, transferring from Ukraine a sliver of land on the east bank of the Dniester (River). Inhabitants of this area are Ukrainian and Russian. They 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 — 85 percent Turkmen and 80 percent Uzbek, respectively. Kyrgyzstan is 69 percent Kyrgyz, 15 percent Uzbek, and 9 percent Russian. The Kyrgyz — also Muslims who speak an Altaic language — resent the Russians for seizing the best farmland. 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 and Russians. Kazakhstan has been peaceful, in part because it has a somewhat less depressed economy than its neighbors. In contrast, Tajikistan — 79 percent Tajik, 15 percent Uzbek, and only 1 percent Russian — would appear to be a stable country, but it suffers from a civil war

among the Tajik people. The civil war has been between Tajiks who are former Communists and an unusual alliance of Muslim fundamentalists and Western-oriented intellectuals.

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. Some are located along borders with neighboring states. Overall, 20 percent of the country's population is non-Russian. Other ethnicities are clustered in the center of Russia. Most of these groups were conquered by the Russians in the sixteenth century. Independence movements are flourishing, because Russia is less willing to suppress these movements forcibly than the Soviet Union had once been. Particularly troublesome 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, the Chechens declared their independence. 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.

(222)

Turmoil in the Caucasus

The Caucasus region gets its name from the mountains that separate Russia from Azerbaijan and Georgia. The region is home to several ethnicities. Each ethnicity has a long-standing and complex set of grievances against others in the region. Every ethnicity in the Caucasus has the same aspiration: to carve out a sovereign nation-state.

Azerbaijan. Azeris (or Azerbaijanis) trace their roots to Turkish invaders in the eighth and ninth centuries. An 1828 treaty allocated northern Azeri territory to Russia and southern Azeri territory to Persia (now Iran). More than 7 million Azeris now live in Azerbaijan, 91 percent of the country's total population. Another 16 million Azeris are clustered in northwestern Iran. Azeris hold positions of responsibility in Iran's government and economy, but Iran restricts teaching of the Azeri language.

(223)

Armenians. More than 3,000 years ago Armenians controlled an independent kingdom in the Caucasus. 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. After World War I the allies created an independent state of Armenia, but it was soon swallowed by its neighbors. Turkey and the Soviet Union divided Armenia. The Soviet portion became an independent country in 1991. More than 90 percent of the population in Armenia is Armenian, making it the most ethnically homogeneous country in the region. Armenians and Azeris have been at war with each other since 1988 over the boundaries between the two nationalities.

Georgians. The population of Georgia is more diverse than that in Armenia and Azerbaijan. Georgia's cultural diversity has been a source of unrest, especially among the Ossetians and Abkhazians. During the 1990s, the Abkhazians fought for control of the northwestern portion of Georgia and have declared independence. In 2008, the Ossetians declared the South Ossetia portion of Georgia independent. Only Russia and a handful of other countries recognize the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, although the two operate as if they were independent.

Revival of Ethnic Identity

Europeans thought that ethnicity had been left behind as an insignificant relic, such as wearing quaint costumes to amuse tourists. Until they lost power around 1990, Communist leaders in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union used centripetal forces, such as the Russian language, to discourage ethnicities from expressing their cultural uniqueness

inhabitants are divided among six major ethnic groups known as clans, each of which is divided into subclans. Traditionally, the major clans occupied different portions of Somalia. In 1991 a dictatorship that ran the government collapsed, and various clans and subclans claimed control over portions of the country. The United States sent several thousand troops to Somalia in 1992, after an estimated 300,000 people died from famine and from warfare between clans. After peace talks among the clans collapsed in 1994, U.S. troops withdrew. Islamist militias took control of much of Somalia between 2004 and subsequently withdrew, but have since returned and again control much of the country.

Ethnic Competition in Lebanon

Lebanon has been severely damaged by fighting among ethnicities since the 1970s. Lebanon is divided between around 60 percent Muslim and 39 percent Christian.

(226)

When Lebanon became independent in 1943, the constitution required that each religion be represented in the Chamber of Deputies according to its percentage in the 1932 census. By unwritten convention, the president of Lebanon was a Maronite Christian, the premier a Sunni Muslim, the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies a Shiite Muslim, and the foreign minister a Greek Orthodox Christian. Other cabinet members and civil servants were similarly apportioned among the various faiths. Lebanon's religious groups have tended to live in different regions of the country. Maronites are concentrated in the west central part, Sunnis in the northwest, and Shiites in the south and east. During a civil war between 1975 and 1990, each religious group formed a private army or militia to guard its territory. 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.

Israel and the United States sent troops into Lebanon at various points in failed efforts to restore peace. The United States pulled out in 1983. Lebanon was left under the control of Syria, which had a historical claim over the territory until it too was forced to withdraw its troops in 2005.

India and Pakistan

Newly independent countries were often created to separate two ethnicities. However, two ethnicities can rarely be segregated completely.

Dividing Ethnicities in South Asia

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. (226) The basis for separating West and East Pakistan from India was ethnicity. Antagonism between the two religious groups was so great that the British decided to place the Hindus and Muslims in separate states. 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. 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. 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. 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's religious unrest is further complicated by the presence of 25 million Sikhs, who have long resented that they were not given their own independent country when India was partitioned. Sikhs comprise a majority in the Indian state of Punjab. Sikh extremists have fought for more control over the Punjab or even complete independence from India.

Sinhalese and Tamil in Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon), an island country of 20 million inhabitants off the Indian coast, is inhabited by two principal ethnicities known as the Sinhalese and the Tamils. Sinhalese, who comprise 82 percent of Sri Lanka's population, migrated from northern

(231)

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. When Yugoslavia's republics were transformed from local government units into five separate countries, ethnicities fought to redefine the boundaries.

Ethnic Cleansing in Bosnia. The creation of a viable country proved especially difficult in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. 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. Ethnic cleansing by Bosnian Serbs against Bosnian Muslims was especially severe, because much of the territory inhabited by Bosnian Serbs was separated from Serbia by areas with Bosnian Muslim majorities. Accords reached in Dayton, Ohio, in 1996 divided Bosnia and Herzegovina into three regions, one each dominated by the Bosnian Croats, Muslims, and Serbs. Bosnian Muslims, one-half of the population before the ethnic cleansing, got one-fourth of the land.

(232)

Ethnic Cleansing in Kosovo. After the breakup of Yugoslavia, Serbia remained a multi-ethnic country. Particularly troubling was the province of Kosovo, where ethnic Albanians comprised 90 percent of the population. Serbia had an historical claim to Kosovo, having controlled it between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Serbia was given control of Kosovo when Yugoslavia was created in the early twentieth century.

With the breakup of Yugoslavia, Serbia took direct control of Kosovo and launched a campaign of ethnic cleansing of the Albanian majority. Outraged by the ethnic cleansing, the United States and Western European countries, operating through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), launched an air attack against Serbia. The bombing campaign ended when Serbia agreed to withdraw all of its soldiers and police from Kosovo. Kosovo declared its independence from Serbia in 2008. Around 60 countries, including the United States, recognize Kosovo as an independent country, but Serbia and Russia oppose it.

Balkanization. A century ago, the term **Balkanized** was widely used to describe a small geographic area that could not successfully be organized into one or more stable states because it was inhabited by many ethnicities with complex, long-standing antagonisms toward each other. **Balkanization** directly led to World War I. After two world wars and the rise and fall of communism during the twentieth century, the Balkans have once again become Balkanized in the twenty-first century. 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. Ethnic homogeneity may be the price of peace in areas that once were multi-ethnic.

Ethnic Cleansing in Central Africa

Ethnic conflict is widespread in Africa largely because the present day boundaries of states do not match the boundaries of ethnic groups.

(233)

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. The Tutsi were cattle herders who migrated from the Rift Valley of western Kenya beginning 400 years ago. The Tutsi took control of the kingdom of Rwanda and turned the Hutu into their serfs. Belgian colonial administrators permitted a few Tutsis to attend university and hold governmental positions, 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 was shot

down, probably by a Tutsi. Descendants of the ethnically cleansed Tutsis, most of whom lived in neighboring Uganda, poured back into Rwanda, defeated the Hutu army, and killed half a million Hutus. Three 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. Congo is thought to have had the world's deadliest war since the end of World War II in 1945.

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. Armies from Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and other neighboring countries came to Kabila's aid. Kabila was assassinated in 2001 and succeeded by his son, who negotiated an accord with rebels the following year.

Key Terms

Apartheid (p. 215)	Nationalism (p. 219)
Balkanization (p. 232)	Nationality (p. 217)
Balkanized (p. 232)	Nation-state (p. 217)
Blockbusting (p. 215)	Race (p. 208)
Centripetal force (p. 219)	Racism (p. 214)
Ethnic cleansing (p. 229)	Racist (p. 214)
Ethnicity (p. 208)	Self-determination (p. 217)
Multi-ethnic state (p. 219)	Sharecropper (p. 212)
Multinational state (p. 219)	Triangular slave trade (p. 212)

Test Prep Questions

- 1) Which of the following is NOT a migration flow that has shaped the distribution of African Americans in the United States
 - A) forced migration from Africa to the South
 - B) migration from northern cities to the rural countryside
 - C) migration from the South to northern cities
 - D) migration from inner city neighborhoods to other urban neighborhoods
- 2) Why is Denmark not a perfect example of a nation-state?
 - A) Denmark rules Greenland, and thus has ethnic minorities.
 - B) Most Danes live in Denmark.
 - C) Most of the people who live in Denmark are Danes.
 - D) Most Danes speak Danish.
- 3) What is the name of the region in the Caucasus country of Georgia that declared independence from that state?
 - A) Chechnya
 - B) South Ossetia
 - C) Azerbaijan
 - D) Armenia

- 4) Which of the following countries did NOT dissolve because of internal ethnic disputes?
A) The Soviet Union
B) Czechoslovakia
C) Yugoslavia
D) Hungary
- 5) With what neighboring nation has Ethiopia had the most hostile relations?
A) Sudan
B) Kenya
C) Eritrea
D) Somalia
- 6) What is the basis for ethnicity in Somalia?
A) clan or subclan membership
B) religious affiliation
C) race
D) language
- 7) What is the underlying reason for the enduring animosity between Pakistan and India?
A) Sikh separatists in northern India wish to join Pakistan.
B) Hindus and Muslims don't get along.
C) The border between Jammu and Kashmir was never agreed upon.
D) all of these
- 8) On the island of Sri Lanka, an ethnic conflict ended in 2009 between what two groups?
A) Dravidian language speakers and Indo-European language speakers
B) Tamils and Sinhalese
C) Buddhists and Hindus
D) all of these
- 9) After the breakup of Yugoslavia, in what territory did Serbia wage a campaign of ethnic cleansing against an ethnic Albanian majority?
A) Kosovo
B) Bosnia and Herzegovina
C) Montenegro
D) Croatia
- 10) In the Early 1960s, the Hutus killed and ethnically cleansed the Tutsis, only to have their descendents come back and do the same to them in 1994 in what Central African country?
A) Burundi
B) Uganda
C) Rwanda
D) Democratic Republic of Congo

Short Essay

- 1) Contrast the geographic distribution of African Americans, Hispanics and Asians in the United States and account for the factors that explain those distributions.

2) Describe the basis of the ethnic tensions in the Caucasus region.

3) Explain why India has ethnic problems in its northern territories.
