

ETHNIC GEOGRAPHY:

Threads of Diversity



Chinatown in San Francisco, California is a Chinese ethnic enclave that dates to 1848.

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AP Learning Objectives

- Define the characteristics, attitudes, and traits that influence geographers when they study culture.
- Describe the characteristics of cultural landscapes.
- Explain how landscape features and land and resource use reflect cultural beliefs and identities.
- Explain patterns and landscapes of language, religion, ethnicity, and gender.
- Explain how the process of diffusion results in changes to the cultural landscape.
- Explain what factors lead to the diffusion of universalizing and ethnic religions.

We must not forget that these men and women who file through the narrow gates at Ellis Island, hopeful, confused, with bundles of misconceptions as heavy as the great sacks upon their backs—we must not forget that these simple, rough-handed people are the ancestors of our descendants, the fathers and mothers of our children.

So it has been from the beginning. For a century, a swelling human stream has poured across the ocean, fleeing from poverty in Europe to a chance at a new life in America. English, Welsh, Scotch, Irish; German, Swede, Norwegian, Dane; Jew, Italian, Bohemian, Serb; Syrian, Hungarian, Pole, Greek—one race after another has knocked at our doors, been given admittance, has married us and begot our children. . . . A few hours, and the stain of travel has left the immigrant's cheek; a few years, and he loses the odor of alien soils; a generation or two, and these outlanders are irrevocably our race, our nation, our stock.¹

The United States and Canada are cultural composites—as increasingly are most of the countries of the world. North America's peoples include aborigine and immigrant, native-born and new arrival. Had this chapter's introductory passage been written in the 21st century rather than early in the 20th, the list of foreign origins would have been lengthened to include many Latin American, African, and Asian countries as well.

The majority of the world's societies, even those that outwardly seem most homogeneous, house distinctive **ethnic groups**, populations that feel themselves bound together by a common origin and set off from other groups by ties of culture, race, religion, language, or nationality. Ethnic diversity is a near-universal part of human geographic patterns; the approximately 200 independent countries are home to at least 5,000 ethnic groups. The factors driving globalization, such as the growth of transnational corporations, relaxed border restrictions, low-cost travel, and high-speed global communications are all encouraging greater movement and ethnic mixing. In response to labor shortages, European Union (EU) countries increasingly welcome workers from other EU states, as well as African and Asian immigrants and guest workers, effectively making their societies multiethnic. Refugees and job-seekers are found in alien lands throughout both hemispheres (**Figure 6.1**). Cross-border movements and refugee resettlements in West Asia, Southeast Asia, and Africa are prominent current events. European colonialism created pluralistic societies in tropical lands through the introduction of both ruling elites and, frequently, nonindigenous laborers. Polyethnic Russia, Afghanistan, China, India, and most African countries have native—rather than immigrant—populations more characterized by racial and cultural diversity than by uniformity. Tricultural Belgium has a nearly split personality in matters political and social. The idea of an ethnically pure nation-state is mostly obsolete.

Like linguistic and religious differences within societies, such population interminglings are masked by the “culture realms” shown in Figure 2.4, but at a finer scale, they are important threads in the cultural-geographic tapestry of our world. The multiple movements, diffusions, migrations, and mixings of



Figure 6.1 Hispanic students from San Diego, California protest legislation that would increase penalties for undocumented immigrants. Immigration policies generate heated political debates with serious consequences for affected persons.

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peoples of different origins are the subject of **ethnic geography**. Its concerns are those of spatial distributions and interactions of ethnic groups, of the cultural characteristics and influences underlying them, and of how the built environment reflects the imprint of various ethnic groups.

Culture, we saw in Chapter 2, is the composite of traits making up the way of life of a human group—collective beliefs, symbols, values, forms of behavior, and complexes of such non-material and material traits as social customs, language, religion, food habits, tools, structures, and more. Culture is learned; it characterizes the group and distinguishes it from all other groups that have collectively created and transmitted to its children still other “ways of life.” *Ethnicity* is simply the identifying term assigned to a large group of people who share the traits of a distinctive common culture. It is always based on a clear understanding by members of a group that they are fundamentally different from others who do not share their distinguishing characteristics or cultural heritage.

Ethnicity is not, by itself, a spatial concept. However, ethnic groups are associated with clearly recognized territories—either larger homeland districts or smaller rural or urban enclaves—in which they are primary or exclusive occupants and upon which they have placed distinctive cultural imprints. Because territory and ethnicity are inseparable concepts, ethnicity exhibits important spatial patterns and is an important concern for the human geographer. Further, because ethnicity is often identified with a particular language and/or religion, consideration of ethnicity flows logically from the discussions of language and religion in Chapter 5.

Our examination of ethnic patterns will concentrate on the United States and Canada. Originally, this region was occupied by a multitude of distinctive Native American peoples, each with their own territory, culture, and language. Over time, these populations were overwhelmed and displaced by a wide spectrum of Old World ethnic groups. The United States and Canada provide

¹From Walter E. Weyl, “The New Americans,” *Harper’s Magazine* 129: 615. Copyright 1914 Harper’s Magazine Foundation, New York.

case studies of how distinctive immigrant culture groups partition urban and rural space and place their claims and imprints upon it. The experiences of these countries show the durability of ethnic distinctions even under conditions and national myths that emphasize intermixing and homogenization of population. Examples drawn from other countries and environments will serve to highlight ways in which generalizations based on the North American experience may be applied more broadly.

6.1 Ethnicity and Race

Each year on a weekend in May, New York City celebrates its ethnic diversity by closing off to all but pedestrian traffic a 1-mile stretch of street to conduct the Ninth Avenue International Food Festival. Along the reserved route from 42nd to 57th streets, a million or more New Yorkers come together to sample the foods, view the crafts, and take in the music and dance of the diverse ethnic groups represented among the citizens of the city. As a resident of the largest U.S. metropolis, each of the merchants and artists contributing one of the several hundred separate storefront, stall, or card-table displays of the festival becomes a member of the United States and Canada culture realm. Each, however, preserves a distinctive small-group identity within that larger collective “realm” (Figure 6.2).

The threads of diversity exhibited in the festival are expressions of **ethnicity**, a term derived from the Greek word *ethnos*, meaning a “people” or “nation.” Ethnic groups are composed of individuals who share some prominent cultural traits or characteristics, some evident physical or social identifications setting them apart both from the majority population and from other distinctive minorities among whom they may live. An ethnic identity is recognized by both members of the group and by outsiders. No single trait denotes ethnicity. Group recognition may be based on language, religion, national origin, unique customs, a shared history, or—improperly—an ill-defined concept of race. Common unifying bonds of ethnicity are a shared ancestry and cultural heritage, distinctive traditions, territorial identification, and sense of community. The principal ethnic groups of the United States and Canada are shown in Table 6.1 and Table 6.4, respectively.

Race and ethnicity are frequently equated, but they are actually very different concepts. **Race** is an outdated categorization of humans based on outward physical characteristics such as skin color, hair texture, or eye color or shape. Although humans are all one species, there is obvious variation in our physical characteristics. The spread of human beings over the Earth and their occupation of different environments were accompanied by the development of variations in these visible characteristics, as well as internal differences such as blood composition or lactose intolerance. Physical differentiation among human groups is old and can reasonably be dated to the Paleolithic spread and isolation of population groups (occurring 100,000 to about 11,000 years ago). Geographic patterns of distinct combinations of physical traits emerged due to natural selection or adaptation, and genetic drift.

Natural selection favors the transmission of characteristics that enable humans to adapt to a particular environmental

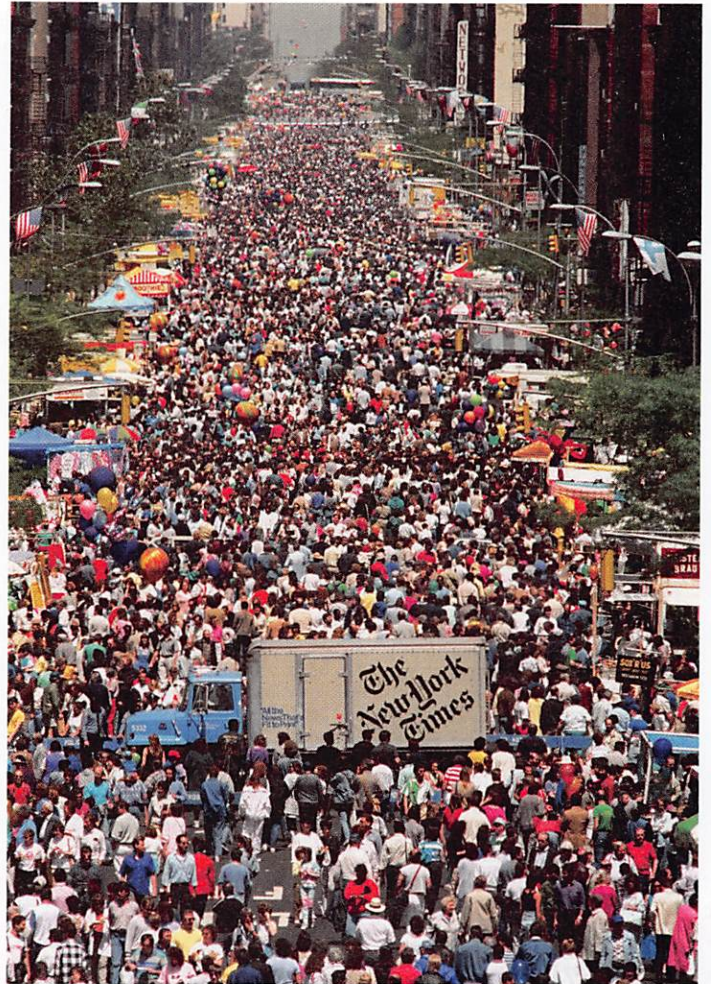


Figure 6.2 The annual Ninth Avenue International Fair in New York City became one of the largest of its kind. Similar festivals celebrating America’s ethnic diversity are found in cities and small towns across the country.

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feature, such as climate. Studies have suggested a plausible relationship between solar radiation and skin color, and between temperature and body size. Dark skin indicates the presence of melanin, which protects against the penetration of damaging ultraviolet rays from the sun. Conversely, the production of vitamin D in the body, which is necessary to good health, is linked to the penetration of ultraviolet rays. In high latitudes, where winter days are short and the sun is low in the sky, light skin confers an adaptive advantage by allowing the production of vitamin D.

Genetic drift refers to a heritable trait that appears by chance in a group and is accentuated by inbreeding. If two populations are too spatially separated for much interaction to occur (*isolation*), a trait may develop in one but not in the other. Unlike natural selection, genetic drift differentiates populations in non-adaptive ways. Natural selection and genetic drift promote differentiation. Countering them is gene flow via interbreeding, which acts to homogenize neighboring populations. Opportunities for

Table 6.1

Leading U.S. Ancestries Reported, 2016

Ancestry	Number (millions)	Percentage of Total Population
German	45.9	15.2
Irish	33.1	10.4
English	24.4	7.7
Italian	17.2	5.4
Polish	9.3	2.9
French	8.2	2.6
Scottish	5.5	1.7
Norwegian	4.5	1.4
Dutch	4.2	1.3
Swedish	3.9	1.2
Scotch-Irish	3.0	1.0

Note: More than 20 million persons indicated “American” as their ancestry, almost 4 million reported “European” and more than 3 million reported “Sub-Saharan African.” These reported ancestries did not include options for “African American” or “Hispanic.” The tabulation is based on self-identification of respondents, not on objective criteria. Many persons reported multiple ancestries and were tabulated by the Census Bureau under each claim.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *American Community Survey, 2012–2016, 5-Year Estimates*.

property of particular individuals, not a group trait, and, like intellectual ability, are strongly influenced by social factors.

Race has no meaningful application to any human characteristics that are culturally acquired. That is, race is *not* equivalent to ethnicity or nationality and has no bearing on differences in religion or language. There is no “Irish” or “Hispanic” race, for example. Such groupings are based on culture, not genes. Culture summarizes the way of life of a group of people, and members of the group may adopt it irrespective of their individual genetic heritage. Although races do not exist in a scientific, biological sense, race persists as an idea and basis for group identity, and racism—prejudice and discrimination based on racial categories—is very much alive.

If racial categorization was scientifically valid, the categories should be universal. But instead they vary widely from country to country, reflecting the unique history and geography of particular places. In the United Kingdom, the census asks about ethnic rather racial identity. The U.K. census subdivides the Asian category into Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese and other Asian with no special category for Japanese or Koreans. In Brazil, the census asks respondents to identify their race-color as indigenous or one of four skin tones: white, black, yellow, or brown. As society’s understanding of race and ethnicity changes, so do the official census categories. In 2000, the U.S. Census Bureau asked respondents to classify themselves into one of five racial categories and answer a separate question about Hispanic status (which is considered an ethnic category, not a racial category). For the 2010 census, people had their choice of 14 categories. Starting in 2000, respondents were allowed to identify as “Some Other Race” and as more than one race (**Table 6.2**).

interbreeding, always part of the spread and intermingling of human populations, have accelerated with the growing mobility and migrations of people in the past few centuries.

Racial categorization is a scientifically outdated way of making sense of human variation. Focusing on visible physical characteristics, anthropologists in the 18th and 19th centuries created a variety of racial classification schemes, most of which derived from geographical variations of populations. Some anthropological studies at that time attempted to link physical traits with intellectual ability in order to construct racial hierarchies that were used to justify slavery, imperialism, immigration restrictions, anti-miscegenation laws, and eugenics. Contemporary biology has rejected racial categorization as a meaningful description of human variation. Skin color does not correspond to genetic closeness between “race” groups. Further, pure races do not exist, and DNA-based evidence shows that there is more variation within the so-called racial groups than there is between the groups.

Living in a society where racial categorization has been widespread, we may be tempted to group humans racially and attribute intellectual ability, athletic prowess, or negative characteristics to particular racial groups. This is problematic for many reasons, the most important being that there is only one race—the human race. Second, intellectual ability as measured on standardized tests is mostly a function of socioeconomic status. Finally, the athletic abilities displayed by top athletes are the

Table 6.2

U.S. Population by Race and Hispanic Status, 2016

	Number (millions)	Percent of U.S. Population
Total Population	318.6	100.0
White, Non-Hispanic	197.4	62.0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	55.2	17.3
Black or African American	40.2	12.6
Asian	16.6	5.2
American Indian and Alaskan Native	2.6	0.8
Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander	0.6	0.2
Two or more races	9.7	3.1

Note: Race as reported reflects the self-identification of respondents. Numbers do not sum to 100% because of overlap between the Hispanic and non-White racial categories. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *2012–2016 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates*.

Ethnic Diversity and Separatism

Ethnocentrism is the term describing a tendency to evaluate other cultures against the standards of one's own. It implies the feeling that one's own ethnic group is superior. Ethnocentrism can divide multiethnic societies by establishing rivalries and provoking social and spatial discord and isolation. In addition, it can be an emotionally sustaining force, giving familiar values and support to the individual in strange and complex surroundings. The ethnic group maintains familiar cultural institutions and shares traditional food and music. More often than not, it provides the friends, spouses, business opportunities, and political identification of ethnic group members.

Territorial isolation strengthens ethnic separatism and assists individual groups to retain their identification. In Europe, Asia, and Africa, ethnicity and territorial identity are inseparable. Ethnic minorities are first and foremost associated with *homelands*. This is true of the Welsh, Bretons, and Basques of Western Europe (Figure 12.20); the Slovenes, Croatians, or Bosnians of Eastern Europe (Figure 6.6a); the non-Slavic "nationalities" of Russia; and the immense number of ethnic communities of South and Southeast Asia. These minorities have specific spatial identity even though they may not have political independence.

Where ethnic groups are intermixed and territorial boundaries imprecise—the former Yugoslavia (Figure 6.6a) is an example—or where a single state contains disparate, rival populations—such as in the case of many African and Asian (Figure 6.6b) countries—conflict among groups can be serious if peaceful relations or central governmental control break down. **Ethnic cleansing**, a polite term with grisly implications, has motivated brutal civil conflict in parts of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and in several African and southeast Asian countries. The Holocaust slaughter of millions of Jews before and during World War II in Western and Eastern Europe was an extreme case of ethnic extermination, but comparable murderous assaults on racial or ethnic target populations are as old as human history. Such "cleansing" involves, through mass genocide, the violent elimination of a target ethnic group from a particular geographic area to achieve racial or cultural homogeneity and expanded settlement area for the perpetrating state or ethnic group. Its outcome is not only an alteration of the ethnic composition of the region in which the violence takes place, but of the ethnic mix in areas to which displaced victim populations have fled as refugees.

Few true homelands exist within the North American cultural mix. However, the "Chinatown" and "Little Italy" enclaves within North American cities have provided both the spatial refuge and the support systems essential to new arrivals in an alien culture realm. Asian and West Indian immigrants in London and other English cities and foreign guest workers—originally migrant and temporary laborers, usually male—that reside in Continental European communities assume similar spatial separation. While serving a support function, this segregation is as much the consequence of the housing market and of public and private restriction as it is simply of self-selection. In Southeast Asia, with the exception of Thailand, Chinese communities remain aloof from the

majority culture not as a stage on the route to assimilation but as a permanent chosen isolation.

By retaining what is familiar of the old in a new land, ethnic enclaves have reduced cultural shock and have paved the way for the gradual process of adaptation that prepares both individuals and groups to operate effectively in the new, larger **host society**—the established, dominant group. The traditional ideal of the United States "melting pot," in which ethnic identity and division would be lost and full amalgamation of all minorities into a blended, composite majority culture would occur, was the expectation voiced in the chapter-opening quotation. For many ethnic groups, however, that ideal has not become a reality.

Recent decades have seen a resurgence of cultural pluralism and an increasing demand for ethnic autonomy not only in North America but also in multiethnic societies around the world (see the feature "Nations of Immigrants"). At least, recognition is sought for ethnicity as a justifiable basis for special treatment in the allocation of political power, the structure of the educational system, the toleration or encouragement of minority linguistic rights, and other evidences of group self-awareness and promotion. In some multiethnic societies, second- and third-generation descendants of immigrants, now seeking "roots" and identity, embrace the ethnicity that their forebears sought to deny. At the same time, **xenophobia**—deep-rooted and unreasonable fears of foreigners on the part of the host society—has led to calls for immigration restrictions or even violence toward outsiders.

6.2 Immigration Streams

The ethnic diversity found in the United States and Canada today is the product of continuous flows of immigrants representing, at different periods, movements to this continent from nearly all of the cultures and races of the world (Figure 6.3). For the United States, that movement took the form of three distinct immigrant waves, all of which, of course, followed much earlier Amerindian arrivals.

The first wave, lasting from pioneer settlement to about 1870, was made up of two different groups. One comprised white arrivals from western and northern Europe, with Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany best represented. Together, they established a majority society controlled by Protestant Anglo-Saxons and allied groups. The second group of first-wave immigrants was African slaves brought involuntarily to the New World, comprising nearly 20 percent of the U.S. population in 1790.

The wave of social changes that brought about rapid population growth and large-scale immigration diffused outward from the British Isles. That second immigrant wave, from 1870 to 1921, was heavily weighted in favor of eastern and southern Europeans and Scandinavians, who comprised the majority of new arrivals by the end of the 19th century. The second period ended with congressional adoption of a quota system in 1921 regulating both the numbers of individuals who would be



Figure 6.3 Although it was not opened until 1892, New York Harbor’s Ellis Island—the country’s first federal immigration facility—quickly became the symbol of all the migrant streams to the United States. By the time that it was closed in late 1954, it had processed 17 million immigrants. Today, their descendants number more than 100 million Americans. A major renovation project was launched in 1984 to restore Ellis Island as a national monument.

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accepted and the countries from which they could come. The quota system limited the number of new immigrants from a country to 2 percent of the number that were already present in 1890. The quotas dramatically slowed immigration by southern and eastern Europeans who were believed to be racially inferior by some supporters of the quotas. The quota system, plus a worldwide depression and World War II (1939–1945), greatly slowed immigration until a third-wave migration, rivaling the massive influx of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, was launched with the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. At that time, the old national quota system of immigrant regulation was replaced by one that was more welcoming to newcomers from Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Since then, more than 40 million legal immigrants have entered the United States, in addition to an estimated 12 million unauthorized (undocumented or illegal) immigrants. Quickly, Hispanics, particularly Mexicans, dominated the inflow and became the largest segment of new arrivals. The changing source areas of the newcomers are traced in **Table 6.3** and **Figure 6.4**.

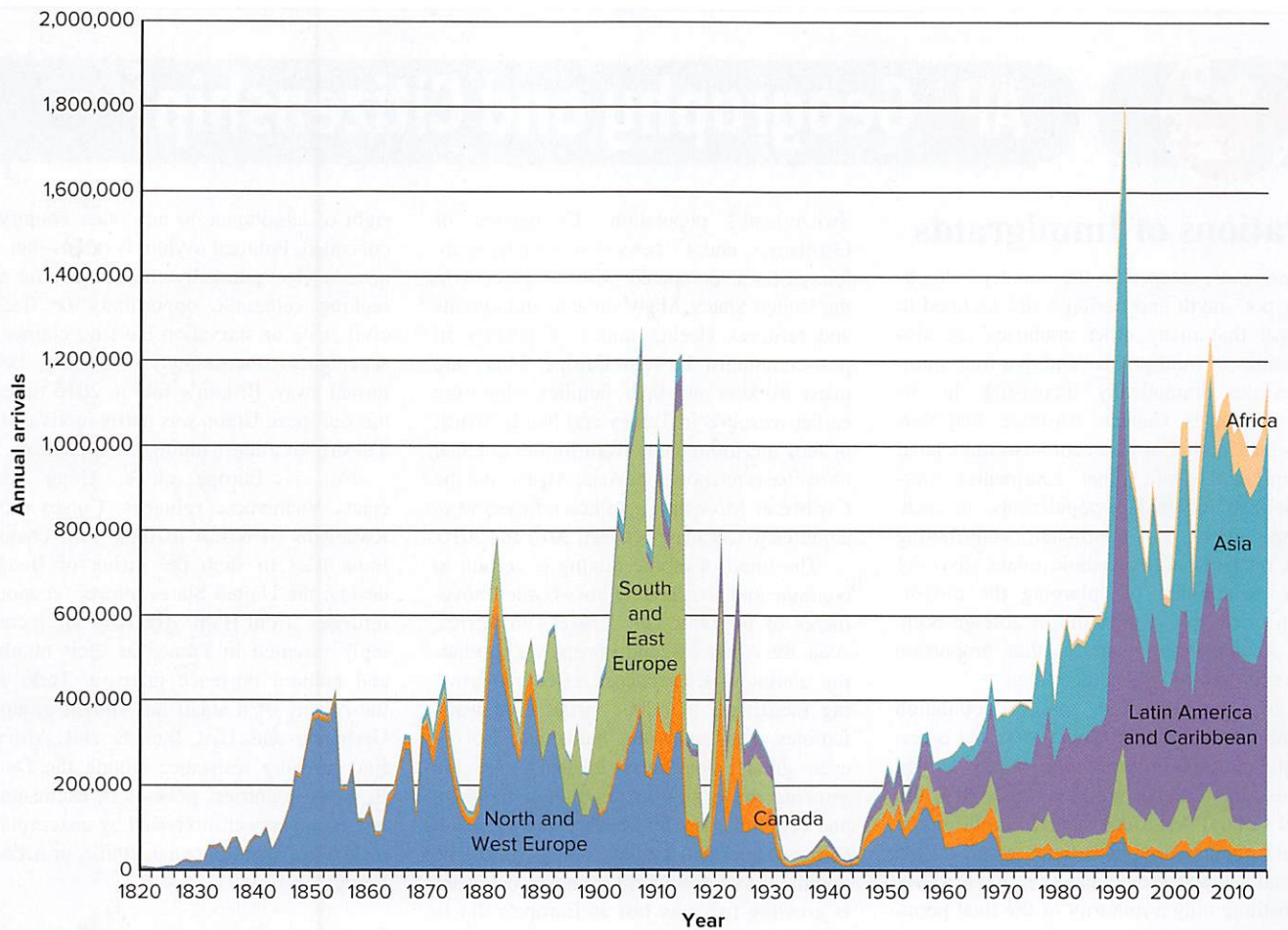
While the United States accepts the largest total number of immigrants of any country, and 13 percent of its population was born outside its borders, the proportion of the foreign-born population is even higher in Australia (28 percent) and Canada (22 percent). Canada experienced three quite different immigration streams (**Table 6.4**). Until 1760, most settlers came from France. After that date, the pattern abruptly altered as a flood of United Kingdom (English, Irish, and Scottish) immigrants arrived. Many came by way of the United States, fleeing, as

Table 6.3

**Immigrants to the United States:
Major Flows by Origin**

Ethnic Groups	Time Period	Numbers in Millions (approximate)
Blacks	1650s–1800	1
Irish	1840s and 1850s	1.75
Germans	1840s–1880s	4
Scandinavians	1870s–1900s	1.5
Poles	1880s–1920s	1.25
East European Jews	1880s–1920s	2.5
Austro-Hungarians	1880s–1920s	4
Italians	1880s–1920s	4.75
Mexicans	1950s–Present	13
Cubans	1960s–Present	1.4
Asians	1960s–Present	9

Loyalists, to Canada during and after the American Revolutionary War. Others came directly from overseas. Another pronounced shift in arrival patterns occurred during the 20th century as the bulk of new immigrants came from Continental Europe



AP Figure 6.4 Legal immigrants admitted to the United States by region of origin, 1820–2016. The graph clearly shows the dramatic change in geographic origins of immigrants and the effect of immigration restrictions, the Great Depression, and World War II. After 1965, immigration restrictions based on national origin were shifted to priorities based on family reunification and needed skills and professions.

Sources: Data from United States Department of Homeland Security, Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, annual.

Table 6.4

Canadian Population Ranked 2016

Rank	Ethnic Group	Total Number (millions)
1	Canadian	11.1 ¹
2	English	6.3
3	Scottish	4.8
4	French	4.7
5	Irish	4.6
6	German	3.3
7	Chinese	1.8
8	Italian	1.6
9	First Nations (North American Indian)	1.5
10	East Indian	1.4

¹Includes both single ethnic origin and multiple ethnic origin responses.

Source: Statistics Canada, 2017.

and Asia. Immigration accounts for the majority of Canada’s population growth.

The cultural diversity of the United States has increased as its immigration source regions have changed from the original European areas to Latin America and Asia, and both the number of visible and vocal ethnic communities and the number of regions housing significant minority populations have multiplied. Simultaneously, the proportion of foreign-born residents has increased in the U.S. population mix. In 1920, at the end of the period of the most active European immigration, more than 13 percent of the American population had been born in another country. That percentage declined each decade until a low of 4.8 percent foreign-born was reported in 1970 before rebounding in recent decades. As was the case during the 1920s, growing influxes from new immigrant source regions and, particularly, the large numbers of unauthorized entrants prompted movements to halt the flow and to preserve the ethnic status quo (see the feature “Porous Borders,” Chapter 3). During the 2016 U.S. presidential election campaign, candidates debated restrictions on travel from specific countries, immigration restrictions, and construction of a border wall between Mexico and the United States.



AP | Geography and Citizenship

Nations of Immigrants

Americans, steeped in the country's "melting pot" myth and heritage, are inclined to forget that many other countries are also "nations of immigrants" and that their numbers are dramatically increasing. In the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, early European colonists (and, later, immigrants from other continents) overwhelmed indigenous populations. In each, immigration has continued, contributing not only to national ethnic mixes diversity but maintaining or enlarging the proportion of the population that is foreign-born. In Australia and Canada, that proportion exceeds that of the United States.

In Latin America, foreign population domination of native peoples was and is less complete and uniform than in the United States and Canada. While in nearly all South and Central American states, European and other nonnative ethnic groups dominate the social and economic hierarchy, in a few they constitute only a minority of the total population. In Bolivia, for example, the vast majority (71 percent) pride themselves on their Native American descent, and Amerindians comprise between 25 percent and 55 percent of the populations of Bolivia, Guatemala, Peru, and Ecuador. Mestizo (mixed European and Amerindian ancestry) populations are the majority in many Latin American countries. But nonnative, largely European, ethnics make up essentially all—more than 94 percent—of the population of Argentina, Costa Rica, and southern Chile.

The original homelands of those immigrant groups are themselves increasingly becoming multiethnic, and several European countries are now home to as many or more of the foreign-born proportionately than is the United States. Some 25 percent of

Switzerland's population, 13 percent of Germany's, and 17 percent of Sweden's are foreign-born, compared with 13 percent in the United States. Many came as immigrants and refugees fleeing unrest or poverty in post-communist Eastern Europe. Many are guest workers and their families who were earlier recruited in Turkey and North Africa; or they are immigrants from former colonial or overseas territories in Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean. More than a million refugees were admitted to Germany between 2015 and 2016.

The trend of ethnic mixing is certain to continue and accelerate. Cross-border movements of migrants and refugees in Africa, Asia, the Americas, and Europe are continuing common occurrences, reflecting growing incidences of ethnic strife, civil wars, famines, and economic hardships. But of even greater long-term influence are the growing disparities in population numbers and economic wealth between the older developed states and the developing world. The population of the world's poorer countries is growing twice as fast as Europe's did in the late 19th century, when that continent fed the massive immigration streams across the Atlantic. The current rich world, whose fertility rates are below replacement levels, will increasingly be a magnet for those from poorer countries where fertility rates are high. The economic and population pressures building in the developing world and the below-replacement fertility rates in developed countries ensure greater international and intercontinental migration and a rapid expansion in the numbers of "nations of immigrants."

Many of those developed host countries are beginning to resist that flow. Although the Universal Declaration of Human Rights declares individuals are to be free to move within or to leave their own countries, no

right of admittance to any other country is conceded. Political asylum is often—but not necessarily—granted; refugees or migrants seeking economic opportunity or fleeing civil strife or starvation have no claims for acceptance. Increasingly, they are being turned away. Britain's vote in 2016 to leave the European Union was partly motivated by a desire for greater immigration controls.

Nor is Europe alone. Hong Kong ejects Vietnamese refugees; Congo orders Rwandans to return to their own country; India tries to stem the influx of Bangladeshis; the United States rejects "economic refugees" from Haiti. Algerians are increasingly resented in France as their numbers and cultural presence increase. Turks feel the enmity of a small but violent group of Germans, and East Indians and Africans find growing resistance among the Dutch. In many countries, policies of exclusion or restriction appear motivated by unacceptable influxes of specific racial, ethnic, or national groups.

Thinking Geographically

1. Is it appropriate that destination states distinguish between political and economic refugees? Support your position in a one-page essay.
2. Is it legitimate for countries to establish immigration quotas based on national origin? To classify certain potential immigrants as unacceptable or undesirable on the grounds that their national, racial, or religious origins are incompatible with the culture of the prospective host country? Choose one of these topics and create an oral presentation arguing your position. You may need to conduct research to learn more about the issue.

6.3 Acculturation and Assimilation

In the United States and Canada, at least, the sheer volume of multiple immigration streams makes the concept of "minority" suspect when no single "majority" ethnic group exists (see Table 6.2). Indeed, high rates of immigration and subreplacement fertility rates among whites have placed the country on the verge of becoming a state with no racial—as well as no ethnic—majority. By the mid-21st century, the United States will be truly

multiracial, with no group constituting more than 50 percent of the total population. Even now, American society is a composite of unity and diversity, with immigrants being both shaped by and shaping the larger community that they have joined.

Amalgamation theory is the formal term for the traditional "melting pot" concept of the merging of many immigrant ethnic heritages into a composite American mainstream. Dominant in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, amalgamation theory has more recently been rejected for a number of reasons. Recent experience

in Western European countries and the United States and Canada indicates that immigrants strongly retain and defend their ethnic identities. On a practical level, ethnic distinctiveness is buttressed by the current ease—through radio, telephone, Internet, television, and rapid transportation—of communication and identification with the homeland societies of immigrants. More importantly, multiculturalism acknowledges the unique value of the world’s diverse cultures. In an era of space-time compression, when the world seems to be getting smaller and the pace of change is accelerating, ethnic identities may offer reassuring stability. The old melting pot concept of the United States has largely dissolved, replaced with a greater emphasis on preserving the diverse cultural heritages of the country’s many ethnic components.

Nonetheless, as we shall see, all immigrant groups find a controlling host group culture in place, with accustomed patterns of behavior and a dominant language for the workplace and government. The customs and practices of the host society have to be learned by newcomers if they are to be accepted. The process of **acculturation** is the adoption by the immigrants of the values, attitudes, ways of behavior, and speech of the receiving society. In the process, the ethnic group loses much of its separate cultural identity as it comes to accept the culture of the larger host community. It may, however, resist total absorption into the host society and proudly retain identifying features of its distinctive ethnic heritage: adherence to an ethnic worship center, celebration of traditional national or religious holidays with parades or festivals, and the like. To the extent that those ethnic retentions and identifications are long-lasting and characteristic of multiple ethnic groups, the presumed ideal of the melting pot is unattained, and a “salad bowl” ethnic mixture is the result.

Although acculturation most usually involves a minority group adopting the patterns of the dominant population,

the process can be reciprocal. That is, the dominant group may also adopt at least some patterns and practices typical of new minority groups and become a “lumpy stew,” in which the immigrant groups maintain their identities while both taking on the flavor of the host society and adding new flavor to the broader societal mix. New music and dance styles, ethnic foods, and a broadened selection of fruits and vegetables are familiar evidences of those immigrant contributions. For example, the most popular evening meal in the United Kingdom is curry—a dish brought by Indian and Pakistani immigrants.

Acculturation is a slow process for many immigrant individuals and groups, and the parent tongue may be retained as an identifying feature even after fashions of dress, food, and customary behavior have been substantially altered in the new environment. In 2016, one in five Americans above the age of 5 spoke a language other than English in the home; for almost two-thirds of them, that language was Spanish. In the light of recent immigration trends, we can assume that the number of people speaking a foreign language at home will only increase. The retention of the native tongue is encouraged rather than hindered by American civil rights regulations that give to new immigrants the right to bilingual education and (in some cases) special assistance in voting in their own language.

The language barrier that has made it difficult for foreign-born groups, past and present, to gain quick entrance to the labor force has encouraged their high rate of employment in small, family-held businesses. The consequence has been a continuing stimulus to the American economy and, through the creation of new neighborhood enterprises, the maintenance of the ethnic character of immigrant communities (**Figure 6.5**). The result has also been the gradual integration of the new arrivals into the economic and cultural mainstream of American society.



Figure 6.5 Immigrant neighborhoods exhibit a different mix of business than do established, older-majority neighborhoods. Food stores and specialty shops catering to the ethnic group predominate.

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When an ethnic group can no longer be distinguished from the wider society, full **assimilation** has occurred. Full assimilation goes beyond acculturation; it implies integration into a common cultural life through shared experience, language, intermarriage, and sense of history. Assimilation of an ethnic group involves upward social and economic mobility, employment in a full range of occupations, establishment of social ties with members of the host society, and the adoption of prevailing attitudes and values. Employment segregation and intermarriage rates are important measures of assimilation. Assimilation is a two-way street. Not only does it require immigrant groups to absorb majority cultural values and practices, but it also demands that the majority society give full acceptance to members of the minority group and allow them to rise to positions of authority and power. Because where we live reflects our social status and influences our social ties and experiences, full assimilation is inevitably spatial. **Spatial assimilation** is measured by the degree of residential segregation that sets off the minority group from the larger general community. For most of the “old” (pre-1921 European) immigrants and their descendants, assimilation is complete. Most indicative of at least individual if not total group assimilation is election or appointment to high public office and business leadership positions. The 2008 election of President Barack Obama was an important marker of the assimilation of African Americans in the United States.

Assimilation is frequently partial, or segmented. Assimilation does not necessarily mean that ethnic consciousness or awareness of racial and cultural differences is lost. Evidence suggests that as ethnic minorities begin to achieve success and enter into mainstream social, political, and economic life, awareness of ethnic differences may be heightened. Frequently, ethnic identity may be most clearly experienced and expressed by those who can most successfully assimilate but who choose to promote group awareness and ethnic mobilization movements. That promotion is a reflection of pressures of American urban life and the realities of increased competition. Those pressures transform formerly isolated groups into recognized, self-assertive ethnic minorities pursuing goals and interests dependent on their position within the larger society.

While in the United States, it is usually expected that ethnic groups will undergo full assimilation, Canada established multiculturalism in the 1970s as a national policy. It was designed to reduce tensions between ethnic and language groups and to recognize that each thriving culture is an important part of the country’s heritage. Since 1988, multiculturalism has been formalized by an act of the Canadian parliament and supervised by a separate government ministry. An example of its practical application can be seen in the way Toronto, Canada’s largest and the world’s most multicultural city routinely sends out property tax notices in six languages—English, French, Chinese, Italian, Greek, and Portuguese.

Australia, Canada, and the United States seek to incorporate their immigrant minorities into composite national societies. In other countries, quite different attitudes and circumstances may prevail when indigenous—not immigrant—minorities feel their cultures and territories being threatened. The Sinhalese comprise 75 percent of Sri Lanka’s population, but the minority Tamils waged years of guerrilla warfare to defend what they see as majority threats

to their culture, rights, and property. In India, Kashmiri nationalists fight to separate their largely Muslim valley from the Hindu majority society. Expanding ethnic minorities made up nearly 8.5 percent of China’s 2000 population total. Some, including Tibetans, Mongols, and Uighurs, face assimilation largely because of massive migrations of ethnic Chinese into their traditional homelands. And in many multiethnic African countries, single-party governments seek to impose a sense of national unity on populations whose primary loyalties are rooted in their tribes and regions and not the state that is composed of many tribes (see Figure 12.5). Across the world, conflicts among ethnic groups within states have proliferated in recent years. Armenia, Azerbaijan, Burma, Burundi, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Iraq, Russia, Rwanda, and the former Yugoslavia are others in a long list of countries where ethnic tensions have erupted into civil conflict.

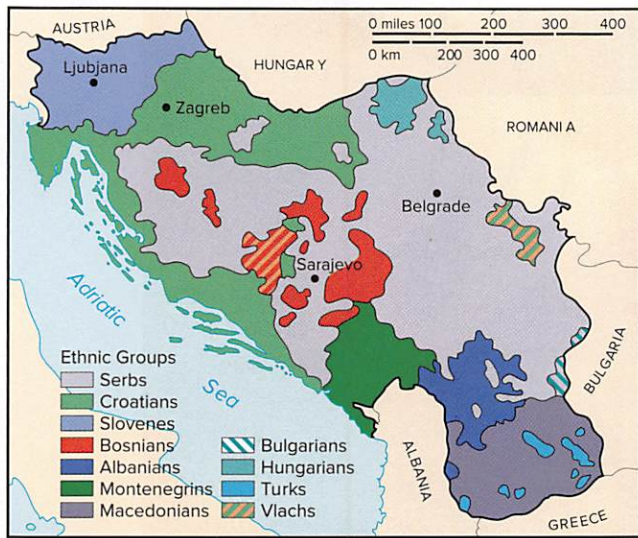
Basques and Catalans of Spain and Corsicans, Bretons, and Normans of France have only recently seen their respective central governments relax strict prohibitions on teaching or using the languages that identified those ethnic groups. On the other hand, in Bulgaria, ethnic Turks, who unofficially comprise 10 percent of the total population, officially ceased to exist in 1984 (at least temporarily) when the government obliged Turkish speakers and Muslims to replace their Turkish and Islamic names with Bulgarian and Christian ones. The government also banned their language and strictly limited practice of their religion. The intent was to impose assimilation.

Elsewhere, ethnic minorities—including immigrant minorities—have grown into majority groups, posing the question of who will assimilate whom. Ethnic Fijians sought to resolve that issue by staging a coup to retain political power when the majority immigrant ethnic Indians came to power by election in 1987, and another in 2000 after the election of an ethnic-Indian prime minister. As these and innumerable other examples from all continents demonstrate, North American experiences and expectations have limited application to other societies differently constituted and motivated.

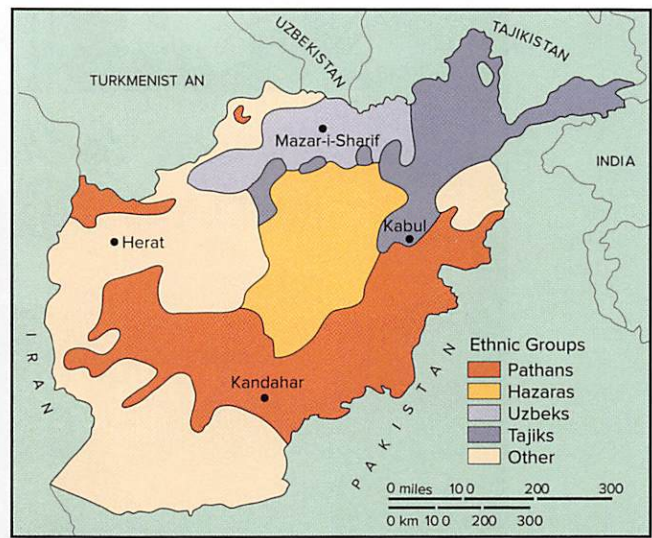
Areal Expressions of Ethnicity

Throughout much of the world, the close association between territory and ethnicity is well recognized and sometimes politically disruptive. Indigenous ethnic groups have developed over time in specific locations and, through ties of kinship, language, culture, religion, and shared history, have established themselves in their own and others’ eyes as distinctive peoples with defined homeland areas. The boundaries of most countries encompass a number of racial or ethnic minorities, whose demands for special territorial recognition have increased rather than diminished with advances in economic development, education, and self-awareness (Figure 6.6).

The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, for example, not only set free the 14 ethnically based union republics that formerly had been dominated by Russia and Russians, but also opened the way for many smaller ethnic groups—the Chechens of the northern Caucasus, for example—to seek recognition and greater local control from the majority populations, including Russians, within whose territory their homelands lay. In Asia, the



(a)



(b)

Figure 6.6 (a) Ethnicity in former Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia was formed after World War I (1914–1918) from a patchwork of Balkan states and territories, including the former kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia-Slavonia, and Dalmatia. The authoritarian central government, created in 1945 and led by Josip Broz Tito, tried to forge a new Yugoslav ethnic identity but failed when in 1991, Serb minorities voted for regional independence. In response, Serb guerrillas backed by the Serb-dominated Yugoslav military engaged in a policy of territorial seizure and “ethnic cleansing” to secure areas claimed as traditional Serb “homelands.” Religious differences between Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Muslim adherents compound the conflicts rooted in nationality. (b) Afghanistan houses Pathan, Tajik, Uzbek, and Hazara ethnic groups speaking Pashto, Dari Persian, Uzbek, and several minor languages, and split between majority Sunni and minority Shia Moslem believers. Ethnic and local warlord rivalries and regional guerilla resistance to the central government, supported by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), contribute to national instability.

The Rising Tide of Nationalism

In recent decades, we have seen spreading ethnic self-assertion and demands for national independence and cultural purification of homeland territories. To some, these demands and the conflicts they frequently engender are the expected consequences of the decline of strong central governments and imperial controls. It has happened before. The collapse of the Roman and the Holy Roman empires were followed by the emergence of many new kingdoms and city-states during medieval and Renaissance Europe. The fall of Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire after World War I saw the creation of new ethnically based countries in Eastern Europe. The brief decline of post-czarist Russia permitted freedom for Finland, and, for 20 years, for Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The disintegration of British, French, and Dutch

colonial control after World War II resulted in new state formation in Africa, South and East Asia, and Oceania.

Few empires have collapsed as rapidly and completely as did that of the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In the subsequent loss of strong central authority, the ethnic nationalisms that communist governments had for so long tried to suppress asserted themselves in independence movements. At one scale, the Commonwealth of Independent States and the republics of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Georgia emerged from the former Soviet Union. At a lesser territorial scale, ethnic animosities and assertions led to bloodshed in the Caucasian republics of the former USSR, in former Yugoslavia (see Figure 6.6a), in Moldova, and elsewhere, while Czechs and

Slovaks agreed to peacefully go their separate ways at the start of 1993.

Democracies, too, risk disintegration or division along ethnic, tribal, or religious lines, at least before legal protections for minorities are firmly in place. Voter referenda on independence of Scotland from the United Kingdom and Catalonia from Spain are recent examples. African states with their multiple ethnic loyalties (see Figure 12.5 in Chapter 12) have frequently used those divisions to justify restricting political freedoms and continuing one-party rule. However, past and present ethnically inspired civil wars and regional revolts in Somalia, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Uganda, Liberia, Angola, Rwanda, Burundi, and elsewhere show the fragility of the political structure on that continent.



Figure 6.7 Although all of North America was once theirs alone, Native Americans have become now part of a larger cultural mix. In the United States, their areas of domination have been reduced to reservations found largely in the western half of the country and to the ethnic provinces shown in Figure 6.10. These are often areas to which Amerindian groups were relocated, not necessarily the territories occupied by their ancestors at the time of European colonization.

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Indian subcontinent was subdivided to create separate countries with primarily religious-territorial affiliations, and the country of India itself has adjusted the boundaries of its constituent states to accommodate linguistic-ethnic realities. Other continents and countries show a similar acceptance of the importance of ethnic territoriality in their administrative structure (see the feature “The Rising Tide of Nationalism”).

With the exceptions of the Québécois (French Canadians) and some Native American groups, the United States and Canada lack the ethnic homelands that are so characteristic elsewhere in the world (Figure 6.7). The general absence of such claims is the result of the immigrant nature of American society. Even the Native American “homeland” reservations in the United States are dispersed, noncontiguous, and in large part artificial impositions.² In general, Native Americans were displaced from potentially productive agricultural lands and are today concentrated in the Arizona-New Mexico border region, Great Plains, and Oklahoma. The spatial pattern of ethnicity that has developed in North America is not based on absolute ethnic dominance but on interplay between a majority culture and, usually, several competing minority groups. It shows the enduring consequences of early settlement and the changing structure of a fluid, responsive, mobile North American society.

²In Canada, a basic tenet of Aboriginal policy since 1993 has been the recognition of the inherent right of self-government under Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution. The territory of Nunavut, the central and eastern portion of the earlier Northwest Territories, is based largely on Inuit land claims and came into existence as a self-governing district in 1999.

Amerindians were never a single ethnic or cultural group and cannot be compared to a European national immigrant group in homogeneity. Arriving over many thousands of years, from many different origin points, with different languages, physical characteristics, customs, and skills, they are in no way comparable to a culturally uniform Irish or Slovak ethnic group arriving during the 19th century, or Salvadorans or Koreans during the 21st. Unlike most other minorities in the American melting pot, Amerindians have generally rejected the goal of full and complete assimilation into the national mainstream culture.

Charter Cultures

Except for the Québécois and Native Americans, no single ethnic minority homeland area exists in the United States and Canada today. However, a number of separate social and ethnic groups are of sufficient size and regional concentration to have put their impression on particular areas. Part of that imprint results from what the geographer Wilbur Zelinsky termed the “doctrine of first effective settlement.” That principle holds that

Whenever an empty territory undergoes settlement, or an earlier population is dislodged by invaders, the specific characteristics of the first group able to effect a viable, self-perpetuating society are of crucial significance for the later social and cultural geography of the area, no matter how tiny the initial band of settlers may have been.³

³*The Cultural Geography of the United States*. Rev. ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1992), p. 13.

On the North American stage, the English and their affiliates, although few in number, were the first effective entrants in the eastern United States, and they shared with the French that role in eastern Canada. Although the French were ousted from parts of Seaboard Canada, they retained their cultural and territorial dominance in Quebec province. In the United States, British immigrants (English, Welsh, Scottish, and Scotch-Irish) constituted the main portion of the new settlers in eastern Colonial America and retained their significance in the immigrant stream until after 1870.

The English, particularly, became the **charter group**, the dominant first arrivals establishing the cultural norms and standards against which other immigrant groups were measured. It is understandable, then, in the light of Zelinsky's "doctrine," that English became the national language; English common law became the foundation of the American legal system; British philosophers influenced the considerations and debates leading to the U.S. Constitution; English place names predominate in much of the country; and the influence of English literature and music remains strong. By their early arrival and initial dominance, the British established the majority culture of the United States and Canada; their enduring ethnic impact is felt even today.

Somewhat comparable to the British domination in the East is the Hispanic influence in the Southwest. Spanish and Mexican explorers established settlements in New Mexico a generation before the Pilgrims arrived at Plymouth Rock. Spanish-speaking

El Paso and Santa Fe were prospering before Jamestown, Virginia, was founded in 1607. Although subsequently incorporated into an expanding "Anglo"-controlled cultural realm and dominated by it, the early established Hispanic culture, reinforced by continuing immigration, has proved enduringly effective. From Texas to California, Spanish-derived social, economic, legal, and cultural institutions and traditions remain an integral part of contemporary life—from language, art, folklore, and names on the land through Spanish water law to land ownership patterns reflecting Spanish tenure systems.

Ethnic Islands

Because the British already occupied much of the agricultural land of the East, other, later immigrant streams from Europe were forced to "leapfrog" those areas and seek settlement opportunities farther west. Those groups who arrived after most of the productive agricultural lands were claimed ended up settling in mining or manufacturing areas. The Germans of the Appalachian uplands, the Middle West, and Texas, Scandinavians in Minnesota and the Dakotas, the various Slavic groups farther west on the Plains, and Italians in California are examples of later arrivals occupying and becoming identified with different sections of the United States. Such areas of ethnic concentration are known as **ethnic islands**, the dispersed and rural counterparts of urban ethnic neighborhoods (Figure 6.8).

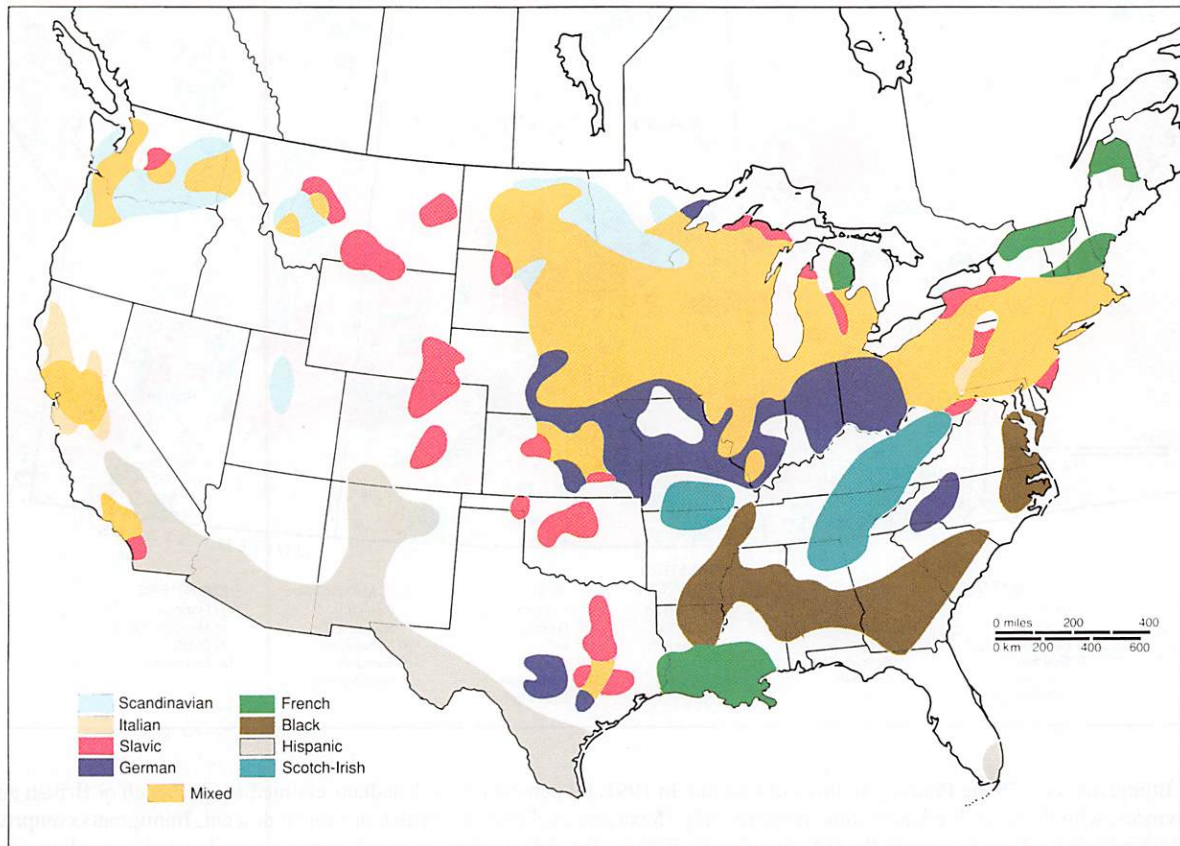


Figure 6.8 Ethnic islands in the United States.

Source: Russel Gerlach, *Settlement Patterns in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), p. 41.

Characterized usually by a strong sense of community, ethnic islands frequently placed their distinctive imprint on the rural landscape by retaining home-country barn and house styles and farmstead layouts, while their inhabitants may have retained their own language, manner of dress, and customs. With the passing of generations, rural ethnic identity has tended to diminish, and recent adaptations and dispersions have occurred. When long-enduring through spatial isolation or group determination, ethnic islands have tended to be considered landscape expressions of folk culture rather than purely ethnic culture; we shall return to them in that context in Chapter 7.

Similar concentrations of immigrant arrivals are found in Canada. Descendants of French and British immigrants dominate its ethnic structure, both occupying primary areas too large to be considered ethnic islands. Ethnic islands are most pronounced on the agricultural lands of the Western Prairie provinces, where Ukrainians are the third-largest group. The ethnic diversity of that central portion of Canada is suggested by **Figure 6.9**.

European immigrants arriving in the United States and Canada by the middle of the 19th century frequently took up

tracts of rural land as groups rather than as individuals, assuring the creation of at least small ethnic islands. German and Ukrainian Mennonites in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, for example; Doukhobors in Saskatchewan; Mennonites in Alberta; Hutterites in South Dakota, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta; the Pennsylvania Dutch (whose name is a corruption of *Deutsch*, or “German,” their true nationality); Frisians in Illinois; and other ethnic groups settled as collectives. They sometimes acted on the advice and the land descriptions reported by advance agents sent out by the group. In most cases, sizable extents of rural territory received the imprint of a group of immigrants acting in concert. However, later in the century and in the less arable sections of the western United States, the disappearance of land available for homesteading and the changing nature of immigrant flows reduced the incidence of cluster settlement. Impoverished individuals rather than financially solid communities sought American refuge and found it in urban locations. While cluster migration created some ethnic concentrations of North America—in the Carolinas, Wisconsin, Kansas, Nebraska, and Oklahoma, for example—others evolved from the cumulative effect of

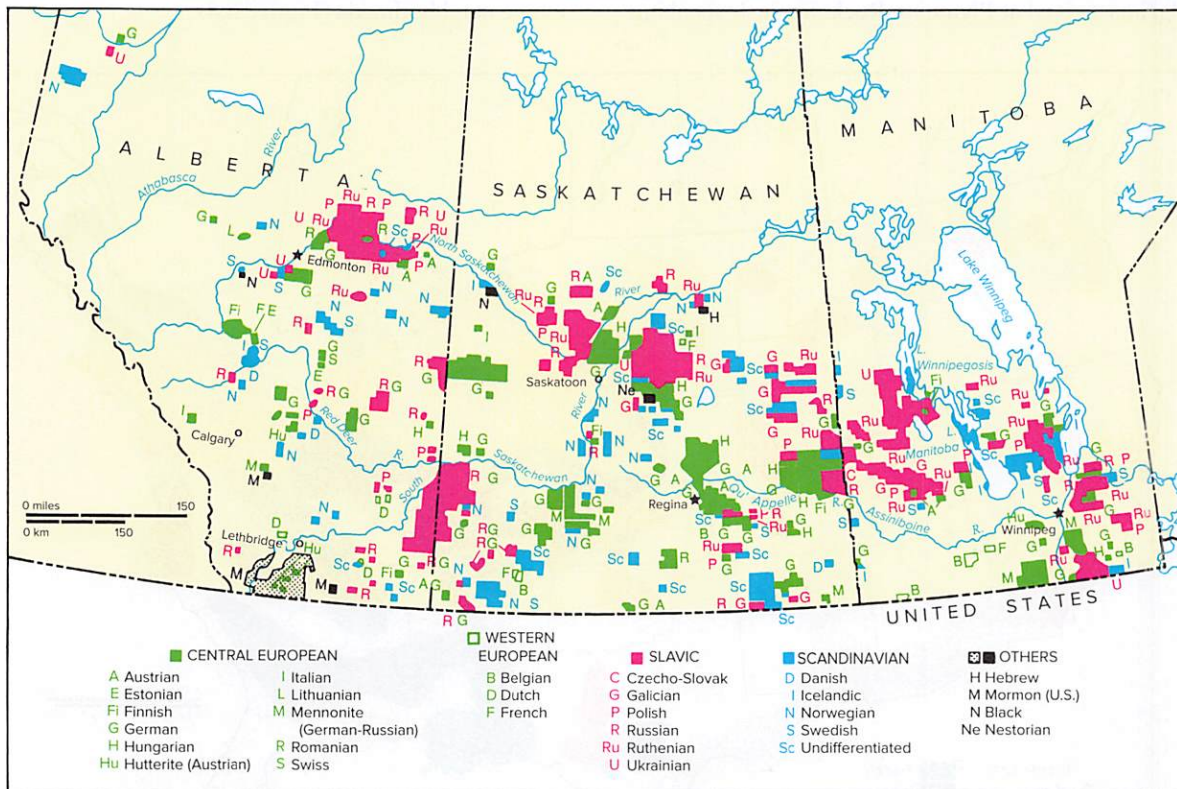


Figure 6.9 Ethnic diversity in the Prairie provinces of Canada. In 1991, 69 percent of all Canadians claimed some French or British ancestry. For the Prairie provinces, with their much greater ethnic mixture, only 15 percent declared any British or French descent. Immigrants comprise a larger share of Canadian population than they do of the U.S. population. Early in the 20th century, most newcomers were located in rural western Canada; and by 1921, about half the population of the Prairie provinces was foreign-born. Recent immigrants are mostly from Asia and concentrated in the three largest metropolitan centers of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver.

Source: D.G.G. Kerr, *A Historical Atlas of Canada*, 2nd ed., 1966. Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1966.

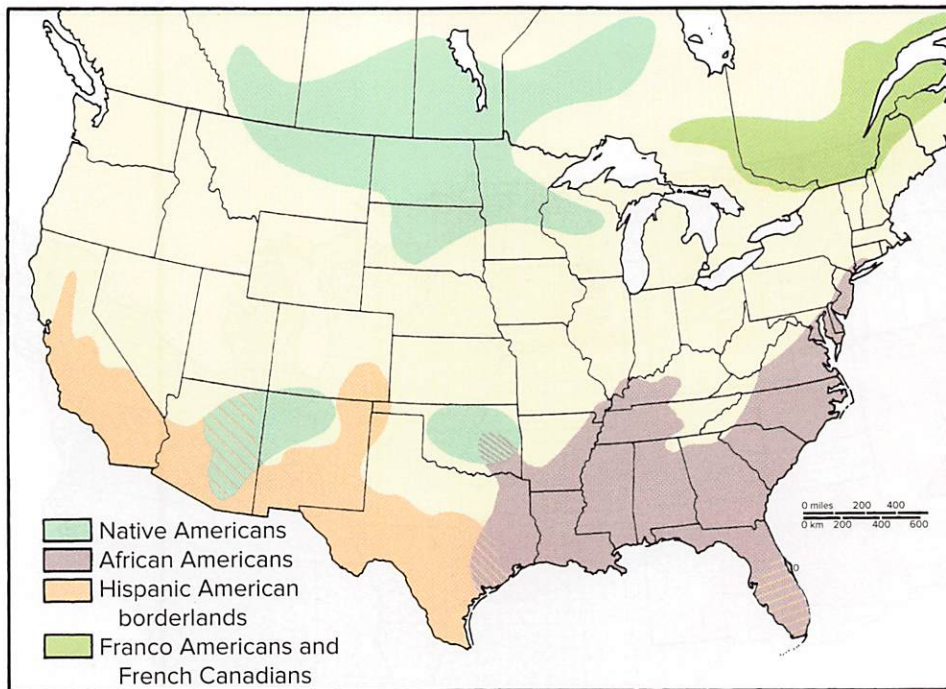


Figure 6.10 Four North American ethnic groups and their provinces. Note how this generalized map differs from the more detailed picture of ethnic distributions shown in Figure 6.8.

chain migration—the assemblage in one area of the relatives, friends, or unconnected compatriots of the first arrivals, attracted both by favorable reports and by familiar presences in specific locales of the New World (see Section 3.5).

Some entire regions of North America—vastly larger than the distinctive ethnic islands—have become associated with larger ethnic or racial aggregations numbering in the thousands or millions. Such **ethnic provinces** include French Canadians in Quebec; African Americans in the southeast United States; Native Americans in Oklahoma, the Southwest, the Northern Plains, and Prairie provinces; and Hispanics in the southern border states of the western United States (Figure 6.10). The spatial distribution of Native Americans reflects a history of forced relocations onto reservations (Figure 6.11). The identification of distinctive communities with extensive regional units persists, even though ethnicity and race have not been fully reliable bases for dividing North America into regions. Cultural, ethnic, and racial mixing has been too complete to permit U.S. counterparts of Old World ethnic homelands to develop, even in the instance of the now-inappropriate association of African Americans with southern states.

The Black or African American Population

African Americans, involuntary immigrants to the continent, were nearly exclusively confined to rural areas of the South and Southeast prior to the Civil War (Figure 6.12). Even after emancipation, most remained on the land in the South. During the

first two-thirds of the 20th century, however, those established patterns of southern rural residence and farm employment underwent profound changes. The decline of subsistence farming and share-cropping, the mechanization of southern agriculture, the demand for factory labor in northern cities starting with World War I (1914–1918), and the general urbanization of the American economy all induced African Americans to abandon the South in a “great migration” northward in search of manufacturing jobs and greater social equality.

Created by the U.S. Coast Survey using 1860 Census data, the map shown in Figure 6.12 was perhaps the first choropleth map depicting human geographic data. The map was useful in the Union’s war efforts, convincing the public that slavery was the root cause of the war and showing that some sections of the South (such as Appalachia) had few slaves. Note the sharp difference in slave populations between the eastern and western sections of Virginia. That difference led to the secession of West Virginia from Virginia in 1862.

Between 1940 and 1970, more than 5 million African Americans left their homes in the South, in the largest internal ethnic migration ever experienced in the United States. A modest return migration of, particularly, middle-class African Americans that began in the 1970s picked up speed during the 1980s and gave evidence of being a reverse “great migration” in the past decades. That return movement, encouraged by an improving economic and racial environment in the South and by African Americans’ enduring strong cultural and family ties, suggests a net inflow to the South of some 3 million African Americans between 1975 and 2010—more than half of the post-1940 out-migration. Prominent in that reverse flow are

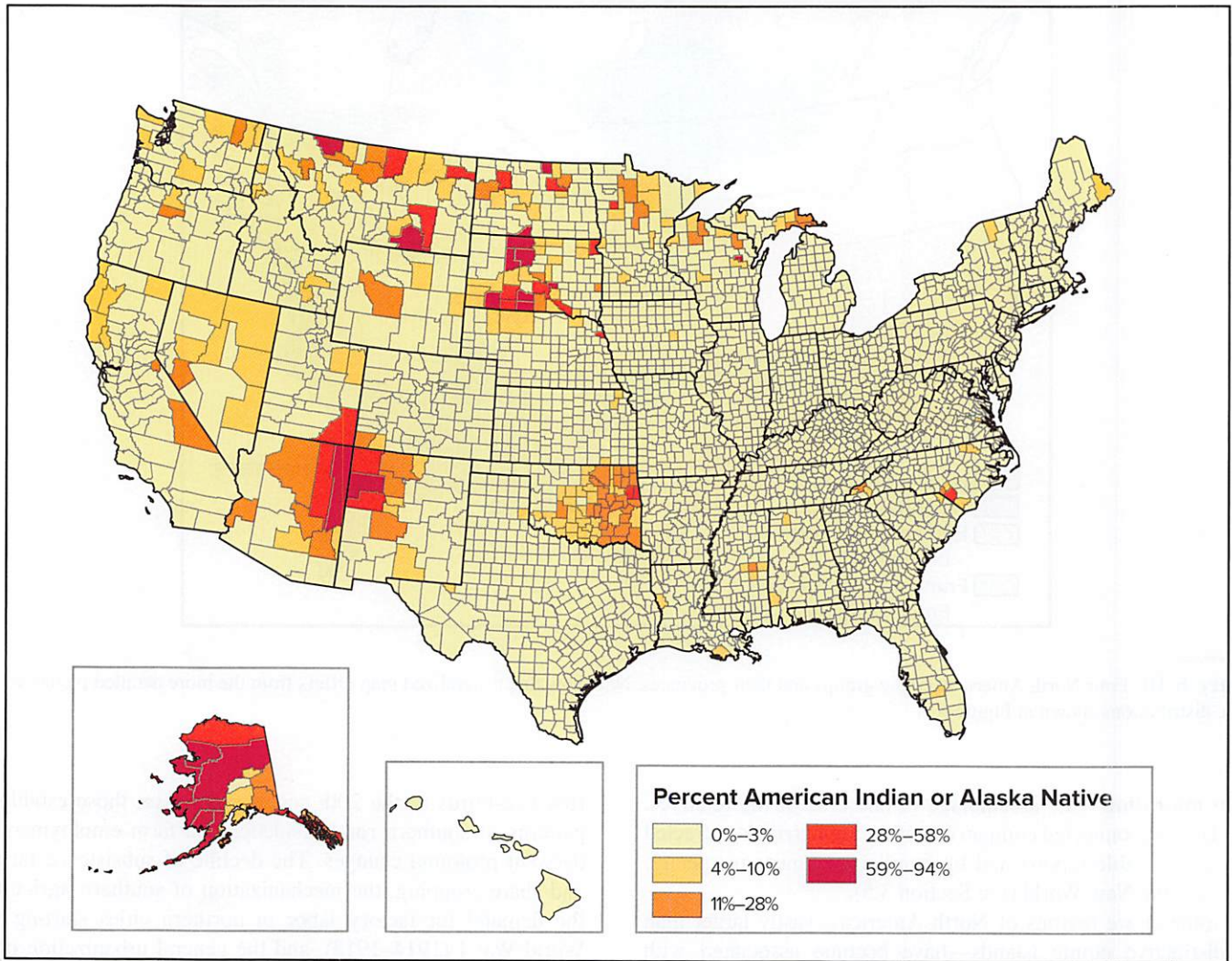


Figure 6.11 American Indian and Alaska Native populations, 2016.

African American professionals leaving such northern strongholds as Chicago, Detroit, and Philadelphia and settling in the suburbs of Atlanta, Charlotte, Dallas, Houston, Miami, and other Sunbelt metropolitan areas.

The growing African American population (about 13 percent of all Americans) is more urbanized than the general population and yet retains evidence of its rural roots in the former Confederacy states of the South (**Figure 6.13**). The South is home to more than half of the African American population.

Black Americans, like Asian Americans and Hispanics, have had thrust on them an assumed common ethnicity that does not, in fact, exist. Because of prominent physical or linguistic characteristics, quite dissimilar ethnic groups have been categorized by the white, English-speaking majority in ways totally at odds with the realities of their separate national origins or cultural inheritances. Although the U.S. Census Bureau makes some attempt to subdivide Asian ethnic groups—Chinese, Filipino, and Korean, for example—these are distinctions not necessarily recognized by members of the white majority. But even the Census Bureau, in its summary statistics, has treated “Black” and

“Hispanic Origin” as catchall classifications that suggest ethnic uniformities where none necessarily exist.

In the case of African Americans, such categorizing is of decreasing relevance for two reasons. First, immigration has made the black population increasingly heterogeneous. Between 1970 and 2016, the share of foreign-born in the black community rose from a little more than 1 percent to about 10 percent. The immigrants originated in many countries of the Caribbean and Africa, with the largest percentages coming from Haiti, Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, and Nigeria. Second, the earlier overwhelmingly rural Southern black community has become subdivided along socioeconomic rather than primarily regional lines, the result of its 20th-century spatial mobility encouraged by northern industrial job opportunities first apparent during World War I and continuing through the 1960s. Government intervention, which mandated and promoted racial equality, further opened the way for the creation of black urban middle and upper income and professional groups. Now, by separate experiences, African Americans have become as diversified as other ethnic or racial groups.

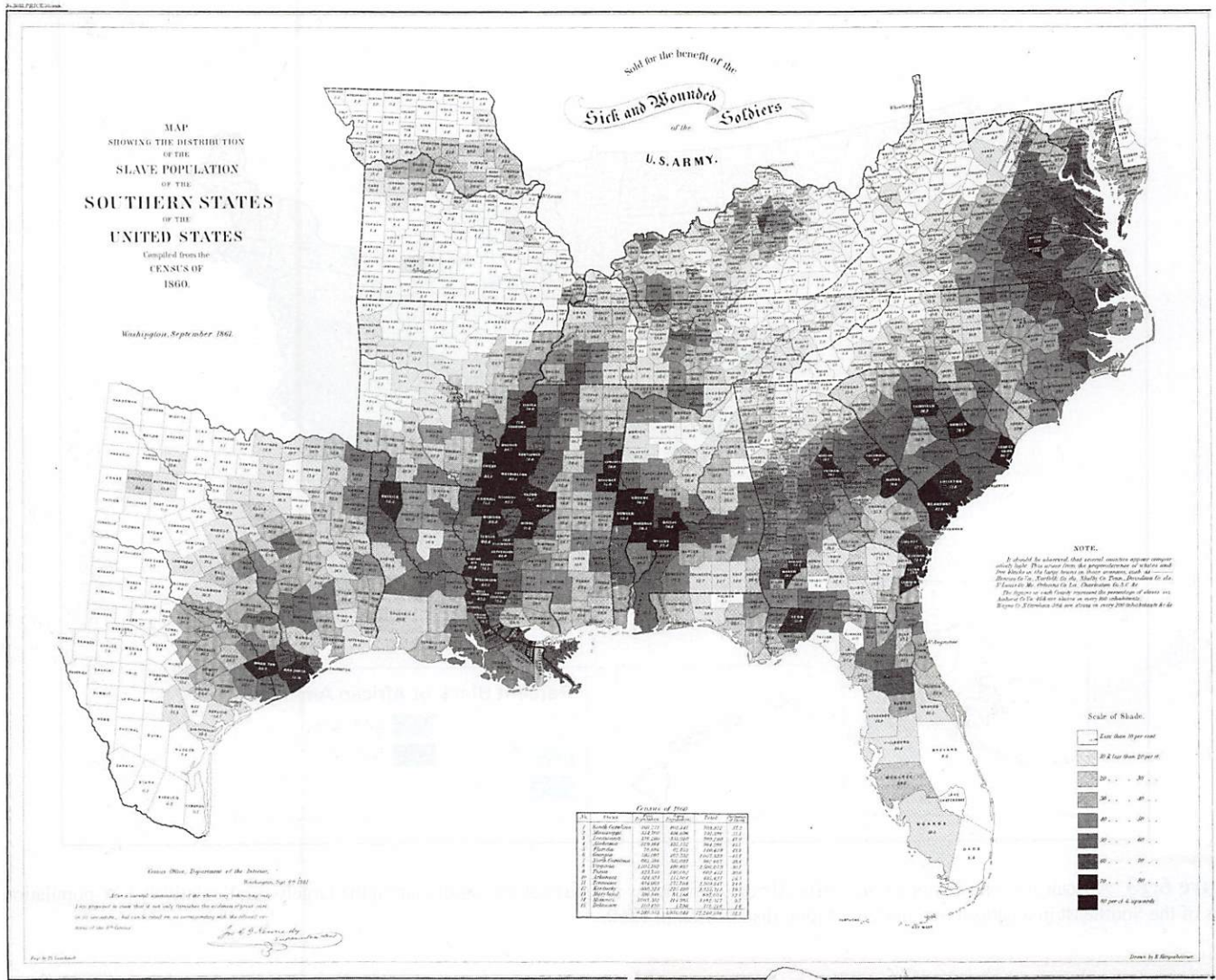


Figure 6.12 Slave population, 1860. The map shows the percentage of slaves in the total population, with darker shading indicating areas of high concentration such as South Carolina and the Mississippi Delta.
Source: Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division (g3861ecw0013200).

Hispanic Concentrations

Similarly, the members of the multiracial, multinational, and multicultural composite population lumped by the Census Bureau into the single category of “Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin” are not a homogeneous group. Indeed, it was the Census Bureau, not the group itself, that created the concept and distinct ethnic category of “Hispanics.” Prior to 1980, no such composite group existed.

Hispanic Americans are a diverse group. By commonly used racial categories, they may also be white, black, or Native American; more than 50 percent of Hispanic Americans, in fact, report themselves to be white and more than one-third reported “some other race.” Individually, they are highly diversified by country and culture of origin. Collectively, they also constitute the most rapidly growing minority component of U.S. residents—accounting for half of the country’s population growth between

2000 and 2010, and surpassing African Americans as the largest minority, as **Table 6.5** indicates. By 2016, the Hispanic population had grown to 57 million—18 percent of the U.S. population.

Mexican Americans account for about two-thirds of all Hispanic Americans (**Table 6.6**). Their highest concentrations are located in the southwestern states that constitute the ethnic province called the Hispanic American borderland (**Figure 6.14**). Beginning in the 1940s, the Mexican populations in the United States became increasingly urbanized and dispersed, losing their earlier primary identification as agricultural *braceros* (seasonal laborers) and as residents of the rural areas of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. California rapidly increased its Mexican American populations, as did the Midwest, particularly the chain of industrial cities near Chicago. Wherever they settled in the United States, Mexican immigrants represented a loss to their home country of a significant portion of its labor force and most educated residents.

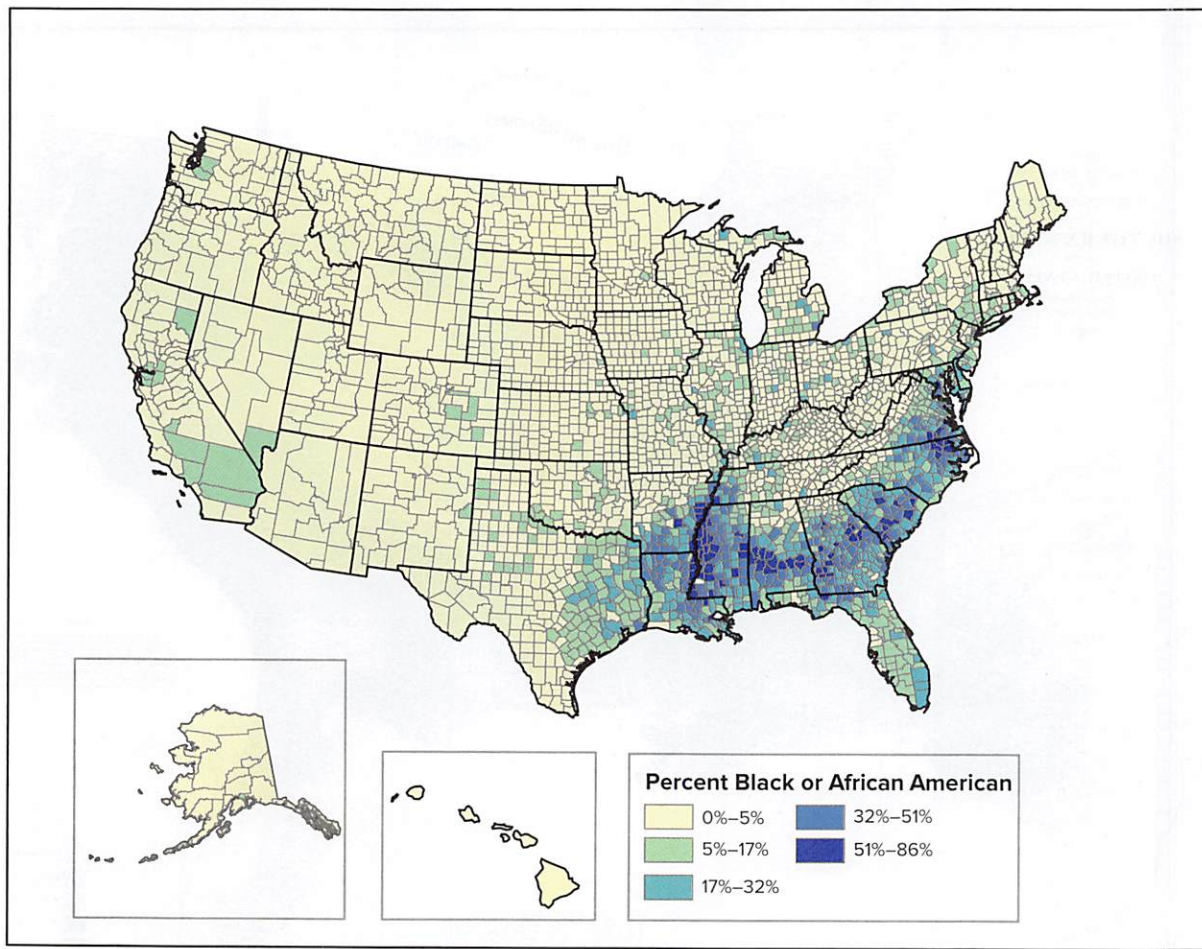


Figure 6.13 African American population, 2016. African Americans are particularly significant in the largely rural, relatively low-population states of the Southeast in a pattern reminiscent of their distribution in 1860.

Table 6.5

**Actual and Projected U.S. Population Mix:
2000, 2016, 2030, and 2060**

Population Group	Percent of Total			
	2000	2016	2030	2060
Non-Hispanic White (one race)	69.1	61.3	55.8	44.3
Hispanic or Latino	12.5	17.8	21.1	27.5
Black or African American (one race)	12.3	13.3	13.8	15.0
American Indian/Alaska Native (one race)	0.9	1.3	1.3	1.4
Asian/Pacific Islander (one race)	3.7	5.9	7.1	9.4
Two or More Races	2.4	2.6	3.6	6.2

Note: Black, Asian, and Native American categories exclude Hispanics, who may be of any race.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Projected Race and Hispanic Origin, 2017–2060*. Totals do not round to 100 percent because of “other race” category and because Hispanics may be of any race.

Table 6.6

Composition of U.S. Hispanic Population, 2016

Hispanic Subgroup	Number (millions)	Percent
Mexican	35.1	63.6
Puerto Rican	5.3	9.6
Central American	5.0	9.1
South American	3.3	6.1
Cuban	2.1	3.8
Dominican	1.8	3.2
Other Hispanic origin ^a	2.6	4.7
Total Hispanic or Latino	55.2	100

^a“Other Hispanics” includes those with origins in Spain or who identify themselves as “Hispanic,” “Latino,” “Spanish American,” and so on.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *American Community Survey, 2012–2016 5-Year Estimates*.

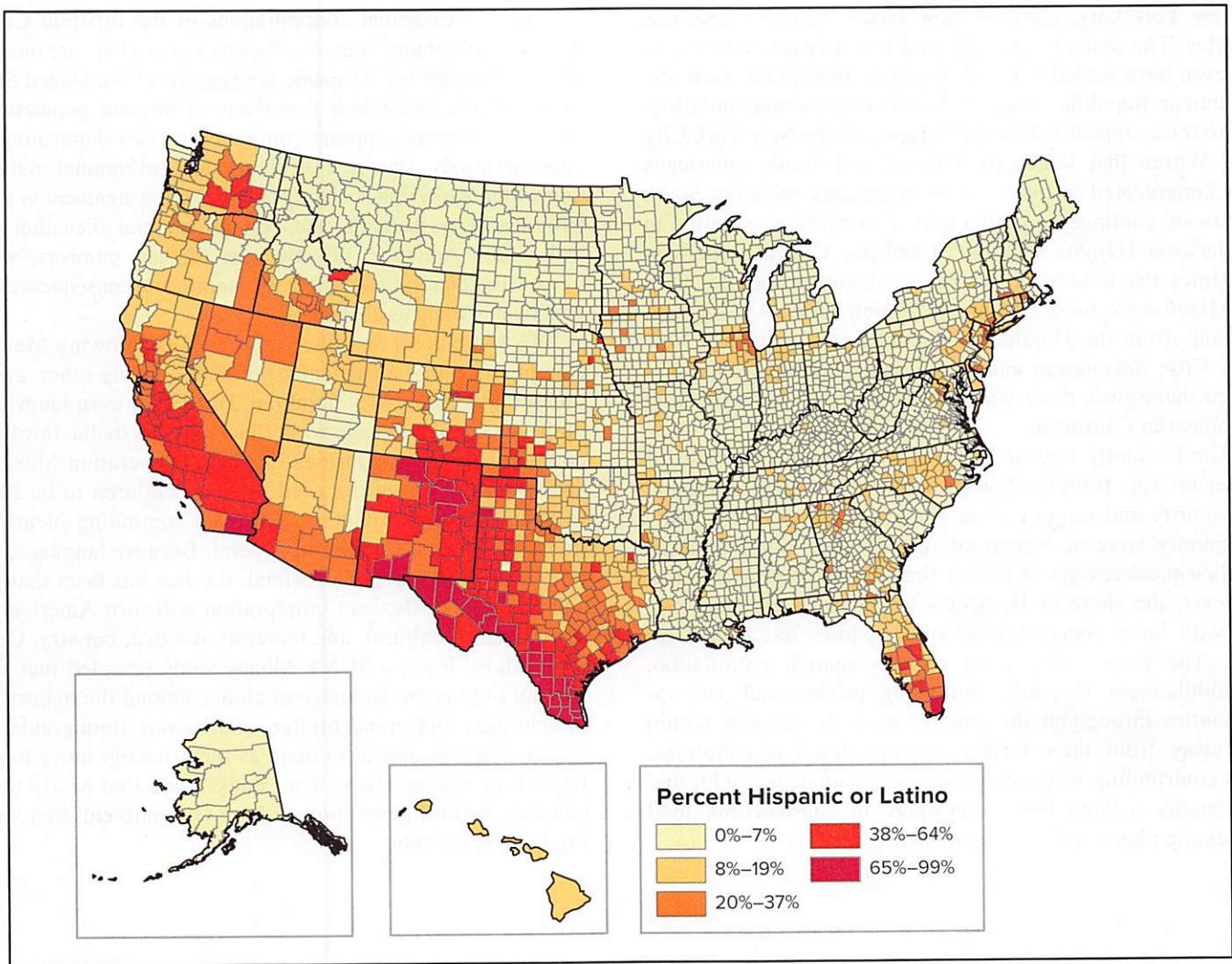


Figure 6.14 Hispanic American population, 2016. The highest concentrations of Hispanics are found in the Hispanic American borderland region, as well as areas of Cuban settlement in southern Florida. Significant Hispanic populations are also found in agricultural regions of the West, Midwest, and South.

Mexican Americans, representing a distinctive set of cultural characteristics, have been dispersing widely across the United States, though increases in the South and Midwest have been particularly noticeable. In similar fashion, immigrants from equally distinctive South, Central, and Caribbean American countries have been spreading out from their respective initial geographic concentrations. Puerto Ricans, already citizens, first localized in New York City, now the largest Puerto Rican city anywhere in numerical terms. Since 1940, however, when 88 percent of mainland Puerto Ricans were New Yorkers, there has been an outward dispersal primarily to other major metropolitan areas of the northeastern part of the country. The old industrial cities of New Jersey (Jersey City, Newark, Paterson, Passaic, and Hoboken); Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Bridgeport and Stamford, Connecticut; the Massachusetts cities of Lowell, Lawrence, and Brockton; and Chicago and other central cities and industrial satellites of the Midwest have received the outflow. Miami and Dade County, Florida, play the

same magnet role for Cubans as New York City did for Puerto Ricans. The first large-scale movement of Cuban refugees from the Fidel Castro revolution occurred between 1959 and 1962. There followed a mixed period lasting until 1980, when emigration was alternately permitted and prohibited by the Cuban government. Suddenly and unexpectedly, in April 1980, a torrent of Cuban migration was released through the small port of Mariel. Although their flow was stopped after only five months, some 125,000 *Marielitos* fled from Cuba to the United States. A 1994 accord between the United States and Cuba allows for a steady migration of at least 20,000 Cubans each year, assuring strong Cuban presence in Florida, where most Cuban Americans reside, particularly in Miami's "Little Havana" community.

Early in the period of post-1959 Cuban influx, the federal government attempted a resettlement program to scatter the new arrivals around the United States. Some remnants of that program are still to be found in concentrations of Cubans

in New York City, northern New Jersey, Chicago, and Los Angeles. The majority of early and late arrivals from Cuba, however, have settled in the Miami area. Immigrants from the Dominican Republic, many of them undocumented and difficult to trace, appear to be concentrating in the New York City area. Within that same city, Central and South Americans have congregated in the borough of Queens, with the South American contingent, particularly Colombians, settling in the Jackson Heights section. Elsewhere, Central American Hispanics also tend to cluster. Most Nicaraguans are found in the Miami area, most Hondurans in New Orleans. As noted, migrants from the Dominican Republic seek refuge in New York City; Salvadoran and Guatemalan migrants have dispersed themselves more widely, though they are particularly prominent in California.

Until recently, new arrivals tended to follow the paths of earlier arrivals from the home country. Chain migration and the security and support of an ethnically distinctive halfway community were as important for Hispanic immigrants as for their predecessors of earlier times and different cultures. However, the share of Hispanics living in states and counties with large concentrations of Hispanics has been slipping. The greater dispersion reflects spatial assimilation, as middle-class Hispanics following professional job opportunities throughout the country move to suburbs within and away from their former metropolitan concentrations. Also contributing to the dispersion are poorer, less-educated immigrants seeking jobs everywhere in construction, food processing plants, and service industries.

As the residential concentrations of the different Central American subgroups suggest, Hispanics as a whole are more urbanized than are non-Hispanic populations of the United States (Figure 6.15). Particularly the urbanized Hispanic population, it has been observed, appears confronted by two dominating but opposite trends. One is a drive toward conventional assimilation within American society. The other is consignment to a pattern of poverty, isolation, and, perhaps, cultural alienation from mainstream American life. Because of their numbers, which trend Hispanics follow will have significant consequences for American society as a whole.

To some observers, the very large and growing Mexican community poses a particular problem. Among other, earlier immigrant groups, they point out, fluency or even knowledge of the ancestral language was effectively lost by the third generation. Yet large majorities of second-generation Mexicans appear to emphasize the need for their children to be fluent in Spanish and to maintain close and continuing identification with Mexican culture in general. Because language, culture, and identity are intertwined, the fear has been that past and continuing Mexican immigration will turn America into a bilingual, bicultural, and therefore divided, country. Countering those fears, a SUNY-Albany study revealed that English not only is the language of choice among the majority of the children and grandchildren of Hispanic immigrants, but is increasing its appeal to them as they steadily move toward English monolingualism. This study found that nearly three-quarters of third-generation or later Hispanic children spoke English exclusively.

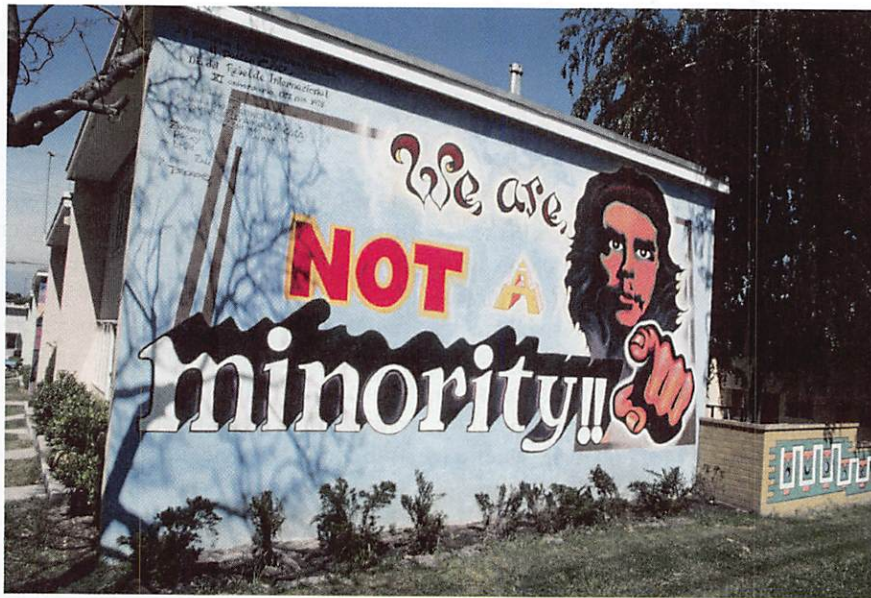


Figure 6.15 A proudly assertive street mural in the Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, *barrio*. Half of Los Angeles's population is Hispanic and overwhelmingly Mexican American. Their impact on the urban landscape—in choice of house colors, advertising signs, street vendors, and colorful wall paintings—is distinctive and pervasive.

©Stephanie Maze/Corbis Documentary/Getty Images

Asian American Contrasts

Since the Immigration Act of 1965 and its abolition of earlier exclusionary immigration limits, the Asian American population has grown from 1.5 million to 17 million in 2016; it is projected to grow to 24 million by 2030. Once largely U.S.-born and predominantly of Japanese and Chinese heritage, the Asian American population is now largely foreign-born and, through multiple national origins, is increasingly heterogeneous. Major sending countries include Korea, the Philippines, Vietnam, India, Thailand, and Pakistan, in addition to continuing arrivals from China. Although second to Hispanics in numbers of new arrivals, Asians comprise nearly one-third of the legal immigrant flow to the United States.

Their inflow was encouraged, first, by changes in immigration law that dropped the older national origin quotas and favored family reunification as an admission criterion. Educated Asians, taking advantage of professional preference categories in the immigration laws to move to the United States (or remain here on adjusted student visas), could become citizens after five years and send for immediate family and other relatives without restriction. They, in turn, after five years, could bring in other relatives. Chain migration was an important process. As a special case, the large number of Filipino Americans is related to U.S. control of the Philippines between 1899 and 1946. In the early part of the last century, Filipino workers were brought to Hawaii to work on sugar plantations, to California to labor on farms, or to Alaska to work in fish canneries. During World War II, Filipinos who served under the U.S. military were granted citizenship; immigration continues to be common today, especially for Filipino professionals.

Second, the wave of Southeast Asian refugees admitted during 1975–1980 under the Refugee Resettlement Program after the Vietnam War swelled the Asian numbers in the United States by more than 400,000, with 2.4 million more Asian immigrants admitted between 1980 and 1990. In 2011, about one-fourth of the U.S. foreign-born population were from Asia. Canada shows a similar increase in the immigrant flow from that continent.

Asia is a vast continent; successive periods of immigration have seen arrivals from many different parts of it, representing totally different ethnic groups and cultures. The major Asian American populations are detailed in **Table 6.7**, but even these groups are not homogeneous and cannot suggest the great diversity of other ethnic groups—Bangladeshi, Hmong, Karen, Nepalese, Sri Lankan, Mien, Indonesians of great variety, and many more—who have joined the American realm. Asian Americans as a whole are relatively concentrated in residence—far more so than the rest of the population. With the exception of Japanese Americans, most Asian Americans speak their native languages at home and maintain their distinctive ethnic cultures, values, and customs, suggesting only partial assimilation.

The highest concentrations of Asian Americans are found, as one would expect, in states bordering the Pacific (**Figure 6.16**). Japanese and Filipinos are particularly concentrated in Hawaii and the western states, where more than

Table 6.7

U.S. Leading Asian Populations by Ethnicity,^a 2016

Ethnicity	Number (000s)	Percent of Asian American Total
Chinese, except Taiwanese	4,558	22.4%
Filipino	3,773	18.6%
Asian Indian	3,746	18.4%
Vietnamese	1,949	9.6%
Korean	1,796	8.8%
Japanese	1,414	7.0%
Pakistani	477	2.3%
Cambodian	318	1.6%
Hmong	289	1.4%
Thai	281	1.4%
Laotian	263	1.3%
Taiwanese	182	0.9%
Other Asian	587	2.9%
Total	203,373	100

^aEthnicity as reported by respondents, including claimed combination ethnicities.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 2012–2016 American Community Survey, 5-Year Estimates.

half of the Chinese Americans are also found. In whatever part of the country they settled, Asian Americans (and Pacific Islanders) were drawn to metropolitan areas, where nearly all of them lived—more than half in suburban districts. For example, the Los Angeles, New York, and San Francisco metropolitan regions are home to one-third of the U.S. Asian population. Koreans and Filipinos are highly concentrated in the Los Angeles-Long Beach metropolitan area, and the Vietnamese in Orange County, south of Los Angeles. Although their metropolitan affinities have remained constant, the trend has been for greater dispersal around the country.

Immigrant Gateways and Clusters

Although new immigrants may ultimately seek residence in all parts of the United States, over the short term, immigrant concentrations rather than dispersals are the rule. Initially, most immigrants tend to settle near their points of entry (that is, nearest their country of origin) or in established immigrant communities. Six states—California, Texas, New York, Illinois, New Jersey, and Florida—are the most important immigrant gateways and have experienced the largest increases in their foreign-born populations. Those six states contain the country's three largest cities—New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago—and are the

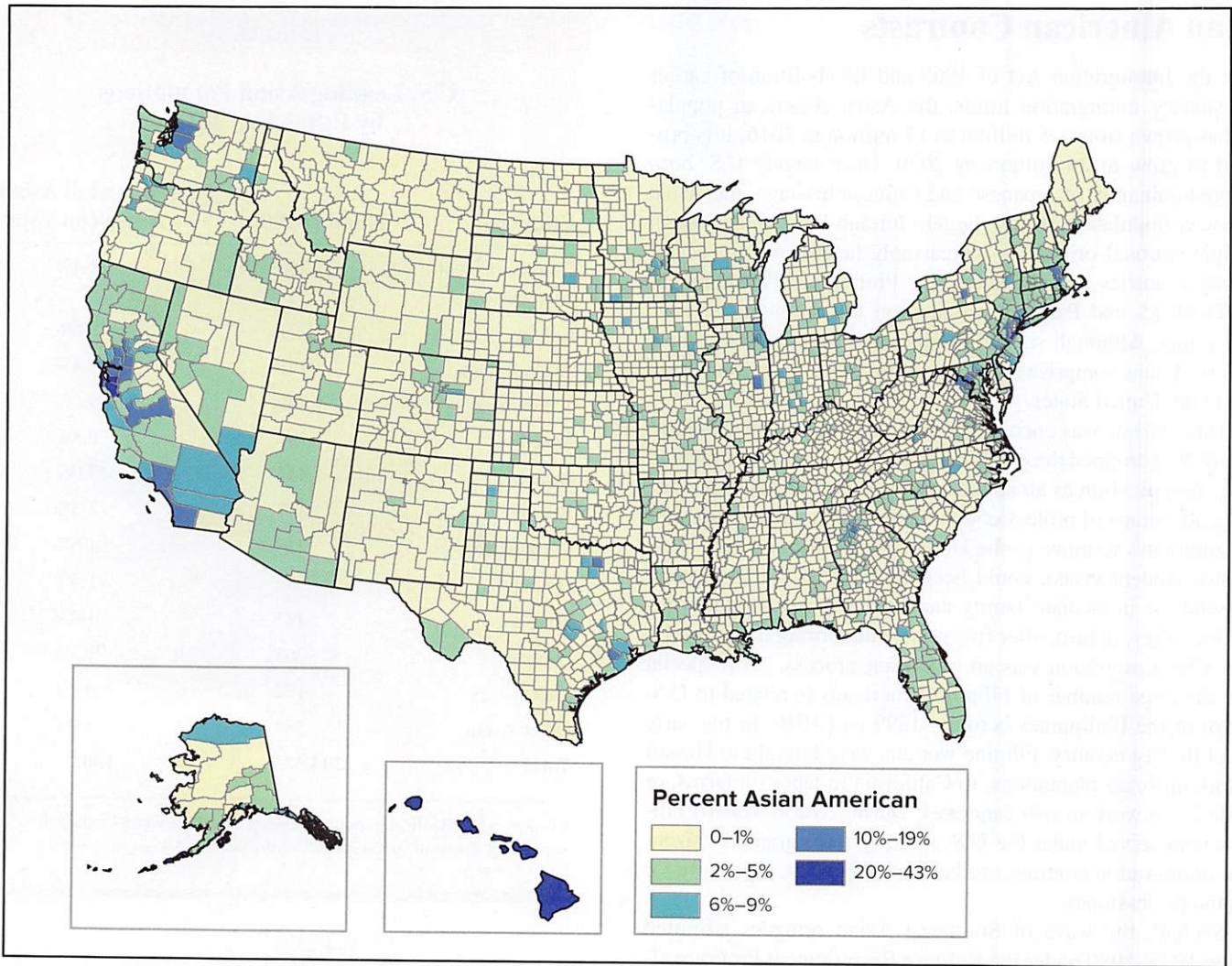


Figure 6.16 Asian American population, 2016. The Asian American population is concentrated in the West and in urban centers. California has the largest total number of Asian Americans, while Hawaii has the highest percentage of Asians in its population.

major points of entry from overseas and Latin America. As Ravenstein’s laws of migration predict, the country’s largest cities exhibit very high concentrations of new immigrants. New York City, for example, received one million immigrants in the 1990s and in 2016, 37 percent of its population had been born abroad. Other major cities attracting large numbers of new immigrants include San Francisco, Miami, Dallas, Houston, and Washington, D.C.

In Canada, immigrants are also concentrated in the largest gateway cities: Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. Of the immigrants arriving between 2006 and 2015, 61 percent settled in these three metropolitan areas, making them some of the world’s most ethnically diverse places. These magnet cities contain established immigrant networks that offer social and economic support to new arrivals drawn to them by chain migration flows. Those attractions are not permanent and census evidence suggests that immigrant diffusion is occurring in areas where the existing labor supply does not satisfy needs for both low-skilled and technically trained workers.

Québec

The stamp of the Québécois (French Canadian) charter group on the ethnic province of French Canada is overwhelming. The province of Québec—with ethnic extensions into New Brunswick and northernmost Maine can be readily identified by its distinctive ethnic character. In language, religion, legal principles, system of land tenure, the arts, cuisine, philosophies of life, and urban and rural landscapes, Québec stands apart from the rest of Canada (Figure 6.17). Its uniqueness and self-assertion have won it special consideration and treatment within the political structure of the country.

Although the *Canadiens* of Québec were the charter group of eastern Canada and for some 200 years the controlling population, they numbered only some 65,000 when the Treaty of Paris ended the North American wars between the British and the French in 1763. That treaty, however, gave them control over three primary aspects of their culture and lives: language, religion, and land tenure. From these, they created their own distinctive and



Figure 6.17 The Château Frontenac hotel stands high above the lower older portion of Quebec City, where many streets show the architecture of French cities of the 18th century carried over to the urban heart of modern French Canada.

©Perry Mastrovito/Stockbyte/Getty Images

enduring ethnic province of some 1.5 million square kilometers (600,000 square miles) and 8 million people, more than 80 percent of whom have French as their native tongue (see Figure 5.15) and are at least nominally Roman Catholic. Québec City is the cultural heart of French Canada, though the bilingual Montreal metropolitan area with a population of 4.1 million is the largest center of Québec. The sense of cultural identity prevalent throughout French Canada imparted a spirit of nationalism not similarly expressed in other ethnic provinces of North America. Laws and guarantees recognizing and strengthening the position of French language and culture within the province assure the preservation of this distinctive North American cultural region, even if the movement for full political separation from the rest of Canada is never successful.

6.4 Urban Ethnic Diversity and Segregation

“Koreatown” and “Little Mogadishus” have joined the “Chinatowns,” “Little Italys,” and “Germantowns” of earlier eras as part of the American urban scene. The traditional practice of selective concentration of ethnic groups in their own well-defined subcommunities is evidence of the sharply defined social geography of urban America, in which ethnic neighborhoods have been a pronounced feature.

Protestant Anglo Americans created, from colonial times, the dominating host culture—the charter group—of urban North America. To that culture, the mass migrations of the 19th and early 20th centuries brought individuals and groups representative of different religious and ethnic backgrounds, including Irish Catholics, eastern European Jews, and members of every nationality, ethnic stock, and distinctive culture of central, eastern, and southern Europe. To them were added, both simultaneously and subsequently, newcomers from Asia and Latin America and such urbanizing rural Americans as Appalachian whites and Southern blacks.

Each newcomer sought to make a home within an urban environment established by the charter group. Frequently, new immigrants make their initial start in a new land by congregating within ethnic communities or neighborhoods. These are areas within the city where a particular culture group clusters, dominates, and which may serve as the core location from which diffusion or assimilation into the host society can occur. The rapidly urbanizing, industrializing society of 19th-century America became a mosaic of such ethnic enclaves. Their maintenance as distinctive social and spatial entities depended on the degree to which the assimilation of their population occurred. **Figure 6.18** and **Figure 6.19** show the ethnic concentrations that developed in Los Angeles and Chicago by the start of the 21st century. The increasing diversity of the immigrant stream and the multiplication of identified enclaves make comparable maps of older U.S. cities, such as New York, incredibly complex.

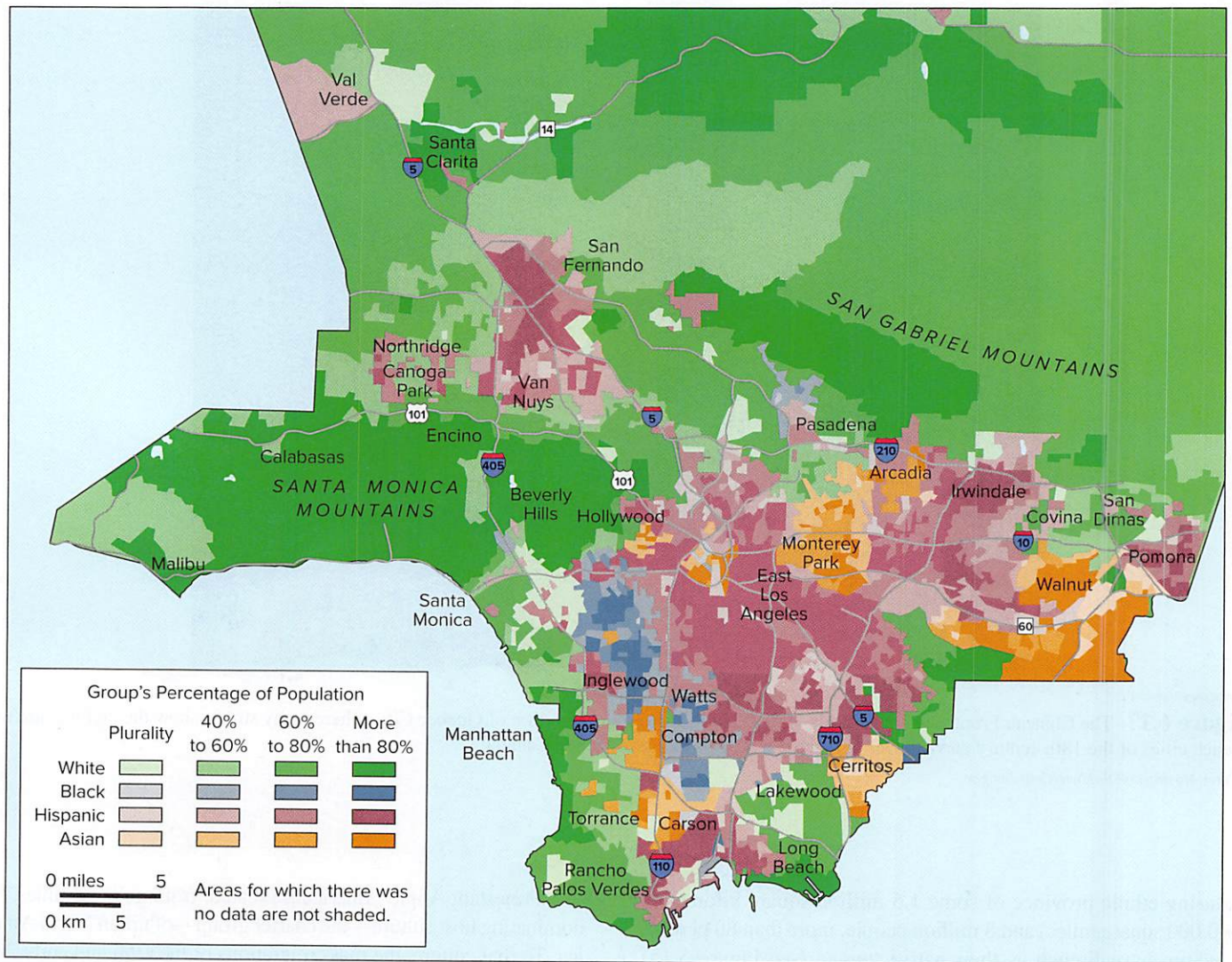


Figure 6.18 Racial/ethnic patterns in Los Angeles County, 2000, are greatly generalized on this map, which conceals much of the complex intermingling of different ethnic groups in several sections of Los Angeles city. However, the tendency of people to cluster in distinct neighborhoods by race and ethnicity is clearly evident.

Source: The New York Times, March 30, 2001, p. A18.

Immigrant neighborhoods are a measure of the **social distance** that separates the minority from the charter group. The greater the perceived differences between the two groups, the greater the social distance and the less likely the charter group is to easily accept or assimilate the newcomer. Consequently, the ethnic community will endure longer as a place both of immigrant refuge and of enforced segregation.

Segregation is a shorthand expression for the extent to which members of an ethnic group are not uniformly distributed in relation to the rest of the population. A commonly employed measure quantifying the degree to which a distinctive group is segregated is the segregation index or **residential dissimilarity index**. It indicates the degree to which the two component groups of a population are distributed differently across an urban region's neighborhoods, with values ranging from 0 (no segregation) to 100 (complete segregation). For

example, according to the 2010 Census, the index of dissimilarity in the Milwaukee metropolitan area was a very high 82, meaning that 82 percent of all blacks (or whites) would have to move to different neighborhoods before the two groups would be equally distributed across the metropolitan area. Evidence from cities throughout the world makes clear that most ethnic minorities tend to be sharply segregated from the charter group, and that segregation on racial or ethnic lines is usually greater than would be anticipated from the socioeconomic levels of the groups involved. Further, the degree of segregation varies among cities in the same country and among different ethnic mixes within each city.

Among the major racial and ethnic groups in U.S. cities, blacks are the most segregated and Asians the least. The most segregated cities for blacks are industrial cities in the Midwest and Northeast. Collectively, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians

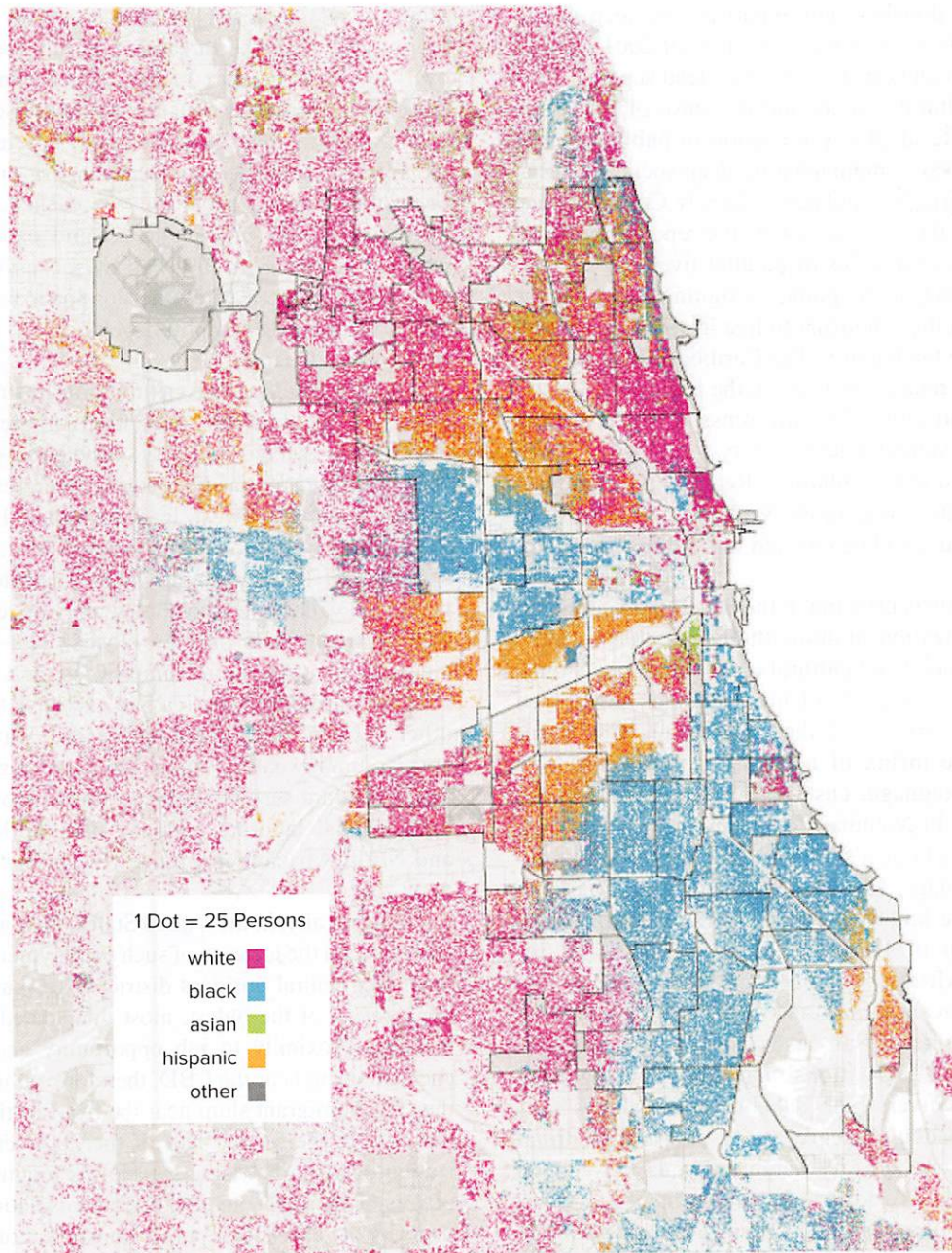


Figure 6.19 Racial/ethnic patterns in Chicago, 2000, are depicted using a dot distribution map. The social distance between groups is evident in their spatial separation.

lived in more integrated neighborhoods than did whites. Overall, although segregation remains high in America, for blacks, it steadily declined between 1970 and 2010. Of course, each world region and each country has its own patterns of national and urban immigration and immigrant residential patterns. Even when those population movements involve distinctive and contrasting ethnic groups, American models of spatial differentiation may not be applicable.

Foreign migrants to West European cities, for example, frequently do not have the same expectations of permanent residence and eventual amalgamation into the host society as their American

counterparts. Many came under labor contracts with no initial legal assurance of permanent residence. Although many now have been joined by their families, they often find citizenship difficult to acquire. The Islamic populations from North Africa and Turkey tend to be more tightly grouped and defensive against the surrounding majority culture of western European cities than do African or south and east European Christian migrants. France, with some 5 million Muslim residents, most of them from North Africa, has tended to create bleak, outer suburban ghettos in which immigrants remain largely isolated from mainstream French life.

Racial and ethnic divisions appear particularly deep and divisive in Britain. A British government report of 2001 claimed that in Britain, whites and ethnic minorities lead separate lives with no social or cultural contact and no sense of belonging to the same nation. Residential segregation in public housing and inner-city areas was compounded by deep social polarization. The nonwhite British population—largely Caribbean and Asian in origin—and the white majority, the report concluded, “operate on the basis of a series of parallel lives . . . that often do not seem to touch at any point,” assigning blame for the situation on “communities choosing to live in separation rather than integration” (see the feature “The Caribbean Map in London”). The Home Secretary observed on the basis of the report that many “towns and cities lack any sense of civic identity or shared values.” A similar total minority segregation is evident in the Sydney, Australia, suburb of Redfern, which houses an Aboriginal population that rarely ventures out to work or mingle in the surrounding white city and that white Australians avoid and ignore.

Spatial segregation is growing in the developing countries as well. Rapid urbanization in multiethnic India has resulted in cities of extreme social and cultural contrasts. Increasingly, Indian cities feature defined residential colonies segregated by village and caste origins of the immigrants. Chain migration has eased the influx of newcomers to specific new and old city areas; language, custom, religion, and tradition keep them confined. In Mumbai, for example, in Dharavi—considered the world’s largest slum—Tamil, not Hindi, is spoken as the main language. Elsewhere, in Bangkok, Thailand, Burmese migrants are largely confined to the slum of Tlong Toey; the population of Hillbrow, a squatter slum in Johannesburg, South Africa, consists largely of Nigerian and French-speaking African immigrants; and the residents of the informal settlements of San José, Costa Rica, generally come from Nicaragua. International and domestic migration throughout ethnically diverse sub-Saharan Africa shows a repetitive pattern of residential segregation: the rural-to-urban population shift has created city neighborhoods defined on tribal and village lines. Worldwide in all continental and national urban contexts, the degree of immigrant segregation is at least in part conditioned by the degree of social distance felt between the newcomer population and the other immigrant and host societies among whom residential space is sought.

Constraints on assimilation and the extent of discrimination and segregation are greater for some minorities than for others. In general, the rate of assimilation of an ethnic minority by the host culture depends on two sets of controls: *external* controls, including attitudes toward the minority held by the charter group and other competing ethnic groups, and *internal* controls of group cohesiveness and defensiveness.

External Controls

When the majority culture or rival minorities perceive an ethnic group as threatening, the group tends to be spatially isolated by external “blocking” tactics designed to confine the rejected

minority and to resist its “invasion” of neighborhoods. The more tightly knit the threatened group, the more adamant and overt are its resistance tactics. When confrontation measures (including, perhaps, housing market discrimination, threats, and vandalism) fail, the invasion of charter-group territory by the rejected minority proceeds until a critical percentage of newcomer housing occupancy is reached. That level, the **tip-ping point**, may precipitate a rapid exodus of the majority population. Invasion, followed by succession, then results in a new spatial pattern of ethnic dominance according to models of urban social geography developed for American cities and examined in Chapter 11.

Racial or ethnic discrimination in urban areas generally expresses itself in the relegation of the most recent, most alien, most rejected minority to the poorest available housing. That confinement has historically been reinforced by the concentration of the newest, least assimilated ethnic minorities at the low end of the job market. Distasteful, menial, low-paying service and factory employment unattractive to the charter group is available to those new arrivals, even when other occupational avenues may be closed. The dockworkers, street cleaners, slaughterhouse employees, and sweatshop garment workers of earlier America had and have their counterparts in other regions. In England, successive waves of West Indians and Commonwealth Asians took the posts of low-pay hotel and restaurant service workers, transit workers, refuse collectors, manual laborers, and the like; Turks in German cities and North Africans in France fill similar low-status employment roles.

Historically, in the United States, there was a spatial association between the location of such employment opportunities—the inner-city central business district (CBD) and its margins—and the location of the oldest, most dilapidated, and least desirable housing. Proximity to job opportunity and the availability of cheap housing near the CBD, therefore, combined to concentrate the U.S. immigrant slum near the heart of the 19th-century central city. In the second half of the 20th century, the suburbanization of jobs, the rising skill levels required in the automated offices of the CBD, and the effective isolation of inner-city residents by the absence of public transportation or their inability to pay for private transport maintained the association of the least competitive minorities and the least desirable housing area. But now those locations lack the promise of the entry-level jobs that used to be close at hand.

That U.S. spatial pattern is not universal, however. In Latin American cities, the newest arrivals at the bottom of the economic and employment ladder are most apt to find housing in squatter or slum areas on the outskirts of the urban unit. In French urban agglomerations, the outer fringes frequently have a higher percentage of foreigners than the city itself.

Internal Controls

Although part of the American pattern of urban residential segregation may be explained by the external controls of host-culture resistance and discrimination, the clustering of specific groups into ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods is best understood

The Caribbean Map in London

Although the movement [to England] from the West Indies has been treated as if it were homogeneous, the island identity, particularly among those from the small islands, has remained strong. . . . [I]t is very evident to anyone working in the field that the process of chain migration produced a clustering of particular island or even village groups in their British destination. . . .

The island identities have manifested themselves on the map of London. The island groups can still be picked out in the clusters of settlements in different parts of the city.

There is an archipelago of Windward and Leeward islanders north of the Thames; Dominicans and St. Lucians have their core areas in Paddington and Notting Hill; Grenadians are found in the west in Hammersmith and Ealing; Montserratians are concentrated around Stoke Newington, Hackney, and Finsbury Park; Antiguan spill over to the east in Hackney, Waltham Forest, and Newham; south of the river is Jamaica.

That is not to say that Jamaicans are found only south of the river or that the only West Indians in Paddington are from

St. Lucia. The mixture is much greater than that. The populations overlap and interdigitate: there are no sharp edges. . . . [Nevertheless, north of the river,] there is a west-east change with clusters of Grenadians in the west giving way to St. Lucians and Dominicans in the inner west, through to Vincentians and Montserratians in the inner north and east and thence to Antiguan in the east.

Source: Ceri Peach, "The Force of West Indian Island Identity in Britain," in Geography and Ethnic Pluralism, eds. Colin Clarke, David Ley, and Ceri Peach (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1984).

as the result of internal controls of group defensiveness and conservatism. The self-elected segregation of ethnic groups can be seen to serve four principal functions—defense, support, preservation, and group assertion.

First, it provides *defense*, reducing individual immigrant isolation and exposure by physical association within a limited area. The walled and gated Jewish quarters of medieval European cities have their present-day counterparts in the clearly marked and defined “turfs” of street gang members and the understood exclusive domains of the “black community,” “Chinatown,” and other ethnic or racial neighborhoods. In British cities, it has been observed that West Indians and Asians fill identical slots in the British economy and reside in the same sorts of areas, but they tend to avoid living in the *same* areas. West Indians avoid Asians; Sikhs isolate themselves from Muslims; Bengalis shun Punjabis. In London, patterns of residential isolation even extend to West Indians of separate island homelands, as the feature “The Caribbean Map in London” makes clear. Their own defined ethnic territory provides members of the group with security from the hostility of antagonistic social groups, a factor also underlying the white flight to “garrison” suburbs.

Second, the ethnic neighborhood provides *support* for its residents in a variety of ways. The area serves as a halfway station between the home country and the alien society. It provides supportive social and religious ethnic institutions, familiar businesses, job opportunities where language barriers are minimal, and friendship and kinship ties to ease the transition to a new society.

Third, the ethnic neighborhood may provide a *preservation* function, reflecting the ethnic group’s positive intent to preserve and promote such essential elements of its cultural heritage as language and religion. The preservation function represents a fear of being totally absorbed into the charter society and a desire to maintain those customs and associations seen to be essential to the conservation of the group.

For example, Jewish dietary laws are more easily observed by and exposure to potential marriage partners within the faith is more certain in close-knit communities than when individuals are scattered.

Finally, ethnic spatial concentration can serve as a base for *group assertion*, a peaceful search for democratic political representation. Voter registration drives and political candidates drawn from ethnic neighborhoods represent concerted efforts to promote group interests at all governmental levels.

Shifting Ethnic Concentrations

Ethnic communities, once established, are not necessarily permanent. For Europeans who came in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and for more recent Hispanic and Asian immigrants, high concentrations were and are encountered in neighborhoods of first settlement. Second-generation neighborhoods usually become far more mixed. The older, dominant, urban ethnic groups in places given names like “Little Italy” are now often in the minority, as middle- and upper-middle-class members of the immigrant group move on. That mobility pattern appears to be repeating among Asian and Latino groups, but only, or most clearly, where those groups collectively account for a relatively small share of the total metropolitan area population. Black segregation and black communities, in contrast, appear more pronounced and permanent.

Ethnic clusters initially identified with particular central city areas are frequently or usually displaced by different newcomer groups (**Figure 6.20**). With recent diversified immigration, older homogeneous ethnic neighborhoods have become highly subdivided and polyethnic. In Los Angeles, for example, the great wave of immigrants from Mexico, Central America, and Asia has begun to push African Americans out of South Los Angeles and other well-established black communities, converting them

from racially exclusive to multicultural areas. In New York, the borough of Queens, once the stronghold of European ethnic immigrants, has now become home to more than 110 different, mainly non-European nationalities. In Woodside in Queens, Latin Americans and Koreans are prominent among the many replacements of the formerly dominant German and Irish groups. Elsewhere within the city, West Indians now dominate the old Jewish neighborhoods of Flatbush; Poles, Dominicans, and other Central Americans have succeeded Germans and Jews in Washington Heights. Manhattan's Chinatown has expanded into old Little Italy, and a new Little Italy has emerged in Bensonhurst.

Further, the new ethnic neighborhoods are intermixed in a way that enclaves of the early 20th century never were. The restaurants, bakeries, groceries, specialty shops, and their customers and owners from a score of different countries (and even different continents) are now found within a two- or three-block radius. In the Kenmore Avenue area of East Los Angeles, for example, 1.3-square-kilometer (a half-square-mile) area of former Anglo neighborhood now houses

more than 9,000 people representing Hispanics and Asians of widely varied origins, along with Pacific Islanders, Amerindians, African Americans, and a scattering of native-born whites. Students in the neighborhood school come from 43 countries and speak 23 languages, a localized ethnic intermixture unknown in the communities of single ethnicity so characteristic of earlier stages of immigration to the United States.

The changing ethnic spatial pattern is not yet clear or certain. Increasing ethnic diversity coupled with continuing immigration flow has, in some instances, expanded rather than reduced patterns of urban group segregation. The tendency for separate ethnic groups to cluster for security, economic, and social reasons cannot be effective if many different, relatively small ethnic groups find themselves in a single city setting. Intermixture is inevitable when individual groups do not achieve the critical mass necessary to establish a true identifiable separate community. But as continuing immigration and natural increases allow groups to expand in size, they are able to create more distinctive, self-selected ethnic clusters and communities.



Figure 6.20 The landscape offers evidence of shifting ethnic concentrations. As Jews left North Minneapolis for the suburbs, they were succeeded by African Americans. This former Orthodox synagogue is one of the few reminders of the once vibrant Jewish presence. The building is now used by a nondenominational Protestant Christian congregation and the altered facade mixes carved lions guarding Hebrew scrolls, Stars of David, crosses, and both Jewish and Christian messages.

©Mark Bjelland

Enclaves, Ghettos, and Ethnoburbs

When ethnic residential clusters endure, the clusters may be termed **colonies**, serving essentially as points of entry for members of the particular ethnic group. They persist only to the extent that new arrivals perpetuate the need for them. In American cities, many European ethnic colonies began to lose their vitality and purpose with the reduction of European immigration flows after the 1920s.

When an ethnic cluster does persist because its occupants choose to preserve it, their behavior reflects the internal cohesiveness of the group and its desire to maintain an enduring **ethnic enclave** or neighborhood. When the cluster is perpetuated by external constraints and discriminatory actions, it has come to be termed a **ghetto**. The term *ghetto* was first used in Venice, Italy, in the 16th century to refer to the area of the city where Jews were required to live. In reality, the colony, the enclave, and the ghetto are spatially similar. Growing ethnic groups that maintain voluntary spatial association frequently expand the area of their dominance by outward growth from the core of the city in a radial pattern. That process has long been recognized in Chicago (Figure 6.21) and has, in that and other cities, typically been extended beyond the central city boundaries into at least the inner fringe of the suburbs.

African Americans have traditionally found strong resistance to their territorial expansion from the white majority though white-black urban relations and patterns of black ghetto formation and expansion have differed in different sections of the country. A revealing typology of African American ghettos is outlined in Figure 6.22. In the South, the white majority, with total control of the housing market, was able to assign residential space to blacks in accordance with white, not black, self-interest. In the *early southern* ghetto of such pre-Civil War cities as Charleston and New Orleans, African Americans were assigned small dwellings in alleys and back streets within and bounding the white communities where they worked as (slave) house and garden servants. The *classic southern* ghetto for newly free blacks was composed of specially built, low-quality housing on undesirable land—swampy, perhaps, or near industry or railroads—and was sufficiently far from better-quality white housing to maintain full spatial and social segregation.

In the North, on the other hand, African Americans were open competitors with other claimants for space in a generalized housing market. The *early northern* ghetto represented a “toehold” location in high-density, aged, substandard housing on the margin of the CBD. The *classic northern* ghetto is a more recent expansion of that initial enclave to surround the CBD and to penetrate, through invasion and succession, contiguous zones as far as the numbers, rent-paying ability, and housing discrimination will allow. Finally, in new western and southwestern cities not tightly hemmed in by resistant white neighborhoods or suburbs, the black community may display a linear expansion from the CBD to the suburban fringe.

Increasingly, ethnic communities are found in the outer reaches of major metropolitan areas. In New York City, the outer

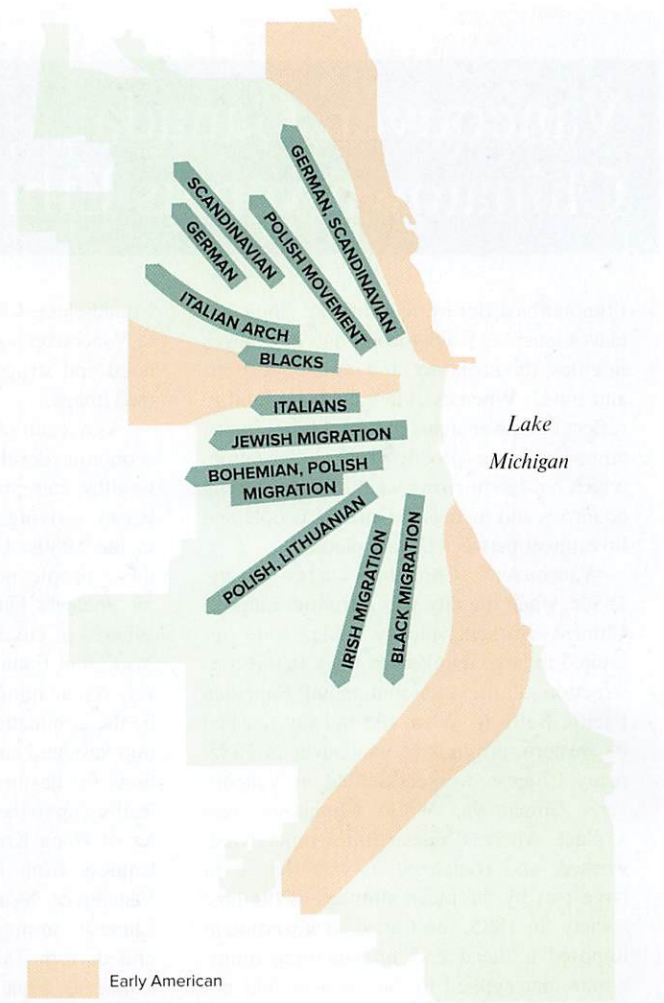


Figure 6.21 Chicago’s many ethnic groups tended to expand their territory and migrate outward from the city center. “Often,” Samuel Kincheloe observed in the 1930s, “[minority] groups first settle in a deteriorated area of a city somewhere near its center, then push outward along the main streets.” More recently, many—particularly young, innovative, and entrepreneurial—immigrants have avoided traditional first locations in central cities and from their arrival, they have settled in metropolitan area suburbs and outlying cities, where economic opportunity and quality of life is perceived as superior to conditions in the primary inner city.

Source: *The American City and its Church* by Samuel Kincheloe. Copyright 1938 by Friendship Press, New York.

Queens neighborhood of Elmhurst houses immigrants from 114 different countries and is the city’s most ethnically diverse community. In part due to rising affluence among immigrants, “Satellite Chinatowns” are found in Los Angeles’s San Gabriel Valley, in San Francisco, and in Vancouver, Canada (Figure 6.23). This has given rise to the **ethnoburb**, a politically independent suburban community with a significant, though not exclusive, concentration of a single ethnic group (see the feature “Vancouver, Canada: Chinatown versus Ethnoburb”). Monterey Park, outside Los Angeles, and Richmond, British Columbia, outside Vancouver, are examples of Asian ethnoburbs. Ethnoburbs differ from traditional,

Vancouver, Canada: Chinatown versus Ethnoburb

Ethnoburbs differ from traditional ethnic enclaves (such as Chinatowns) due to changes in cities, the economy, and communications and travel. Whereas ethnic enclaves tend to reflect the lower status of recent immigrants, ethnoburbs are products of globalization, which has led to rising wealth in developing countries and increased flows of people and investment between distant places.

Vancouver's Chinatown dates to the 1880s, when the city was a frontier outpost. Chinese workers, mostly male, were recruited in large numbers to work in the construction of the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway. When the railway reached its western terminus at Vancouver in 1885, many Chinese workers settled in Vancouver's Chinatown. While Chinatown was a place where Chinese immigrants lived, worked, and socialized, it was shaped in large part by the racist attitudes of the host society. In 1885, the Canadian government imposed a "head tax" on incoming immigrants that applied to the Chinese, but not to European immigrants. Because Chinese men could not afford the head tax to bring over wives and other relatives, Chinatown was a struggling, mostly male community in its early years. Derogatory cartoons in newspapers, voting restrictions that forbade the Chinese from participating in elections, mob violence directed against the Chinese, and discriminatory policing were part of the experience of early Chinese immigrants in Vancouver (Figure 6A). Although not required by law to live in segregated areas, the Chinese clustered together for support and defense. Chinese social, cultural, and economic institutions built structures that lent a distinctive appearance to the Chinatown district.

After World War II, host society attitudes toward the Chinese softened, and Chinatown came to be viewed as an exotic destination for tourists. The relatively recent addition of a formal Chinese classical garden, distinctive red lampposts, and gateway arches lend a distinctive look to the Chinatown landscape.

Nonetheless, Chinatown is located adjacent to Vancouver's poorest, inner-city neighborhood and struggles to escape its marginalized image.

As a result of globalization and increased economic development in East Asia, new, wealthy, entrepreneurial Chinese immigrants began arriving in North American cities in the 1980s. Unlike previous immigrants, these people never formed inner-city ethnic enclaves but immediately settled in the suburbs of cities such as Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Toronto, and Vancouver. Asian immigration was made possible by the elimination of exclusionary immigration laws and encouraged by relaxed regulations for business immigrants. In the years leading up to the British government's transfer of Hong Kong to China in 1997, many Chinese from Hong Kong immigrated to Vancouver. More recently, wealthy Chinese immigrants have immigrated from Taiwan and Mainland China to Vancouver. The suburb of Richmond was one of several popular immigrant destinations and illustrates the differences between ethnoburbs and a traditional Chinatown.

Richmond is home to Vancouver's international airport and features many daily flights to Asia. Immigrants comprise almost 60 percent of the city's 200,000 residents. While the Chinese population is densely clustered in Chinatown, in the ethnoburb of Richmond, the Chinese are spread across a multi-ethnic suburb among South Asians, Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, and whites. Along one street in Richmond, Buddhist temples and monasteries, Chinese Christian churches, a Sikh Gurdwara, Muslim mosque, and Hindu temple sit side by side. While the population at the center of Richmond is 80 percent Chinese and features a collection of

Chinese-themed shopping malls and hotels, it is also home to many non-Chinese businesses, chain stores, and restaurants. While the traditional Chinatown features crowded, high-density housing, Richmond's housing includes many single-family houses alongside modern, mid-rise condominiums. Compared to an enclave, the ethnoburb has less-defined boundaries. Compared to Chinatown, suburban Richmond's Chinese residents are younger, have higher levels of education, higher incomes, and are deeply connected to the global economy and its flows of people and investment. Unlike a traditional Chinatown, the ethnoburb is not the result of discrimination but a voluntary clustering to maximize ethnic social and business contacts in a familiar language and cultural environment.

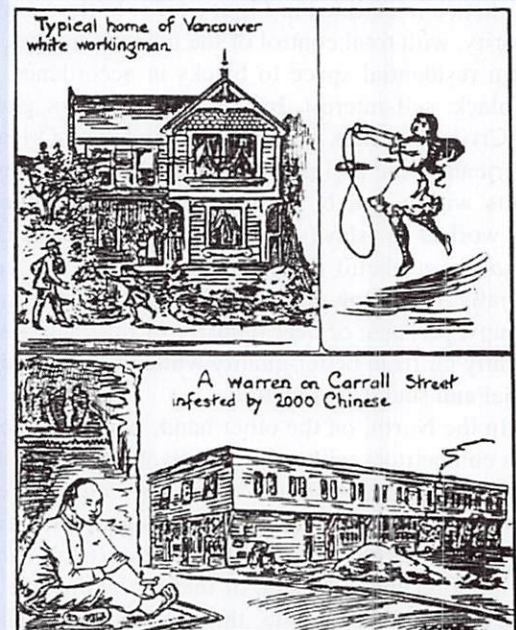


Figure 6A Historic Vancouver newspaper cartoon reflecting racist attitudes toward the Chinese and criticizing the supposedly overcrowded and vice-ridden conditions in Chinatown.

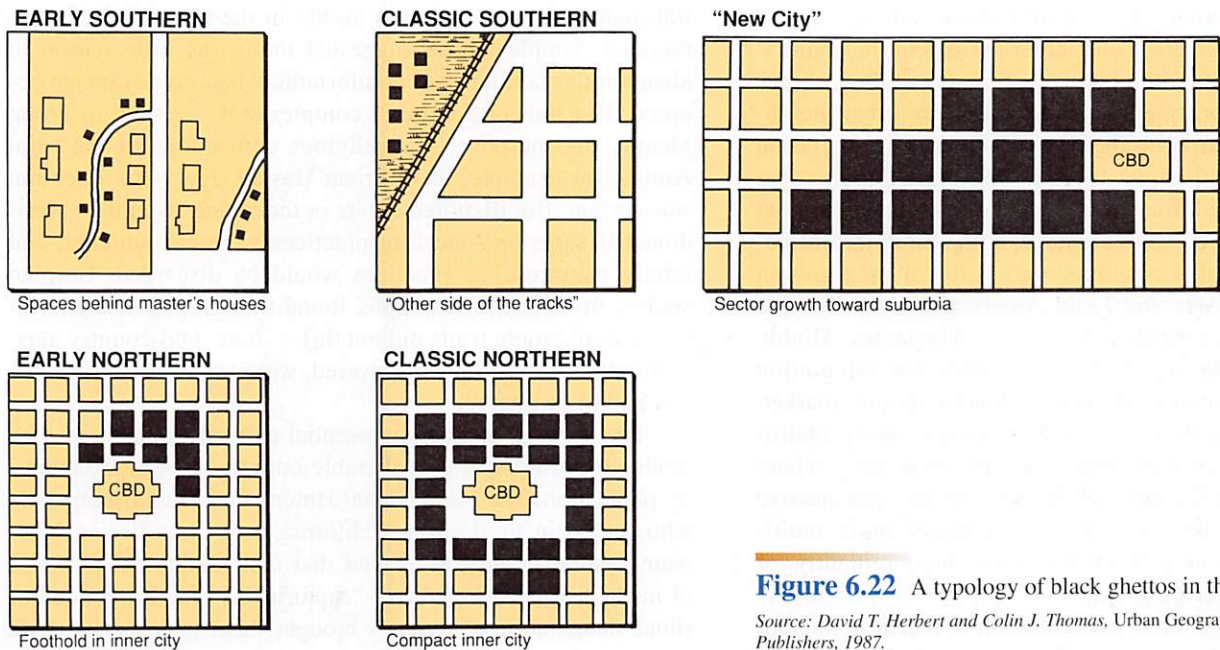


Figure 6.22 A typology of black ghettos in the United States.

Source: David T. Herbert and Colin J. Thomas, *Urban Geography*, London: David Fulton Publishers, 1987.



Figure 6.23 (a) Vancouver's historic Chinatown developed when Chinese railroad workers settled there upon completion of the transcontinental railroad. It features distinctive architecture, ethnic specialty shops, and restaurants. Its population is dense, mostly Chinese, and relatively old. (b) Richmond, British Columbia, is an ethnoburb with a large, multiethnic immigrant population. Richmond is a prosperous suburb of Vancouver, and it is filled with expensive, single-family houses, condominiums, international hotels, Chinese-themed shopping malls, and an international airport. Richmond's Chinese make up almost half of the city's population, are young, well-educated, and maintain strong social and business ties with Hong Kong, Taiwan, and mainland China.

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inner-city Chinatowns, which were the product of discrimination and the low socioeconomic status of the Chinese. Ethnoburbs, on the other hand, attract relatively wealthy, well-educated, highly mobile immigrants. Many of the immigrants in ethnoburbs display **transnationalism**; that is, they maintain strong ties with more than one country, often in the form of social and business connections with their homeland. Jet travel and the Internet make it quite possible to run a business on the other side of the Pacific Ocean. Whereas traditional Chinatowns are self-sustaining enclaves filled with small,

independent shops, ethnoburbs feature transnational banks, hotels, retail chains, and sellers of luxury goods.

Native-Born Dispersals

Immigration flows to the United States during the last third of the 20th century—unlike those of earlier mass-immigration periods—have begun to affect both the broad regional ethnic makeup of the United States and the internal migration pattern of native-born Americans. The consequence has been dubbed a “demographic balkanization,” a spatial fragmentation of the

population by race/ethnicity, economic status, and age across extended metropolitan areas and larger regions of the country.

Early 20th-century immigration streams resulted, as we have seen, in temporary ethnic segregation by urban neighborhoods and between central cities and suburbs. Immigration legislation of 1965 dropped the national-origin quotas that had formerly favored European immigrants, replacing that with a more inclusive formula emphasizing family reunification. That change, plus economic and political pressures in many countries of Asia and Latin America, has swelled the influx of poorer, less-skilled Asians and Hispanics. Highly dependent on family members and friends for integration into both the informal and formal American job market, the new arrivals are drawn to primary port-of-entry metropolitan areas by chain migration links. In those areas where immigrants account for most of the present and prospective population growth, the trend is toward increasingly multicultural, younger, and poorer residents, predominantly of Hispanic and Asian origin.

The high degree of areal concentration of recent immigrant groups initiated a selective native-born (particularly white) retreat, not only fleeing the cities for the suburbs but leaving entire metropolitan areas and states. California, with nearly one-quarter of its population foreign-born, saw a departure of one native-born white or black resident for nearly each foreign-born arrival. Individual urban areas echoed California's state experience. For domestic moves, top destinations were to cities and states away from coastal and southern border immigrant entry points. A visible spatial consequence, then, is an emerging pattern of increasing segregation and isolation by metropolitan areas and regions of the country. Immigrant assimilation may now be more difficult than in the past, and social and political divisions more pronounced and enduring.

6.5 Cultural Transfer

Immigrant groups arrive at their destinations with already existing sets of production techniques and skills. They bring established ideas of “appropriate” dress, foods, and building styles, and they have religious practices, marriage customs, and other cultural expressions in place and ingrained. That is, immigrants carry to their new homes a full complement of artifacts, sociofacts, and mentifacts. They may modify, abandon, or even pass these on to the host culture, depending on a number of interacting influences: (1) the background of the arriving group; (2) its social distance from the charter group; (3) the disparity between new home and origin-area environmental conditions; (4) the importance given by the migrants to the economic, political, or religious motivations that caused them to relocate; and (5) the kinds of encountered constraints that force personal, social, or technical adjustments on the new arrivals.

Immigrant groups rarely transferred intact all of their culture traits to North America. Invariably, there have been modifications as a result of the necessary adjustment to new circumstances or physical conditions. In general, if a

transplanted ethnic trait was usable in the new locale, it was retained. Simple inertia suggested there was little reason to abandon the familiar and comfortable when no advantage accrued. If a trait or a cultural complex was essential to group identity and purpose—the religious convictions of the rural Amish, for example, or of urban Hasidic Jews—its retention was certain. But ill-suited habits or techniques would be abandoned if superior American practices were encountered, and totally inappropriate practices would be discarded. German settlers in Texas, for example, found that grape vines and familiar midlatitude fruits did not thrive there. Old-country agricultural traditions, they discovered, were not fully transferable and had to be altered.

Finally, even apparently essential cultural elements may be modified in the face of unalterable opposition from the majority population. The some 30,000 Hmong and Mien tribespeople who settled in the Fresno, California, area after fleeing Vietnam, Thailand, and Laos found that their traditional practices of medicinal use of opium, of “capturing” young brides, and of ritual slaughtering of animals brought them into conflict with American law and customs and with the more Americanized members of their own culture group.

The assimilation process is accelerated if the immigrant group is in many basic traits similar to the host society, if it is relatively well educated, relatively wealthy, and finds political or social advantages in being “Americanized.” On the other hand, the immigrant group may seek physical separation by concentrating in specific geographic areas or raising barriers to assure separation from corrupting influences. Social isolation can be effective even in congested urban environments if it is buttressed by distinctive costume, beliefs, or practices (**Figure 6.24**). Group segregation may even result in the retention of customs, clothing, or dialects discarded in the original home area.

The assimilation process may be reversed by **culture rebound**, a belated adoption of group consciousness and reestablishment of identifying traits. These may reflect an attempt to reassert old values and to achieve at least a modicum of social separation. The wearing of dashikis, the popularity of Ghanaian-origin kente cloth, or the celebration of Kwanzaa by American blacks seeking identification with African roots are examples of culture rebound. Ethnic identity is fostered by the nuclear family and ties of kinship, particularly when reinforced by residential proximity. It is preserved by such group activities as distinctive feasts or celebrations and by marriage customs; by ethnically identified clubs, such as the Turnverein societies of German communities or the Sokol movement of athletic and cultural centers among the Czechs; and by ethnic churches (**Figure 6.25**).

6.6 The Ethnic Landscape

Landscape evidence of ethnicity may be as subtle as the greater number and size of barns in the German-settled areas of the Ozarks or the designs of churches or the names of villages. The evidence may be as striking as the buggies of the Amish communities,



Figure 6.24 Ultra-Orthodox Hasidic Jews, in their distinctive dress and beards, watch runners in the New York City marathon. Hasidic Jews seek social isolation to protect their way of life from the corrupting influences of modern urban life.

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Figure 6.25 These young girls, dressed in traditional garb for a Los Angeles Greek Orthodox Church festival, show the close association of ethnicity and religion in the American mosaic.

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the massive Dutch (really, German-origin) barns of southeastern Pennsylvania, or the adobe houses of Mexican American settlements in the Southwest. The ethnic landscape, however defined, may be a relic, reflecting old ways no longer pursued. It may contain evidence of artifacts or designs imported, found useful, and retained. In some instances, the physical or customary trappings of ethnicity may remain unique to one community or very few communities. In others, the diffusion of ideas or techniques may have spread introductions to areas beyond their initial impact. The landscapes and landscape evidences explored by cultural geographers are many and complex (and further explored in Chapter 7).

The distinctive landscape elements of ethnic communities come in different forms: farming practices, architecture, monuments, gardens, places of worship, specialty shops, ethnic institutions, and festivals that take over streets or city parks for a designated period of time. Although ethnic landscapes are created originally as expressions of cultural heritage, their continuation may be economically motivated. As

cultural and economic forces work to homogenize places around the world, communities with a distinctive identity can attract tourist revenues. New Glarus, Wisconsin (America's "Little Switzerland"), Solvang, California ("Little Denmark"), Frankenmuth, Michigan ("Little Bavaria"), and Lindsborg, Kansas ("Little Sweden, USA") are good examples. Similarly, urban neighborhoods with identities such as Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Greektown, or Little Italy can attract shoppers and restaurant-goers who seek the novelty or imagined authenticity of an ethnic enclave.

New Glarus, Wisconsin illustrates the tension between assimilation and preservation. For tourists, it presents the image of an ethnic place supposedly untouched by assimilation and homogenization (Figure 6.26). The town was settled by Swiss immigrants who, over time, underwent assimilation while still keeping elements of their ethnic heritage. As the rural community struggled economically, it found that by playing up its ethnic heritage through adding chalet-style



Figure 6.26 New Glarus, Wisconsin, was settled by Swiss immigrants in the mid-1800s, but over time, it came to look like other small towns in the Midwest. More recently, the town has played up its Swiss heritage to attract tourists.

©Volkmar K. Wentzel/National Geographic/Getty Images

architecture, ethnic festivals, specialty shops, and museums, it could attract large numbers of tourists from nearby cities. But the town is not Disneyland, and the tourist image of the community can conflict with actually living and working in the town.

Ethnic Regionalism

Patterns of long-established ethnic regionalism are displayed in pronounced contrasts in the built landscape. In areas of intricate mixtures of ethnic homelands—eastern and south-eastern Europe, for example—different house types, farmstead layouts, and even the use of color can distinguish for the knowledgeable observer the ethnicity of the local population. The one-story “smoking-room” house of the northern Slavs, with its covered entrance hall and stables all under one roof, marks their areas of settlement south of the Danube River. Blue-painted, one-story, straw-roofed houses

indicate Croatian communities. In the Danube Basin, areas of Slovene settlement are distinguished by the Pannonian house of wood and straw-mud. In Spain, the courtyard farmstead marks areas of Moorish influence, just as white stucco houses trimmed with dark green or ochre paint on the shutters indicates Basque settlement.

It is difficult to delineate ethnic regions of the United States that correspond to the distinctive landscapes created by sharply contrasting cultural groups in Europe or other world areas. The reason lies in the mobility of Americans, the degree of acculturation and assimilation of immigrants and their offspring, and the significance of charter cultures and mass communications in shaping ideas, activities, institutions, and material artifacts. What can be attempted is the delimitation of areas in which particular immigrant-group influences have played a recognizable or determinant role in shaping tangible landscapes and intangible regional “character.”

AP KEY WORDS

Use the terms below with a ■ to focus your study of AP Human Geography key words in this chapter.

■ acculturation	ethnic geography	natural selection
amalgamation theory	ethnic group	race
■ assimilation	ethnic island	residential dissimilarity index
chain migration	ethnicity	segregation
charter group	ethnic province	social distance
cluster migration	ethnoburb	spatial assimilation
colony	■ ethnocentrism	tipping point
culture rebound	first effective settlement	transnationalism
ethnic cleansing	ghetto	xenophobia
ethnic enclave	host society	

AP TEST PRACTICE

Multiple Choice Questions

- The term *ethnicity* signifies
 - the categorization of people according to their outward appearance.
 - a group of people that all come from the same country.
 - people who live together in a specific region or part of a city.
 - people who share common culture traits or characteristics.
 - a biological definition of humanity based on genetic drift.
- According to the graph in Figure 6.4 on page 179,
 - immigration from South and East Europe peaked between 1900 and 1920.
 - the largest number of immigrants have always been from Latin America and the Caribbean.
 - people from Canada never immigrate to the United States.
 - World War II caused a spike in immigration as Europeans fled the war for safety.
 - immigration from Africa and Asia are almost equal in number.
- The process of acculturation occurs when
 - the culture of the host country is changed by an influx of immigrants.
 - immigrant culture is seen as inferior to that of the host country.
 - there are so many streams of immigrants coming into a country that there is no longer a majority culture.
 - immigrants begin to adopt aspects of the host country’s culture.
 - immigrants are forced to learn aspects of the host country’s culture in order to remain in the country.

4. **Ethnic diversity in Yugoslavia and Afghanistan has led to**
- (A) the integration of various ethnicities within each country into one national identity through the process of assimilation.
 - (B) the requirement in each country that all people learn a national language.
 - (C) territorial seizure, war, and ethnic cleansing as various ethnic groups vie for dominance.
 - (D) support for a national government led by NATO or the United Nations.
 - (E) the unification of those countries as people put aside their ethnic differences and learned to work together.
5. **Examples of ethnic islands and provinces include all of the following EXCEPT**
- (A) Ukrainians in the Western Prairie provinces of Canada.
 - (B) Mennonites, Hutterites, and the Pennsylvania Dutch in Canada and the United States.
 - (C) French Canadians in Quebec.
 - (D) Native Americans on reservations in the southwestern United States.
 - (E) Chinatown in San Francisco and other similar enclaves in U.S. cities.
6. **According to the ethnic population maps in Figures 6.13 and 6.14 on pages 190-191, both African American and Hispanic populations**
- (A) cluster in large cities.
 - (B) have not migrated in large numbers to North and South Dakota.
 - (C) are most numerous in the Northeast.
 - (D) make up 20% of the populations of Hawaii and Alaska.
 - (E) live in the Southwest in large numbers.
7. **All of the following have influenced the immigration of Asians to the United States EXCEPT**
- (A) the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, which abolished earlier limits on immigration that were based on national quotas.
 - (B) professional preference categories that favored educated Asian immigrants.
 - (C) the process of chain migration by which legal immigrants could bring their family members to the United States.
 - (D) the wave of Southeast Asian refugees that came to the United States under the Refugee Resettlement Program after the Viet Nam War.
 - (E) a flood of immigrants from Japan after World War II and from North Korea today.
8. **In cities, members of ethnic groups tend to**
- (A) cluster together with other members of their own group.
 - (B) disperse evenly throughout the city.
 - (C) try to assimilate quickly into the majority culture.
 - (D) move to rural areas where land is less expensive.
 - (E) join together into multiethnic groups.
9. **The conversion of an Orthodox Jewish synagogue into a Christian church**
- (A) shows the importance of the Jewish community in that area.
 - (B) demonstrates the dominance of Christianity in that area.
 - (C) is an example of the effect of shifting ethnic concentrations on the cultural landscape.
 - (D) will cause the migration of more Christians to that area.
 - (E) is evidence that Orthodox Jews tend to move to more rural areas.
10. **In many parts of the United States, Hispanic Americans are no longer a minority group but are instead the majority of the population. This has led to which of the following:**
- (A) The official language of New Mexico has changed to Spanish.
 - (B) Recently more immigrants have moved to farms to work as agricultural laborers.
 - (C) The urban landscape has changed, including colorful murals, advertising in Spanish, and many vendors selling Hispanic food and other goods.
 - (D) Catholicism has been replaced by Lutheranism as the majority religion.
 - (E) There has been less dispersion and more clustering in cities in recent years of specific groups near their point of entry into the United States.

Free Response Questions

1. **Choose three subgroups of Hispanic Americans from the list in Figure 6.6 on page 190. Explain the push and pull factors involved in their immigration to the United States.**
2. **Answers Parts A, B, and C below.**
 - (A) Define the term *segregation* and explain how it is tied to the idea of social distance.
 - (B) Explain the concepts of external and internal controls on spatial patterns within cities, giving two examples of each.
 - (C) Explain the concept of shifting concentrations, using a specific example from a city in the United States.
3. **Answers Parts A, B, and C below.**
 - (A) Explain the concepts of cultural transfer and cultural rebound. Give an example of how one of these concepts affects the cultural landscape of a place.
 - (B) Describe two examples of American landscapes affected by the culture of either Europe or Latin America.
 - (C) Explain and give two examples of ethnic regionalism in Europe.