

# *Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education in the United States: The Contributory Role of Geography*

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## INTRODUCTION

Settlement geography and cultural landscapes, two well-established themes of human geography, have taken on renewed importance in the study of the United States. The examination of regional cultural patterns, such as the distribution of Hispanics in the American Southwest, Germans in Texas, and Mormons in the Salt Lake Region are a few examples of the geographic research tradition. More recently, however, the following have garnered increasing attention and include new, as well as traditional, perspectives: racial and ethnic diversity related to recent immigration patterns, the relocation of racial/ethnic groups within the United States, and the persistence of group segregation, isolation and concomitant socioeconomic inequalities.

Cultural conflict, resulting from the competition for geographic space, is a continuing theme in this research. Newer emphases include the analyses of various forms of inequities experienced by racial/ethnic minorities across geographic space (Frazier, Margai, and Tettey-Fio, 2003), the nature of cultural landscapes where various racial and ethnic groups share space, including urban landscapes in transition (Stewart, 1999), and the analysis of functional relationships that are creating new cultural and urban forms (Li et al., 2002). This newer orientation is rooted in geographic traditions; however, it also recognizes the importance of power relationships among and between cultures and subcultures of a nation, including their significance in shaping the day-to-day lives, experiences, and landscapes of racial/ethnic groups that comprise that nation. As such, this geographic perspective is part of an evolving study of multiculturalism.

This introductory chapter examines the emergence of multiculturalism in the United States as an ideological stance as well as an educational tool that seeks a better understanding of the increasingly diverse nature of the U.S. society, the persistent inequalities between the groups and the different ways in which these problems can be resolved. The contributory role of geographic themes, research and applications in achieving these educational objectives is also examined.

## MULTICULTURALISM

Multiculturalism has had a relatively complex and muddled history in the United States. Part of this complexity arises because of the nuanced interpretations of the concept itself, its overlap with related terms such as pluralism and diversity, and more significantly, the sequential stages of its development in the United States. While some authors argue that this is a relatively recent phenomenon in the United States, others contend that it has always existed. Zelinsky, for example, writes:

The United States has always been a stratified, caste-ridden society, practicing a rather primitive form of multiculturalism. Now given our altered circumstances, with quantitative growth, increasing complexity, and activism of minority populations and the globalization of social and cultural processes, multiculturalism has come out of the closet, so to speak (Zelinsky, 2001; p. 192).

Accepting Zelinsky's sequence of events, this first phase, which he referred to as Multiculturalism 1, represented a period of significant inequalities between the racial and ethnic groups; yet most of these glaring disparities were largely ignored and given the "silent treatment." He contends that "Multiculturalism 2" has replaced this preliminary phase.

Today, Multiculturalism 2 is the most recognizable phase in the evolution of U.S. multiculturalism, partly because it continues to be the focus of intense debate, but more so because of the way it captured the national spotlight. It started as a way of expressing dissatisfaction with the long-held traditional "melting pot" view of Americans as people of diverse cultural backgrounds merging into a single, harmonious culture. The term, *Multiculturalism*, itself was first used during the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, in an attempt to bring attention to the repression of American black culture by prejudice and discrimination. Street riots of the 1960s not only informed white America that African Americans had reached a limit regarding inequalities, they served notice that Blacks would no longer be denied their own cultural history. **Multiculturalism**, in this new phase, was a "wake up" call to black militancy and sought the inclusion of black voices in public affairs, especially in education.

Later, as other American racial/ethnic groups appeared in greater numbers due to post-1970s immigration patterns and as other, previously silent, voices became more vocal about their rights, the scope of multiculturalism expanded. During the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, U.S. immigration by Latinos and Asians surged, swelling their proportions of the total U.S. population. Issues related to their rights, as well as those of other diverse groups, including women, the disabled, and the "gay pride movement," gained public attention and permeated the surface of American consciousness. This required a more inclusive **multiculturalism**, one seeking social tolerance and a broader representation from a diverse American population in the discussion of global, national and local matters. Needless to say, arguments ensued over this type of inclusion, particularly in teaching American history and geography, but also over political representation, and in the broader debates of American social, economic, and educational issues and their solutions. As a result of increased awareness and debate, multiculturalism made its way both into the academic and popular literature and became an emotionally charged term in the political arena.

As the quest for a more inclusive multiculturalism continues, most advocates envision and hope for an equitable society in which there is greater tolerance and cooperation among Americans as people begin to appreciate and celebrate their cultural differences (Fry, 1992; Darden, 1997; Frazier, Margai and Tettey-Fio, 2003). Zelinsky refers to this phase in the sequential process as Multiculturalism 3; a visionary stage that is calmer, almost ideal, in which all groups will be able to co-exist and interact freely on a level field without having to give up their cultural identities.

Overall, given the changing nature of multiculturalism as outlined above, and the multiple definitions of the concept in the literature, it seems clear that this phenomenon has both ideological and educational dimensions. It is both a political charge and an educational process. J. U. Wilson's definition underscores this:

... (multiculturalism is) a process through which individuals are exposed to the diversity that exists in the U.S. ... the policy or practice of giving equal attention or representation to the cultural needs and contributions of all the groups in a society; special emphasis may be given to minority groups underrepresented in the past" (Wilson, 2003, p. 1, including a quote of Webster's, 1999, p. 891).

Thus, multiculturalism in the American context is based on the premise that the dominant white-Anglo culture shaped the history of the U.S. and the well being of its racial/ethnic subgroups. This has resulted in negative consequences for many members of those subcultures. The dominant white majority, for example, insisted that minorities must fully abandon their unique traits and beliefs in favor of those of the "American culture" (acculturation). This insistence, perhaps best reflected in the American motto "*e pluribus unum*" (one out of many), was due to concerns that cultural diversity would prohibit assimilation and ultimately threaten the "American

culture” as perceived and defined by the dominant white group. National unity was possible only by cultural uniformity. Thus, minority subcultures could ignore their own cultural histories and sense of place and assimilate, or they could pay the price of resisting assimilation. Of course, assimilation did not guarantee racial/ethnic integration, equal opportunity, or equal access to employment or residential neighborhoods.

Multiculturalism is therefore a reaction against these choices and asserts the right to be culturally different from the white American mainstream. It also demands the teaching of inclusive American history and geography, including discussion of the historical and contemporary injustices experienced by American subcultures. This includes significant acts of prejudice and discrimination and their consequences. Multiculturalism seeks the overt recognition of both the positive aspects of American racial/ethnic experiences as well as the exposure of wrongdoings and their redress. These viewpoints have been translated into political activism and curricular reform that has sparked controversy.

Opponents of multiculturalism perceive a political ideology that threatens the very cultural and political fabric of America, especially the unity provided by a single language and individual rights. Particular issues have been cast within a political framework that contains challenges to multiculturalism, which critics argue has become a tool of liberal politicians and educators seeking the protection of specific societal groups at the expense of its individual white members. In this context, affirmative action, whether applied to college admissions or employment, merely amounts to reverse discrimination. Also, liberal immigration policy that continues to dilute “American” culture is both a product of multiculturalism and a means of eroding the American culture. The use of non-English languages in school and polling places, they suggest, is a product of multiculturalism, as are efforts to educate the children of illegal immigrants on the backs of the American middle class. They argue that multiculturalism has pushed a belief system in order to justify minority quotas that restrict the rights and welfare of more capable white students and workers. They also require hard-working Americans foot the bills for the costs related to these politically motivated actions. Thus, multiculturalism limits personal freedoms and threatens America’s future (for examples of these views of multiculturalism, see Adversity. net: “For Victims of Reverse Discrimination,” 2003).

Where opponents to multiculturalism see liberal accommodation, restrictions of individual rights, and threats to American culture, multiculturalists perceive a necessary reform movement that redresses past wrongs, and, through legal actions and curricula, seeks a fairer and more inclusive society. They believe that this is necessitated by the historical record and by the practicality of racial/ethnic population projections for the next generation (Frazier, Margai, and Tettey-Fio, 2003). They also believe that a more inclusive society will create a stronger America. They view the U.S. as sufficiently strong and fair to establish goals that include admission and redress of past mistakes. Tolerance for and acceptance of cultural differences can be accomplished, proponents argue, while shared cultural traits of America are preserved. A pluralistic American society, however, can no longer be dominated strictly by an Anglo viewpoint.

## **MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: THE CONTRIBUTORY ROLE OF GEOGRAPHY**

**Multicultural education** has accepted responsibility to provide the curriculum that accomplishes the goals of multiculturalism and, at the same time, transforms the American society (see, e.g., P. Gorski and B. Covert, 2000, “Defining Multicultural Education,” 2003). Multicultural education is designed to benefit student awareness, understanding, and tolerance through the provision of different lenses for viewing the American society and its complex history, variegated landscapes and settlement geographies. This means learning (and in some cases, relearning) the facts and processes that produced American subcultural experiences and living spaces.

Over the last decade, several approaches have been designed for accomplishing these educational goals. Darden (1997) summarized the salient characteristics of each of these approaches noting their strengths and limitations. One of the earlier approaches, presented by Sleeter and Grant (1988), advocated the need to recognize and incorporate the important achievements and historical contributions of American minority groups. Fry (1992) advocated another idea termed the “human relations” approach. This emphasized the need for strategies

that promote equity through group interaction and cooperation. Though encouraging, Darden (1997) argued that these educational approaches were somewhat limited by their failure to acknowledge the underlying causes of group inequalities such as poverty, discrimination and powerlessness. A more appealing approach, particularly from a geographical standpoint, is the multicultural social reconstructionist approach. This approach recognizes the need for identifying the historical and present-day factors and processes that account for group inequalities in America. It also recognizes the significant role of *place*, group isolation, segregation and other spatial patterns in creating and perpetuating these inequalities (Darden, 1997). Even though this educational approach was originally advocated for urban geographers, it can be broadened to capture the entire range of issues that impact the lives of racial and ethnic groups in both rural and urban environments.

Geography is particularly poised to handle the educational challenges of multiculturalism for a number of reasons. First, geography brings a place-based perspective to the study and understanding of the complex and dynamic attributes of U.S. multiculturalism. The locale, or physical setting in which the population subgroups reside, their cultural particularities, beliefs and value systems, aspirations, behavioral practices, and experiences with housing and other locational inequities, are all familiar areas of geographic inquiry. Geographers have come to understand that the spatial organization of groups in a given society is based on the actions of those inhabiting a particular place, as well as, the actions and policies of those who have the power to control and shape those places and people. Geography is far from a passive stage on which humans live their lives. Rather, it is the land and space shaped and reshaped into human living space and the unique places (landscapes), occupied by particular subgroups of the population. Thus, racial and ethnic landscapes evolve and change, creating new settlement geographies. Quality of life in these settlements is determined by the actions of individuals and agencies, as well as by technology and the resources of the environment. The type of transformation also depends on the goodwill and fairness of others. This is what power relationships are about and they can sometimes be the most important explanatory force in shaping geographic settlement space and the quality of life experienced there. Thus, a course in **Multicultural Geographies** considers, at various geographic scales, the environmental and human processes that determine the nature of geographic landscapes in particular places. Spatial inequalities, a part of quality of life, result from a number of environmental and human factors. Important among such factors are the actions of social institutions that may seek to control geographic space and its inhabitants for a variety of reasons. Multicultural Geographies recognize and interpret the unique attributes of these places and the problems created by such processes and actions of the population groups.

Second, geographic curricula in the United States are based on traditions that emphasize the human-environmental systems, cultural landscapes, regional analysis and the study of spatial relationships, including movements that help define them. These themes guide the formulation of new courses that examine issues of multiculturalism as expressed in the spatial organization of the earth and its landscapes. However, the viewpoints of different cultural (subcultures) groups are included in the study of multicultural geographies. The focus is not just on the spatial and environmental injustices that result from natural and human processes. Rather, the study of multicultural geographies provides an understanding and appreciation of the spatial expression of racial/ethnic patterns. They inform students of the implications of these important geographic patterns, not only how they have been produced but their consequences. In an American context, the study of major racial and ethnic groups, blacks, Latinos, Asians, and white European-Americans, or even smaller groups within those broad categories, such as African Americans, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, and Greeks, are undertaken for this purpose. Individual studies may focus on one or more of these racial/ethnic groups. Geography courses of this type not only address the changing multicultural geographies of the United States, they provide students a perspective on the roles of American institutions in the evolution of these complex and meaningful geographic patterns, while relating the experiences and well-being of multiple subcultures over space and time. In the process they inform us about our evolving American society.

Third, geography possesses an excellent blend of analytical tools and techniques that are very instructive and useful for monitoring the changing nature of multiculturalism and visualizing the spatial expression of racial and ethnic groups in the United States. The use of survey data, interviews, focus group meetings and fieldwork provide valuable insights and information about the unique attributes and socio-spatial experiences of American minorities. Maps, figures, and photographs garnered from the field, bring to life the ethnically diverse landscapes that are evolving across contemporary America. Historical patterns can be identified and new and

unique forms of settlement can be depicted using these visualization tools. The use of digital databases such as the U.S. Census data, coupled with statistical methods, remote sensing, three-dimensional cartographic designs, and Geographic Information Systems (GIS) offer new and expanding opportunities for evaluating ethnic geologies and palimpsest landscapes, the spatial dimensions of segregation as well as identifying and validating concerns about housing discrimination, employment, health, environmental and other racial/ethnic inequities.

In an effort to document the contributory role of geography in studying U.S. multiculturalism, this book provides an overview of the key historical and contemporary patterns of multicultural geographies within the United States and a basic understanding of the key processes that have shaped them. Individual chapters address such questions as: How do race/ethnicity, the political economy, and degree of opportunity affect where and how well particular groups of people live? What new urban and regional forms are emerging in America's cities and suburbs and what are the forces shaping them? Why are segregation and geographic isolation of American races and ethnic groups so prevalent and what are the consequences of this behavior? What are the relevant measures and methodologies for identifying and monitoring the differential patterns of racial/ethnic settlements, segregation and group inequalities across geographic space?

In compiling this volume, we have brought together a group of geographers who have spent the last several years addressing these questions. This collaborative venture was absolutely necessary given the broad scope of multiculturalism, the increasingly diverse and numerically significant groups in the U.S., and the continuous evolution of new and different forms of residential geographies. As some authors have rightfully suggested, the study of multiculturalism defies the development of a single unifying theory or approach; instead it requires a coalition of authors with multiple and divergent perspectives (Lee, 1997; Willet, 2002; Zelinsky, 2002). We have adopted this stance hoping that by compiling the papers, we can show the multiplicity of viewpoints surrounding this topic as well as illustrate the significant contributions made by geographers in addressing the diverse range of issues affecting the lives of America's racial and ethnic groups. The shared belief is that we can learn about America's past, present and future by examining its multi-ethnic society through the prism of geography.

While all perspectives on the topic of multiculturalism are valuable, this book restricts discussion to certain aspects of the geography of race and ethnicity. Our approach is to view only selected parts of multicultural diversity by focusing on America's three major racial/ethnic groups and, very selectively, on a few of their sub-populations. Our presentation is through the lens of social science, integrating geography, history, political economy and other factors that have and will continue to shape America's multicultural geographies. The text is organized into five major parts. A brief description of each section follows.

## **ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK**

### *Part I: Multiculturalism in a Geographic Context*

The first part of this book provides a theoretically structured background for discussing multiculturalism from a geographic perspective. Important concepts such as culture and cultural landscape are introduced followed by a more focused discussion of the American culture. Also relevant is the historical context for economic growth, industrialization and immigration processes. Knowledge of these historical processes provides a necessary preamble for understanding the contemporary patterns of group settlement in the United States.

### *Part II: Black Group Settlements and Experiences*

Part II examines the geography of black Americans and the issues that affect their day-to-day lives in the United States. Tettey-Fio offers a historical overview of black migration and the evolution of black settlements in the U.S. He traces the migration patterns, including interregional migration of blacks from southern to northern urban centers that led to the development of ghettos and black enclaves in large central cities. He describes the emergence of the Black middle class in contemporary America as a positive trend but notes that overall, very few gains have been made in bridging the racial divide and eliminating the inequalities between the

group and their white counterparts. The other three authors, Darden, Kaplan and Grady, pick up from this theme, providing more concrete details of African American experiences with residential segregation, education, mortgage lending, and health care inequities.

Using the state of Michigan as an example, Darden's work raises three major issues that have been sticking points in race relations in the U.S.: residential segregation, mortgage lending and educational achievement. His work provides valuable statistics in documenting these inequities in Michigan, questions the effectiveness of existing policies, and concludes with very explicit recommendations for resolving these problems.

Kaplan's chapter explores a more specific area, sub-prime mortgage lending practices, which bolsters the arguments made by Darden. Reporting on a recent court case in Washington D.C., Kaplan examines the activities of a predatory lender in targeting African American borrowers. Using census data and geocoded information of loan records, his work illustrates the effectiveness of geographic methods in validating the concerns about institutional discrimination against American minorities.

Grady's chapter provides a key contribution in evaluating the negative effects of residential segregation on the health of African Americans in the United States. Using individual births and census data from Kings County (Brooklyn), New York, she examines the risk of low birth weight (LBW) among black babies and their mothers. This adverse health outcome is known to be an indicator of women's reproductive health as well as a valuable measure of health inequities suffered by African Americans in racially segregated neighborhoods. Specifically, Grady argues that residential segregation isolates black women from health amenities and other support services that may result in stressful conditions and negative lifestyle behaviors that increase the risk of having low birth weight babies. Comparing the odds ratio of birth outcomes in segregated and non-segregated neighborhoods, she finds that regardless of their place of residence, black women face a higher risk of having low birth weight babies than their counterparts. Based on these findings, Grady concludes that future research must focus on race, racial discrimination and their negative effects on pregnant women.

### *Part III: Asian Group Settlements and Experiences*

Following the framework established in Part II, this section examines the cultural characteristics and experiences of Asians in the United States. Most scholars would agree that this task in itself is conceptually challenging given the multiple subgroupings of Asian Americans and multiple waves of migration into the United States. The emerging settlement geographies are equally difficult to discern due to the variegated landscapes that are visible in certain areas (such as the Chinatowns and "ethnoburbs") and not so visible in others (the "invisiburbs").

In chapter seven, Frazier attempts to unravel some of these complexities first by summarizing for us the temporal milestones in Asian immigration into the U.S. Focusing on three groups, Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos, he outlines the phases of migration of each group, the circumstances that led to their arrival and acceptance in the U.S. and later, their experiences with prejudice and discrimination. Given the pluralistic nature of this group, he cautions against the use of aggregate statistics, particularly in evaluating the economic profile. The "model minority myth" is dispelled in favor of a much more realistic picture that is characterized by significant economic differences and inequalities. Not surprisingly, the state of Asian American communities at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is also varied ranging from a threatened existence of Chinatowns in the inner cities to the emergence of new and wealthier neighborhoods in the suburbs.

David Wong's chapter acknowledges the increasingly multi-ethnic nature of the American society, noting the rapid growth of the Asian segment in recent years. These trends, he argues, require a whole new set of analytical measures to evaluate the level of segregation between all of the groups, as well as between Asians and other groups. He begins the chapter with an overview of existing measures of spatial segregation, noting the strengths and weaknesses of each. Next, using data from 30 metropolitan communities, he examines the changing levels of segregation between 1980 and 2000. Based on the two-group comparisons of segregation levels, the most general observations suggest a decline between Blacks and Whites, an increase between Asians and Whites, and a decrease between Asians and Blacks. However, using the same data for multi-group measures, he contends that the ellipse-based index is much more effective in capturing the spatial dimensions of group segre-

gation. The results show an overall increase in the level of segregation for at least half of the metropolitan areas covered in the study.

The chapter by Skop and Li provide further evidence of the challenges facing researchers in unraveling the residential geographies of Asian Americans in the United States. Specifically, the authors contend that immigrant settlement patterns, in general, can no longer be viewed in terms of the traditional Chicago School model in which new immigrants arrive and settle in the ethnic ghettos near the central business districts. Instead, new forms of ethnic settlements are emerging in the suburbs as “alternative ports of entry” for Asian migrants, particularly those who are highly educated and affluent with greater choices in residential decision-making. Using qualitative data for Chinese immigrants in Los Angeles, and the Asian Indians in Phoenix, they refer to these new multi-cultural settlements as “ethnoburbs” and “invisiburbs,” and provide detailed characterizations of each. Their account of the socio-spatial experiences of these residents and their transformation of the host communities suggest that perhaps we may be experiencing a two-way integration process instead of the traditional one-way assimilation process previously expected from new migrants.

As part of the two-way integration process identified in the preceding chapter, the chapter by Kraly and Valkenberg illustrates the unique efforts made by some American communities to welcome and accommodate new migrants into their fold. This chapter focuses particularly on refugee resettlement, a topic that is frequently glossed over in the literature in favor of more contentious issues such as illegal migration. Using Utica-Rome, New York, as the study area, the authors examine the recent influx of refugees into this region, primarily from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Vietnam, and the efforts made by the community to integrate these new migrants. In terms of population dynamics, the arrival of these migrants has helped to revive a city that would otherwise have experienced a dramatic population loss in the 1990s. Additional benefits are also documented including economic redevelopment and establishment of new business enterprises, labor force participation, and home ownership. Quoting some of the residents interviewed for the research, the authors conclude that the benefits of this resettlement program go well beyond the economic rewards to include “cultural capital” and the emergence of Utica as a unique community that embraces racial and ethnic diversity. Extending Zelinsky’s sequential stages of multiculturalism to Utica-Rome, it may be safe to conclude that this community is well on its way to Multiculturalism 3.

#### *Part IV: Latino Group Settlements and Experiences*

Part IV provides ample evidence of an equally complex and changing geography of Latino-Americans, now the largest single minority group in the United States. The opening chapter by Reisinger and Tettey-Fio provides the historical facts and processes underlying the early settlements of Mexicans in the borderland regions of the Southwest, the Puerto Ricans in the Northeast, and the Cubans mostly in Florida. The authors carefully document the circumstances surrounding the arrival of each of these three major groups in the United States, their subsequent waves of migration, and a host of factors fueling these migration processes. Using the most up-to-date statistics and maps, these authors lay the groundwork for two important issues that are addressed in the ensuing chapters. First, they illustrate the dramatic shift in regional concentration of Latino settlements to other parts of the country. These emerging spatial patterns are partly the result of large numbers of Hispanic migrants that continue to enter the country, but also because of the dispersal of the existing population from the original ports of entry to smaller cities. Second, their analysis of the contemporary settlements patterns shows that Latino communities are becoming increasingly urbanized and many of the emerging barrios and associated neighborhoods are plagued with the same problems that currently afflict African-American neighborhoods. These issues are addressed in more detail in the next two chapters.

Focusing on the first topic, Reisinger’s work in chapter 8 explores the role of in-migration in explaining the regional shifts of Latino settlements from traditional gateway cities, such as New York City, into smaller cities such as Allentown, Pennsylvania. The chapter provides a solid theoretical basis for understanding migration processes using traditional approaches as well as more recent perspectives. The largest group of immigrants is of Puerto Rican descent. However, Reisinger reports that there are several other Latino subgroups in the community and many tend to self-identify with their country of origin. Reisinger relies on personal interviews

and survey data to document the push and pull factors of migration to Allentown and concludes that there is no single explanatory model for the migration process.

Tetty-Fio's chapter is equally revealing, focusing on the Latino neighborhoods and cultural landscapes that have emerged in Allentown. He starts out with a pre-1970 description of Allentown, a region that was first dominated by Germans. Even though small groups of Latinos had migrated into this region earlier, a significant influx of mostly Puerto Ricans occurred in the 1970s and thereafter. Like Kraly's assessment of Utica-Rome, Tetty-Fio contends that the arrival of these migrants is largely responsible for minimizing the dramatic population loss that would otherwise have occurred in the region over the last few decades. Unlike Utica-Rome however, the host community, though assisted by some churches and agencies such as the Salvation Army, did not readily accept these migrants. Negative perceptions and stereotyping of the group have persisted and continued to impact their relationships with the previously dominant white majority. Despite these hurdles, they have succeeded in carving out their own niche, transforming segments of the community into Latino landscapes, characterized by neighborhood bodegas, restaurants, apparel stores and religious institutions. This chapter is enriched with several photos that assist the reader in visualizing the ethnic landscapes in the community. As with most multicultural communities however, one finds a segmentation of space among the racial/ethnic groups. Tetty-Fio examines this phenomenon first, by classifying the city into sub-regions based on these racial/ethnic characteristics and then, proceeds to compare and contrast the socio-economic status of the neighborhoods. His work confirms that the inner cities, where Latinos and Blacks constitute the majority, are the most significant areas of inequities based on income, employment and educational attainment.

In chapter 10, Klaf, Legette, and Frazier apply a number of concepts introduced earlier in the preceding chapters to document the racial/ethnic diversification of Binghamton, New York. Like Utica-Rome and Allentown, this urban region has experienced a decline in manufacturing employment, population loss, and racial/ethnic changes over the past two decades. There are different factors at work in this community, however. The authors use the Greater Binghamton area's industrial history to explain its white, although ethnically diverse, dominance. They then explain the changing appeal of Binghamton as a place to Asian immigrant refugees and migrating blacks and Latinos, many of whom are relatively poor former New York City area residents seeking an escape from that region. The authors illustrate through maps the "poor multiculturalism" of Binghamton neighborhoods where black and Latino residential clusters are emerging in areas containing public housing and high poverty rates.

Klaf and her co-authors also document the role of Binghamton University, formerly a predominantly white institution, in promoting racial/ethnic diversity. Through successful recruitment policies the University has achieved a 31% non-white student body. Since more than one-half of the University's nearly 15,000 students are off-campus renters, another local multicultural residential pattern has emerged. Zoning regulations restrict student neighborhoods to a relatively small section of the City's "Westside," away from the emerging multicultural clusters associated with the public housing areas. Thus, two separate processes, permanent interregional migration of non-whites and a growing multicultural university population, are diversifying the City of Binghamton. The geographic separation of these multicultural neighborhoods, in addition to socioeconomic class differences, results in isolation and minimal contact between the local minority populations, a situation the University likely will want to change in the future.

#### *Part V: Using Spatial Analytical Concepts and Approaches to Study Multiculturalism*

Part V consists of four chapters that employ a diverse range of conceptualizations and analytical approaches in discerning the complex landscapes that are emerging across the United States, the persistent patterns of segregation, group inequities and the resultant effects. In the first chapter, Stanley Brunn explores the use of concepts such as ethnic geomorphology, ethnic geology, and palimpsest landscapes in mapping and evaluating ethnic landscapes. Using the concept of ethnic geomorphology, Brunn identifies four types of ethnic communities: 1) areas that are frozen in time; 2) mosaic areas where ethnic and racial diversity persist; 3) areas of relative stability but recently showing signs of new ethnic features; and 4) areas that are actively evolving to create new ethnic mosaics. Ethnic maps, showing where groups are isolated, and overlays, illustrating shared spaces with others, best depict all of these patterns. He adds further that these maps can be developed at different spatial



scales to reveal national patterns, dominant regional themes, spatial clusters, and areas of relative uniformity or diversity. Brunn also discusses the notion of palimpsest landscapes, as places containing remnants of previous occupants of ethnic groups. Borrowing from physical geography, he provides an intriguing description of emergent features such as ethnic monadocks and ethnic oxbows. The chapter ends with some specific ideas and challenges for further research and inquiry in order to fully document the patterns that now characterize the cultural landscapes of America.

Taking up one of challenges issued by Brunn, Lucius Willis, in chapter 16, examines the use of a three-dimensional mapping technique in portraying racial and ethnic changes in American communities. This technique, he argues, offers several advantages including the design of maps that are easier to comprehend, maps that retain the relative differences in value between enumeration areas, and maps that allow the use of the tonal shading to portray other kinds of information. Notwithstanding these advantages however, Willis caution the reader about several issues that must be considered prior to designing the map. Issues tied to the location of the north arrow, the angle of obliqueness, the angle of illumination and extent of vertical exaggeration must be resolved prior to completing the map. Finally, using Allentown, Pennsylvania as an example, Willis illustrates the valuable contributions of using such maps for depicting racial diversity and change, as well as portraying the socio-economic characteristics and disparities between the groups. This approach, he concludes, offers much potential for visualizing the changing geologies and geomorphologies of ethnic landscapes in America.

Even as we strive to come up with new and meaningful approaches to map the emerging patterns in racial and ethnic diversity, group segregation and isolation continue to haunt American society. This pattern has been identified in the previous sections of the book as one of the most persistent indicators of American minority settlements regardless of being African American, Latino or Asian American. Given the relevance of this theme in resolving race and place-based inequalities and moving toward the optimistic goals of "Multiculturalism 3," David Wong, in chapter, 17, outlines the analytical measures that are most useful in identifying and monitoring segregated areas in the United States. Starting with one of the traditional measures, the D index, he discusses the statistical inadequacies of this measure particularly in failing to account for the spatial arrangement of areal units, and its inability to deal with multiple groups. The spatial segregation index proposed by Morrill is then presented as an alternative, followed by modified indices to account for spatial properties such as the size, shape and compactness of areal units. More significantly, Wong's work addresses the need to develop multi-group measures to detect segregation patterns in an increasingly multi-ethnic society. He identifies four such measures, but recommends the use of the ellipse-based measure because it summarizes adequately, the magnitude of spatial overlap between different groups as well as the areas in which they fail to overlap or interact with each other. Using 1990 census data for thirty metropolitan areas, he evaluates the effectiveness of both the traditional and spatial measures for two groups and multi-group settings. The results show that the measures are dependent on the degree of spatial autocorrelation of the population distribution. The greater the degree of autocorrelation, then the greater the level of segregation and the more likely to yield consistent results among the measures.

Margai provides another illustration of the use of spatial analytical methods in identifying the spatial clustering of minorities and the geographical inequities that impact them. Specifically, her chapter examines the use of GIS, statistics and spatial clustering algorithms in documenting the disproportionate burden of disease and disabilities among minority groups. Contrary to popular belief that these ailments are predominantly caused by behavioral risk factors, Margai argues that there is a strong correspondence between the clustering of minority populations and the prevalence of environmental toxicants in their neighborhoods. These toxicants place the residents at high risk for environmentally induced diseases such as lead poisoning, asthma, low birth weights and certain types of cancers. To validate this claim, she used data from Erie County, N.Y. to study the prevalence of low birth weight incidences. The data, gathered from multiple sources, included the U.S. Census, inpatient and outpatient hospital records, air quality data, toxic release inventory, hazardous waste sites and commercial pesticide applications. All of these were compiled into the GIS for spatial analysis and visualization. The clustering algorithm confirmed a spatial aggregation of health outcomes that were 2.5 times greater in high-risk areas. These areas of high risk were in close proximity to toxic polluting sources. More significantly, high population densities, poverty and a high proportion of African Americans characterized these areas. Her work demonstrates that through the use of spatial analytical methods, one can build up concrete evidence of group

injustices, and perhaps begin to develop innovative strategies geared toward eliminating the environmental and health inequities that impact these minorities.

In conclusion, the chapters presented in this book illustrate a range of issues and enormous challenges facing Americans in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Even as the nation becomes more diverse with changing group numbers and shifting cultural landscapes, the socio-political relationships between the population subgroups remain, and the struggle for tolerance and equity continues. Our task as geographers is to bring to the table the wealth of viewpoints, experiences, skills, talents, and tools for use toward the construction of an inclusive multicultural society.

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