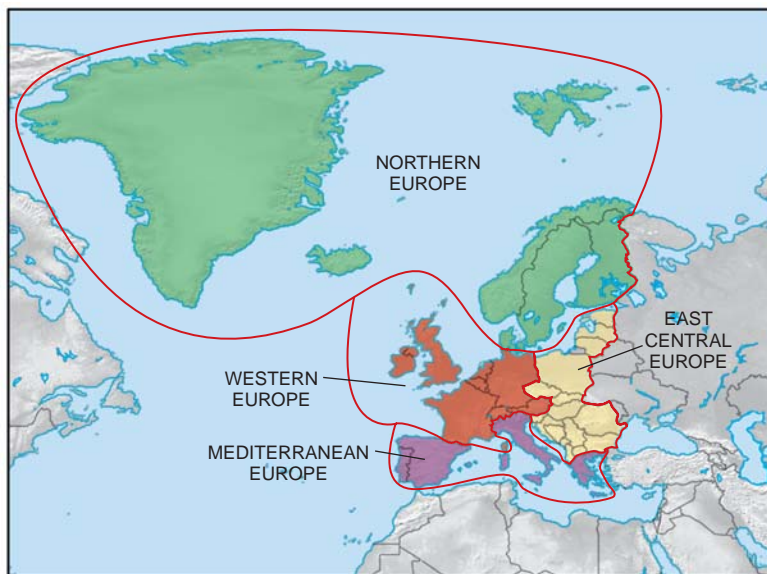


Chapter

3



Europe



(a)

Figure 3.1

Europe in a world context:

(a) The countries and subregions. (b) Natural environments and major physical features.



(b)



This Chapter is About...

Europe sets the new global order

Europe's cultural diversity

Temperate, midlatitude natural environments

Setting a new global standard in the modern era

Four subregions:

- Western Europe: Europe's industrial heartland
- Northern Europe: high living quality in harsh environments
- Mediterranean Europe: Europe's oldest civilizations
- East Central Europe: former Communist countries adopting capitalist practices

Point-Counterpoint: European Union

Personal View: Bosnia-Herzegovina

European Influences

Many great ideas and inventions originated in other world regions, often long before Europeans made any discoveries. Nevertheless, Europe (Figure 3.1 and 3.2) is a hearth for many contemporary global ideas and practices. Some of these include democracy, Christianity, colonialism, imperialism, capitalism, the Enlightenment, nationalism, fascism, socialism, Communism, and genocide. As stated, not all are wholly European. Christianity, for example, began in Southwest Asia, but for centuries, the religion was solely in Europe, where it took on a European character before spreading around the world. Europeans also made such scientific discoveries as the Earth being spherical and revolving around the sun, the laws of motion and gravity, the theory of evolution, genetic science, the causes of disease, radioactivity, and the theory of relativity. European inventions include movable type for the printing press, the microscope, telescope, steam engine, railroad, internal combustion engine, automobile, radio, orbital satellite, and digital computer. The Industrial Revolution also began in Europe, radically altering Europe's economy and society and then making similar dramatic changes in other world regions.

Europeans did not merely use their technologies to explore and gain more material wealth from abroad. They also used their technology to transform Europe's natural

environments. Farms and market towns replaced forests, and in time, factories and cities replaced many farms. Rivers were straightened for navigation and dammed to prevent flooding and provide power. The Earth was mined for coal and ore and then drilled for oil. All these activities improved the material standard of living but profoundly affected Earth's ecosystems.

For better or worse, over the last 500 years, Europeans used their local ideas to lay the foundation for the modern global economy, structure the world's political system, and spread their culture around the world. Europeans frequently forced their ways on other cultures, often brutally, as they took control of lands and peoples around the world. Though dominating, they integrated local ideas, technologies, and faiths from cultures in Asia, Africa, and the Americas into their own cultures. After the trauma of World War II, Europeans became less aggressive in their interactions with other cultures, even becoming major proponents of human rights and human development. European cultures continue to interact with and react to cultures in other areas of the world, illustrating that globalization is not destroying geographic differences but is often resulting in different and alternative cultural practices.

Diversity, Conflict, and Technological Innovation

Attempts to unite European countries into a whole occur against a history of divisions and divergences. Politically, Europe is a very fragmented world region with many small and medium-sized countries that reflect its varied history of conflict and cooperation. The diversity of Europe began centuries ago, when numerous peoples migrated into the world region, bringing with them new cultural practices.

Migrations of Peoples

The current European peoples have not inhabited their region as long as other peoples have occupied their lands. The Greeks, Romans, and Celts were the first to inhabit Europe, followed by Germanic, Slavic, and other peoples.

Figure 3.2 Summary information on Europe's subregions.

Subregions	Land Area	Population		GNI	GNI PPP	Human Development	Human Poverty
	(km ²)	(millions)		1999	1999	Index	Index
	Total	Mid-2001	2025 est.	(US \$ million)	Per Capita	Rank of 175	Percent of Total
		Total		Total		Countries	Population
Western Europe	1,421,726	247.2	257.3	6,188,996	26,210	12.6	12.2
Northern Europe	1,257,120	24.3	25.8	692,866	25,140	9.0	10.6
Mediterranean Europe	1,030,430	118.5	111.4	1,983,815	17,878	23.8	12.3
East Central Europe	1,341,140	128.5	125.8	392,581	8,131	57.8	no data
Totals or averages	5,050,446	518.5	520.3	9,258,258	19,339	25.8	11.7

Source: Data from *Population Reference Bureau 2001 Data Sheet*; *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, 2001; *Human Development Report*, United Nations, 2001.

Cultural Groups: Greeks, Romans, Celts

Modern-day **Greeks** only inhabit a small area of Europe in the southeastern corner. Their ancestors, however, were firmly established in Europe by 1000 B.C. The Greek city-states had differing forms of government, but some established democracy, later adopted in other areas of Europe and the world. Early Greeks also made great contributions to the sciences and humanities, and a number of their ideas still influence the way many people view the world.

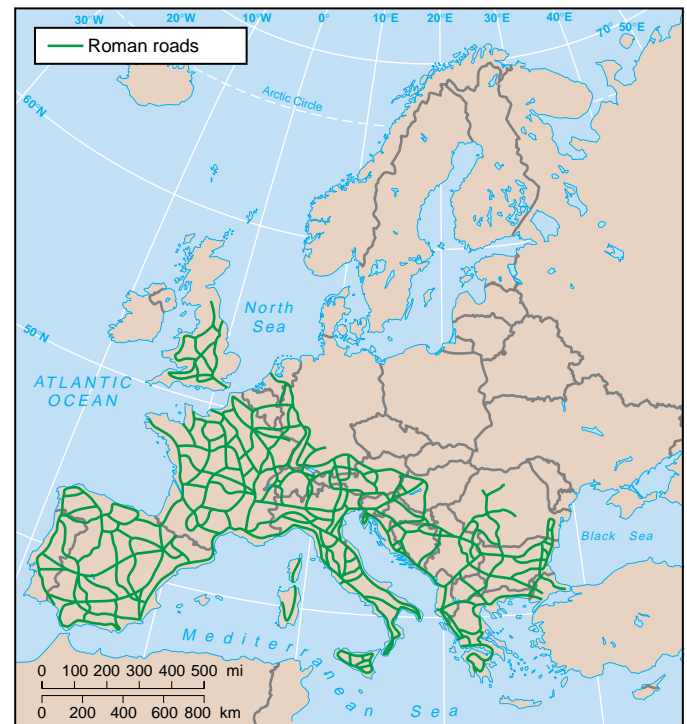
Around the 100s B.C., Rome's ascendancy eclipsed the Greek city-states. The **Romans** created a large empire that stretched from the eastern Mediterranean to the British Isles. Crucial to keeping their empire together, the Romans built an extensive road system, remnants of which are found today (Figure 3.3). Many of their army camps grew into large cities, such as London and Paris. Aspects of Roman culture were passed down through the ages. The Romans spoke Latin, which persisted in the lands that the Romans occupied longest: Gaul (France), Hispania (Spain and Portugal), the Italian peninsula, and Dacia (Romania). Without political unity after the fall of Rome, Latin evolved differentially into the distinct languages of French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and Romanian (Figure 3.4a). The Romans eventually accepted Christianity, making it the empire's official religion in 381 A.D., and thus helping it to become a major world religion. In time, Christianity spread well beyond the former borders of the Roman Empire (Figure 3.4b), but the center of the Roman Catholic Church, the branch of Christianity with the most members, is still located in Rome.

Jews have been in Europe since Roman times, first along the Mediterranean and then eventually everywhere else, especially East Central Europe. Persecution, especially during the Nazi Holocaust in the 1930s and 1940s, sharply reduced their numbers. Nevertheless, Jews have contributed greatly to European culture.

At the same time Greek civilization emerged in Southeastern Europe, **Celtic** peoples occupied large areas of Central and Western Europe. They gave their names to such places as Bohemia, Gaul, the Alps, and the Rhine. Celtic culture began to wane as the Romans and then later peoples took over many of their lands. Remnants of their culture can be found in the language and culture of the modern Welsh, Scots, Irish, and Bretons of western France (see Figure 3.4a).

Cultural Groups: Germanic and Slavic Peoples

During Roman times, **Germanic peoples** of many names arrived from the east, usually Asia, conquering whatever Celtic lands the Romans had not taken, namely the areas just north of the Danube and east of the Rhine. These tribes continually threatened the Roman Empire, sacking Rome itself for the first time in A.D. 410. By the end of the 400s, Gaul was taken over by the Franks, eventually to be renamed for them (France). The Burgundians lent their name to a province (Burgundy) that was eventually absorbed into France. The Visigoths and Lombards moved into the Italian peninsula. The latter name is found in the modern Italian provincial name of Lombardy. The Angles and



(a)



(b)

Figure 3.3 Roman influences. A comparison of Roman roads (a) with modern, divided highways (b) shows many similarities.

Source: TO COME

Saxons moved into the British Isles, pushing the Celtic peoples farther into the fringes of Europe. Even today, the English are considered Anglo-Saxons, often simply called Anglos (Figure 3.5).



Figure 3.5 Europe: movements and migrations of people. Some of the early movements that affected later geographic units, from approximately the 300s B.C. to the A.D. 900s. Note how Germanic groups spread outward, displacing the Celts and Romans in the west, and how Slavs moved into eastern Europe, displacing some Germanic groups.

Other Germanic tribes moved north into Scandinavia. By the A.D. 800s, they developed a distinct **Viking** culture. The Vikings were a seafaring and martial people who experienced overpopulation in their home areas. During this time of warm climate, they sailed northward, colonizing the Faeroe Islands, Iceland, and southwestern Greenland, and probably reached North America by the A.D. 900s. From the south, the area of modern Germany, the Vikings felt the pressure of Christianizing forces. In response, they invaded the British Isles and northern France and sacked wealthy monasteries. To the southeast, they had major impacts on the lands around the Baltic Sea and as far south as Kiev by the late 800s, where they played a formative part in founding Kievan Rus', which became one basis for the future Russia. Although they are often caricatured as violent pirates, Vikings mostly settled alongside the local inhabitants of areas that they invaded, organizing wide-ranging trade across Northern Europe. Their influence ended after the 1200s, when cooling climate, volcanic eruptions in Iceland, and political factions caused the Greenland colonies to die out and halved the population of Iceland. Plagues reduced the numbers of people in their homelands.

Germanic culture is still prevalent today. Though the Franks, Burgundians, and Lombards adopted the Romance languages of

the Roman provinces they conquered, other Germanic peoples, like the Vikings, maintained their Germanic languages through the centuries and are clearly seen on the map today (see Figure 3.4a). Germans, Austrians, Dutch, and the Scandinavians (e.g., Danes, Norwegians, Swedes) are the most numerous of today's Germanic peoples. The Germanic peoples also converted to Christianity and later became the driving force behind the creation of the branch of Christianity known as Protestantism (see Figure 3.4b).

The last of the major groups to migrate into Europe were the **Slavs**, who began arriving in the A.D. 400s. During the next few centuries, Slavs pushed as far west as the Elbe River in the middle of modern-day Germany and as far south as the Adriatic coast and into the Balkan peninsula, threatening the Greeks. The Slavs are divided into three major groups: western, southern, and eastern. Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks are western Slavs. Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, and Bulgarians are southern Slavs. The eastern Slavs are Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarussians (see Chapter 4).

The groups thus far mentioned account for most of the European peoples and represent considerable diversity. Yet a few other groups migrated into Europe and left their mark. Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Finns, Hungarians, Albanians, Roma (Gypsies), and Basques are the most well-known.

The Rise of European Global Power

Our global economy is fundamentally free-market, or capitalist, in nature. **Capitalism**, the practice of individuals and corporations owning businesses and keeping profits, traces its origins to Mediterranean and Western Europe. In the late 1400s, mercantile capitalism flourished as merchants invested in trade expeditions that brought profit in the form of precious metals (gold and silver). It began in 1418, when Prince Henry of Portugal established an institute at Sagres, where he brought together scholars to improve and teach the methods of navigation to Portuguese sea captains. He hoped that better skills would lead to the discovery of a sailing route around Africa and on to the Spice Islands in the east, where Europeans could obtain spices and other cherished commodities. Exploration was slow at first, but progress was steadily made. In 1441, a ship finally sailed far enough south to reach wetter parts of Africa south of the Sahara. Portuguese explorers captured men and women for slavery and found gold. News of this event sparked enthusiasm for exploration among many Europeans. Within a short time, many new voyages were launched. The Portuguese and Spanish, later followed by Western Europeans, quickly discovered and conquered new lands, radically altering and frequently destroying many local economies and cultures of indigenous peoples as they began a new era of **colonialism** and **imperialism**.

The best known of the new voyages was made by Christopher Columbus in 1492. Funded by the Spanish crown, Columbus sailed westward in the belief he would get to India by a quicker route. He did not know that the Americas (supposedly later named after another Italian sailor, Amerigo Vespucci) lay in his path. At the same time, Vasco da Gama led the Portuguese explorations around the southern tip of Africa to India. Portugal and Spain both gained huge wealth from trading with and colonizing the Americas, Africa, and parts of Asia. The French, Dutch, and British followed them in the 1500s and 1600s. Wars in Europe and declining home economic bases reduced the roles of Spain and Portugal, whose leaders spent their New World wealth on armies to maintain their positions in Europe. Home-based merchant wealth shifted power toward the northwestern European countries. The Dutch emerged as a maritime power in the 1600s, establishing colonies in the East and West Indies but losing territory in North America to Britain in the 1660s. Over the following century, Britain won its competition with France for supremacy in North America and India, setting the basis for its worldwide empire in the 1800s.

European exploration not only resulted in the spread of European culture and practices. Europeans experienced many things in their travels and brought much back to Europe that they incorporated into their cultures. European diet is one aspect of culture that changed dramatically because of exploration. For example, what would the Irish, German, and Polish cultures be without the potato? Yet the Europeans knew nothing of this tuber until they traveled to the Americas. The potato, along with maize (corn), is significant because it has much greater yields than the grains grown in Europe up until that time. Subsequently, the potato contributed to population

growth that fueled further exploration, migration, and even the Industrial Revolution. Through this exploration, the Europeans learned about cotton, tobacco, tea, cocoa, and a wide range of other products that they commonly use today.

Industrial Revolution

The growing overseas trade and merchant wealth of the countries of northwestern Europe led to increasing demands for manufactured goods, stimulating a series of technological innovations and organizational changes. The resources of cottage weavers and blacksmith forges were hard-pressed to fill the expanding markets for cloth and metal goods. From the mid-1700s, machinery, at first driven by waterpower, increased productivity in the metal and textile industries. The concentration of machines in factories that were soon powered by steam from coal-burning furnaces required growing amounts of capital and numbers of workers. This led to the expansion of urban-industrial centers on or near coalfields (Figure 3.6) and to systems of banking and investment. Rivers, canals, and the sea were the initial forms of transportation used to assemble raw materials for the new industries and to distribute their products. Huge port facilities grew in the estuaries of major European rivers. During the 1800s, railroads increasingly gained in prominence.



Figure 3.6 Europe: major manufacturing areas at the start of the 1900s. Compare their distribution with the late-1900s distribution of population (see Figure 3.21). Note: The contemporary political boundaries are drawn for reference.

Beginning in Great Britain, the **Industrial Revolution** spread across the English Channel to the Netherlands, Belgium, northern France, and the western areas of Germany. In the late 1800s and 1900s, the Industrial Revolution diffused further to Central and Eastern Europe and to other areas of the world. Factories for metal smelting and fashioning, textile machinery, steam engines, and chemical refining were located in areas with plentiful coal resources. The European empires did not transfer their new manufacturing technologies to their colonies. Instead, they used their colonies to produce the raw materials needed in Western European factories. Cotton, wool, indigo, tobacco, and foodstuffs are a few examples. Forced to supply Western Europe with raw materials and having Europe as the only source of finished products, the colonies were pushed into economic dependency. Local economies and traditional ways of life were brought to an end as peoples in the colonies had to change their lives radically to produce exports for Europe.

Modern State System: Nation-States

The current system of international relations and the character of peoples' identities began in Europe. Early in human history, people around the world were loyal to either their tribal leaders or monarchs. Beginning shortly after the first millennium A.D., the identities of European peoples began to change as people began to shift their loyalties to their countries. An important step came with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. It marked the end of a bitter religious war between Roman Catholic and Protestant leaders, known as the Thirty Years' War. The treaty laid down rules for religious toleration and ended the arbitrary behavior of monarchs by establishing a legal system of international relations. Monarchs retained considerable power but had to explain to their people why their actions were in the best interests of their country rather than in their own personal interests. Though the rules of the Treaty of Westphalia have been modified, the current system of international relations is still referred to as the Westphalian system.

The Westphalian system led to the development of **nation-states**, first in Europe and then in much of the rest of the world. As noted in Chapter 2, a **nation** is an "imagined community" of people who believe themselves to share common cultural features, and **states**, often called countries, are politically organized territories with independent governments. Europeans developed the idea of the nation and combined it with that of state to form the **nation-state idea** which is the belief that each nation should be free to govern itself and can only do so if it has its own state (i.e., country). Thus, nations become linked with states. The French nation, for example, believes that it is coterminous with the border of France. However, France contains peoples such as the Basques who regard themselves as a separate nation and have tried to establish their own nation-state. Many dominant European nations imposed their national cultures on other nations living within their borders. Germany, for example, tried to incorporate "Germans" living in other countries. This practice resulted in much conflict. To use terms correctly, it should be remembered that nations are peoples, not countries. France, for example, is a nation-state. It is inhabited by the

French nation. It is incorrect to refer to France as a nation, though it is acceptable to call France a country.

The grouping of people into nations was not only brought about by the Westphalian system but also by technological innovations such as the printing press, gunpowder, and modern militaries. The scientific ideas of the Enlightenment contributed greatly, too. After Gutenberg invented movable type for the printing press in 1447, books became common. One no longer had to be wealthy to buy and read books. In time, as literacy rose and coupled with Enlightenment ideas of individuality, freedom, and rational thought, common people saw fewer and fewer differences between themselves and their rulers. By the 1700s, many questioned the privileged positions of the aristocracy, turning their loyalties instead to one another and their countries.

As literacy spread, governments had to choose language standards. Regional dialects broke down as people throughout their countries had to conform to the same rules of spelling and writing. Until this time, the dialects of any language were so distinct that people could hardly communicate with one another, though they spoke the same language. Moreover, dialects frequently changed every few miles. The printing press and language standardization made it possible for larger groups of people to communicate with one another. Frequently, the Bible was the main medium for spreading the new language standard.

Gunpowder, too, helped to bind people together. It led to the development of rifles and cannons that required soldiers to drill together constantly so that they could work in unison as a team. Those who preferred the skill and individuality of medieval knighthood were skeptical of armies comprised of soldiers who dressed and acted alike.

Though the new technologies and Enlightenment ideas changed society, people were reluctant to challenge the divinely blessed authority of monarchs. Finally, when people in the 13 British colonies in North America rebelled against the British monarch and defeated the British military, people in Europe saw that their monarchs were not invincible, protected by the hand of God. The American Revolution soon inspired the French Revolution. Napoléon Bonaparte, the leader of France, fed the new nationalist zeal in France, formed a new national army, and defeated the imperial forces of Europe. It required the British and Prussian national armies to defeat Napoléon's national army. Though Napoléon was defeated, he demonstrated that the nation-state, with a population that saw itself as one people and supportive of the state that represented them, was an efficient form of government. The death knell was rung for empires, city-states, and the like, though many hung on for as much as another hundred years before being replaced by nation-states.

Changes in the Modern Era

Nationalism was one of the more significant political ideas that the Europeans brought to the world. As nationalism grew in Europe, it was fanned by the competitive nature of capitalism. Economic competition turned into nationalist competition. Before long, the armies that Western Europeans created to conquer and colonize the rest of the world were turned toward one another. In 1914, war erupted between the European powers, later to be

known as World War I. Though Germany and Austria-Hungary were decisively defeated in 1918, the trouble was not over. The war costs and protectionism caused European economies to slump in the postwar 1920s and 1930s, bringing hardship to millions of individuals and families. Discontent and resentment grew in the defeated countries. The nationalist competition became more bitter and fed the more extreme but opposing ideologies of fascism and communism, two other concepts Europe gave to the world. Europe headed down the path of a war that engulfed the rest of the world once again between 1939 and 1945, known as World War II. The intolerant side of nationalism led to fascism and the extermination of millions of people of specific groups such as Jews and Roma (Gypsies), a phenomenon called **genocide**.

After World War II (1939–1945), Europeans seriously reevaluated their role in the world and their relationships with one another. The war had been so devastating that even the winners could be considered losers in some respects, when destruction and financial, political, and cultural aspects were considered. In Western Europe, the U.K., France, and the

Netherlands were confronted with independence movements in their colonies fueled by the ideologies of nationalism and communism that originally came from Europe. Four centuries of building colonial empires on which the “sun would never set” were lost in a couple of short decades.

At the same time, the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as new world powers. The Soviet Union showed its strength when the Red Army moved into most of the East Central European countries at the end of World War II and fostered the establishment of **Communism**. The Communists believed that capitalists used their riches to manipulate their governments in order to protect, even increase, their privileged positions in society and keep the majority of society, especially the working classes, powerless and in relative poverty. Instead, Communists argued for **democratic centralism**: the belief that the Communist Party, the political party of the working class, was the only true representative of the people and, therefore, the only party with the right to govern. To keep capitalists and others from taking advantage of the people, Communists also believed in **state socialism**: governance by the Communist Party, actively running the political, social, and economic activities of the people. The state owned all the businesses and decided what was produced. The capitalist practice of competing companies producing similar products was seen as unnecessary. Rather, large corporations owned by the state made each product. The state, not the free market of consumers, decided what needed to be produced through a **planned economy**.

Test Your Understanding 3A

Summary Europe set into motion many of the global processes that we experience today. Although individual countries are now less powerful than they were early in the 1900s, many European cultural characteristics are part of other world cultures.

The current human geography of Europe grew out of varied influences, including the movements of Mediterranean, Germanic, Slavic, and Asian peoples. Europe developed global trading links from the 1400s and dominated the Industrial Revolution of the 1700s and 1800s. Europe also developed new political ideas concerning governance.

Questions to Think About

- 3A.1 What were Europe’s historic contributions to the development of the world’s present *economic* order? How did they affect Europe itself?
- 3A.2 What were Europe’s historic contributions to the development of the world’s present *political* order? How did they affect Europe itself?
- 3A.3 Which factors promoted European migrations and colonizations from the 1600s to the 1800s?
- 3A.4 What led to the development of nations and the nation-states?
- 3A.5 How do government and economy work under Communism?

Key Terms

Greeks	nation
Romans	nation-state
Celts	nation-state idea
Germanic peoples	state
Vikings	genocide
Slavs	Communism
capitalism	democratic centralism
colonialism	state socialism
imperialism	planned economy
Industrial Revolution	

Natural Environment

The geography of Europe is marked by closeness to the ocean and rapid changes in physical landscape over short distances, factors that influenced human actions over time. The natural environment, particularly the temperate climates, the small scale of geologic provinces, and the long, indented coastline, contributes to the abrupt geographic differences from place to place.

Midlatitude West Coast Climates

Europe’s north-south extent is slightly longer than its east-west extent. This is reflected in its range of climatic environments (Figure 3.7). Most are **midlatitude west coast climates** ranging from the icy northern west coasts of Norway near the Arctic Circle and the summer midnight sun to the southern Mediterranean warmth of Portugal.

The far north of Norway, Sweden, and Finland have polar climates, with long, very cold winters and months of snow cover. The coldest weather is somewhat ameliorated along the coasts of these northern lands with air warmed by the North Atlantic Drift current. Most of the western coastal countries from Norway to Portugal have mild winters and warm summers with precipitation throughout the year. Much of their warmth and humidity comes from the winds that bring North Atlantic maritime air. No part of Europe is more than 500 km (320 mi.) from the coast, allowing mild and humid oceanic atmospheric influences to affect the whole region.

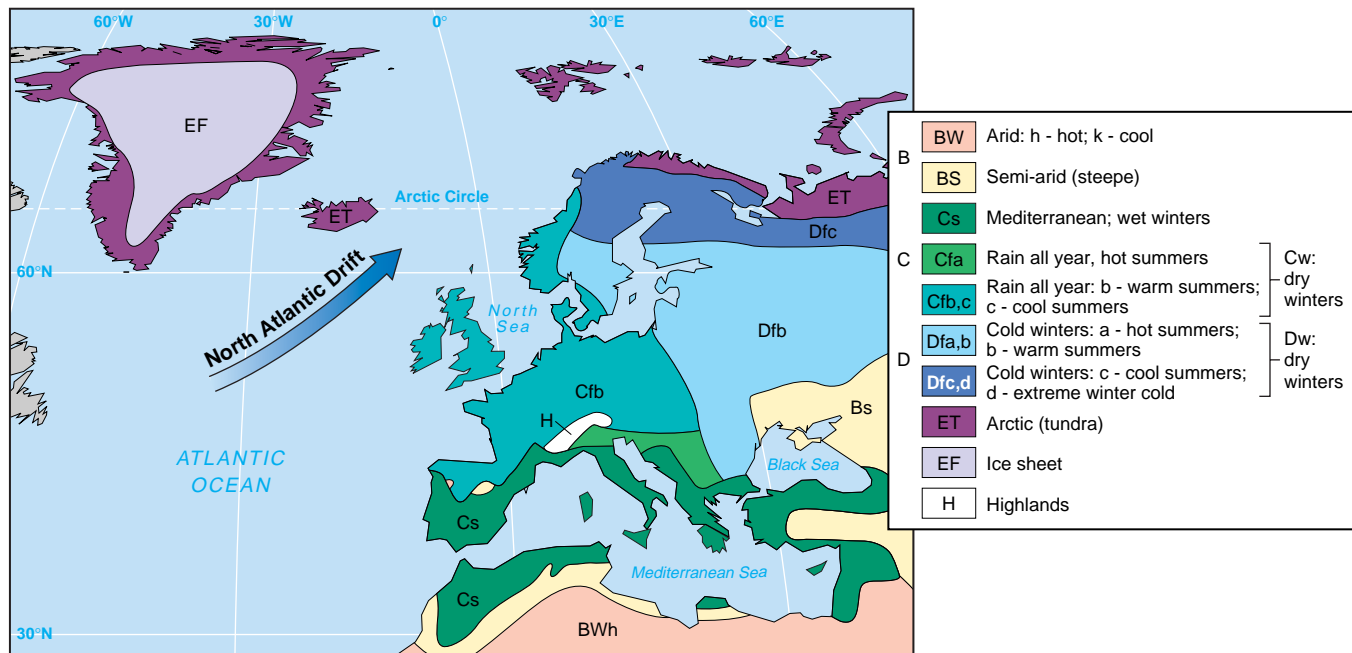


Figure 3.7 Europe: climates. Europe is marked by the closeness of all parts of the region to oceanic influences. The North Atlantic Drift brings warmer ocean waters across the North Atlantic Ocean from the Gulf Stream, raising the temperature of the air above and increasing its humidity. In the far north, inland areas become polar in climate, and in the far south, the Mediterranean Sea area has alternating dry, hot summers and mild, wet winters. Toward the east, greater continental heating gives higher summer temperatures, but cold winds blowing from the north and east make winters very cold.

In the far south along the Mediterranean coastlands, there is a seasonal contrast in which the midlatitude belt of cyclones moves southward in winter, bringing rain and wind, while the hot, dry air from the Sahara to the south creates droughtlike conditions in the summer. This southern variant is known as a **Mediterranean climate**.

In the **midlatitude continental interior climate** of Central and Eastern Europe, winters can be severe as cold winds bring freezing temperatures from Russia and the northern countries. Summers are warmer than on the coasts and are marked by thunderstorms.

Climate changes affected Europe during the period of human occupation from the later part of the Pleistocene Ice Age. As climatic conditions warmed, the ice sheets, which had extended as far south as the Thames River valley in England and the plains of northern Germany and Poland, melted and retreated northward. Climates throughout Europe got warmer until some 5,000 years ago, when they reached their warmest point. After that time, conditions fluctuated with warmer periods in Roman times, from A.D. 900 to 1200, and since around 1850, were punctuated by colder periods. Historians have not fully evaluated the impacts of such climatic changes on economic and political events, but the cooling in the 1300s had much to do with the end of Greenland colonies and with forcing farmers in Europe to lower the upper level of cultivation on hills. Since the mid-1800s, the retreating glaciers in alpine valleys (Figure 3.8a & b) influenced the tourist industry and the generation of hydroelectricity. The retreating glaciers and decreasing extent of snow cover reduced the winter sports season but increased the summer holiday warmth. Inlets to hydroelectricity projects are now sited

higher up the valleys, increasing the elevation (and energy) of water falling on the electricity-generating turbines.

Although lands around the Baltic Sea continue to rise gradually above sea level in response to the postglacial melting of the ice sheet, the weight of which caused that area to subside, most of Europe is concerned about the potential impacts of global warming. Rising sea levels would affect the extensive low-lying parts of Europe, including the many areas of former coastal wetland that have been reclaimed and intensively populated. The Netherlands has particular worries in this area, but attention has also focused on the plight of Venice in northern Italy. Venice, a medieval trading city, is one of Europe's greatest architectural treasures and tourist attractions, but it is gradually subsiding (Figure 3.9). Increasingly frequent high tides weaken its foundations. In 1990, St. Mark's Square was flooded 9 times, and in 2000, it was flooded 90 times. In 1966, a south wind raised the tide level by 2 meters (6 ft.), covering St. Mark's Square with oil-polluted water that left stains on all the buildings. As Venice's buildings became less secure, the city's population fell from 175,000 in 1950 to 80,000 in 1990. The industrial development of the lagoon that backs Venice is a major part of the problem, since its industries and oil refineries pollute the waters and make protection of Venice difficult in the face of demands for deepwater channel access.

Geologic Variety

Within its relatively small area, Europe includes almost the world's entire range of geologic features. There are ancient shield areas around the Baltic Sea, the uplands of central Europe, the young folded mountains of the Alps, and the extensive plains



(a)



(b)

Figure 3.8 Europe: changing climate. A hundred years that made a difference in Zermatt, Switzerland. (a) The glacier shown on the left side of the 1880 painting disappeared from the modern photo (b), having retreated over a kilometer up the valley, leaving bare rock and ice melt deposits exposed on the valley floor. Locate the church in both views and compare other evidence of the 100-year differences between the two pictures. How might the changing climate have affected tourism? Photos: © Photo Klopfenstein-Adelboden.

in countries around the North and Baltic Seas (Figure 3.10a). Volcanoes erupt and earthquakes occur along the Mediterranean Sea, but much of Europe is almost free of such hazards. The geologic variety in this region, combined with the early development of mining and industrial growth, generated the beginnings of modern geologic science.

The Mediterranean Sea is the remnant of a larger ocean that occupied the area between Africa and Europe but closed as the two continents clashed along a convergent tectonic plate margin (Figure 3.10b). Within this zone, the young folded mountains of the Alps form the highest ranges, with many peaks rising above 4,000 m (13,000 ft.) and the highest point at Mount Blanc (4,807 m, 15,771 ft.) on the French-Italian border. Farther east, the ranges are not so high in Austria, where few peaks exceed 3,000 m (10,000 ft.).

The high Alps are part of a series of ranges that includes the Sierra Nevada in southern Spain, the Pyrenees between France and Spain, the Apennines that form the Italian peninsula, the coastal ranges of the Dinaric Alps in Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia, and Albania, and the Pindus in the Greek peninsula. The curve of the Carpathian Mountains in Slovakia and northern Romania, continued in the Balkan Mountains of Bulgaria, forms a further extension. Such ranges create the

Figure 3.9 Venice. A medieval port city that accumulated great wealth on its unique site in a lagoon. Venice is liable to flooding, as seen here. Photo: © Michael Bradshaw.



dominantly mountainous environment of Alpine Europe and the hilly environments of Mediterranean Europe and the southern Balkans. Lowland areas in these mountainous areas are restricted to river plains and deltas formed by the deposition of rock fragments and particles worn by erosion from the uplands.

To the north of the young folded mountains, most of Europe is lowland, with extensive areas less than 300 m (1,000 ft.) above sea level. The lowlands dominate northern Germany, Poland, and the Baltic countries—part of the North European Plain that continues eastward into Russia. They are formed of more recent layers of rock, covered in the north by glacial deposits.

The lowlands are framed by hilly areas of older rocks that once formed mountain ranges but were worn down by erosion and then raised again by faulting. These include much of Spain and Portugal (the Meseta), France's Massif Central and Brittany areas, the Rhine Highlands of southern Germany, the Bohemian Massif of the Czech Republic, the uplands of western and northern Britain, and those of Norway. As the Atlantic Ocean opened along a divergent plate margin, uplift occurred along continental margins, together with volcanic activity. Rifting extended through the North Sea area, providing a downfaulted block of rocks that became oil reservoirs.

Long Coastlines and Navigable Rivers

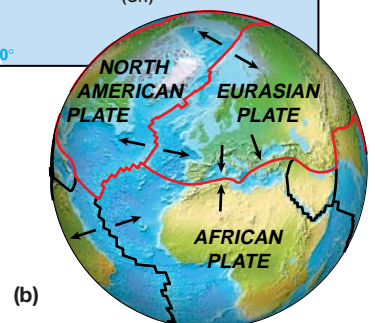
Europe is marked by peninsulas such as Scandinavia (Norway and Sweden), Jutland (Denmark), and Brittany (France) in the north, and Iberia (Spain and Portugal), Italy, and Greece in the south. The British Isles formed another peninsula until waves cut the Strait of Dover a few thousand years ago. Arms of the ocean, such as the Baltic, North, Mediterranean, Adriatic, and Aegean Seas, reach far inland. Smaller islands in the Baltic and Mediterranean Seas add to the length of coastline that encouraged many groups to engage in trade and develop ship technology at a time in history when water transportation was easier than land transportation. Skills and technology of that phase were available to expand mercantile capitalism around the globe between A.D. 1450 and 1750.

On land, connections between places and world trade routes were eased by the existence of major river valleys. The Rhine and Elbe Rivers in Germany and the Danube River flowing from Germany through Austria and the Balkans were



(a)

Figure 3.10 Europe: physical features. (a) The distribution of mountains and lowlands on a relief map. (b) The relationship of major relief features to plate margins. The southern margin of the continent is part of a convergent plate boundary that was responsible for raising the Alps and other mountain ranges along the Mediterranean Sea. The west-facing coasts result from the opening of the Atlantic Ocean with a divergent boundary in the Mid-Atlantic Ridge that surfaces with volcanic activity in Iceland.



(b)

particularly important. The Rhône, Seine, and Loire Rivers in France, the Thames River in England, the Vistula River in Poland, and the Po River in Italy were also significant in movements of people and goods from early times. River valleys large and small also provided good soils. Sites for towns at river crossings attracted and concentrated the settlement of growing populations. Modern investments in the Euroports at the mouths of the Rhine and Rhône Rivers are important for maintaining Europe's continuing role in world trade. Europe is marine in economic outlook and culture as well as in climate.

The Danube River is the longest in this region but is less used for transportation than the Rhine because it flows through less economically developed countries. In the last 50 years, efforts to coordinate the management of Danube waters for transportation and hydroelectricity proved difficult. The Danube flows through more countries (eight of them) than any other major world river, and the Cold War limited traffic eastward from Austria.

The Rhine is Europe's second longest river and the world's busiest waterway (Figure 3.11), used annually by some 10,000 ships that carry 250 million tons of cargo. The watershed includes significant parts of four countries (Switzerland, Germany, France, and the Netherlands). The river waters come from melting snow and ice in Switzerland and from tributaries (Aar, Neckar, Main, and Mosel). The Rhine has major roles in transportation, industrial water supply, and, in the Swiss sector, the generation of hydroelectricity. Human management of the river increased in intensity from the 1700s, but flooding and high levels of pollution remain problems.

Some of the main efforts at managing the Rhine waterway were devoted to making navigation possible for large barges from the international port of Rotterdam at its mouth up to Basel, Switzerland. The river was canalized to that point. As canalization proceeded, rivers were straightened, producing faster flow, channel bed erosion in some sections, and silt deposition in others. Channel deposition partly filled some sectors and caused flooding. Higher levees were constructed to protect from flooding the lands on either side that were used more and more intensively. At the Rhine mouth in the Netherlands, greater efforts were put into keeping out the sea than to maintaining the levees, which were breached in places during the high river levels of early 1995.

The transportation uses of the Rhine River are linked to the growing industrialization of its watershed since the late 1800s. The coalfield and steelmaking areas of the Ruhr and Saar are now less productive and polluting, but some 20 percent of the world's chemical industry output occurs along the river with major centers around Basel, Mannheim, and the Ruhr area. Pollution was at its worst in the 1970s; since then, an international agreement has been reached to reduce the problem, helped by improved water treatment technology. Concerns remain over nondegradable chemicals and metals that are still at high levels in the river.

Forests, Fertile Soils, and Marine Resources

Between 15,000 and 10,000 years ago, Europe was recolonized by forest as the ice sheets retreated northward. Human occupa-

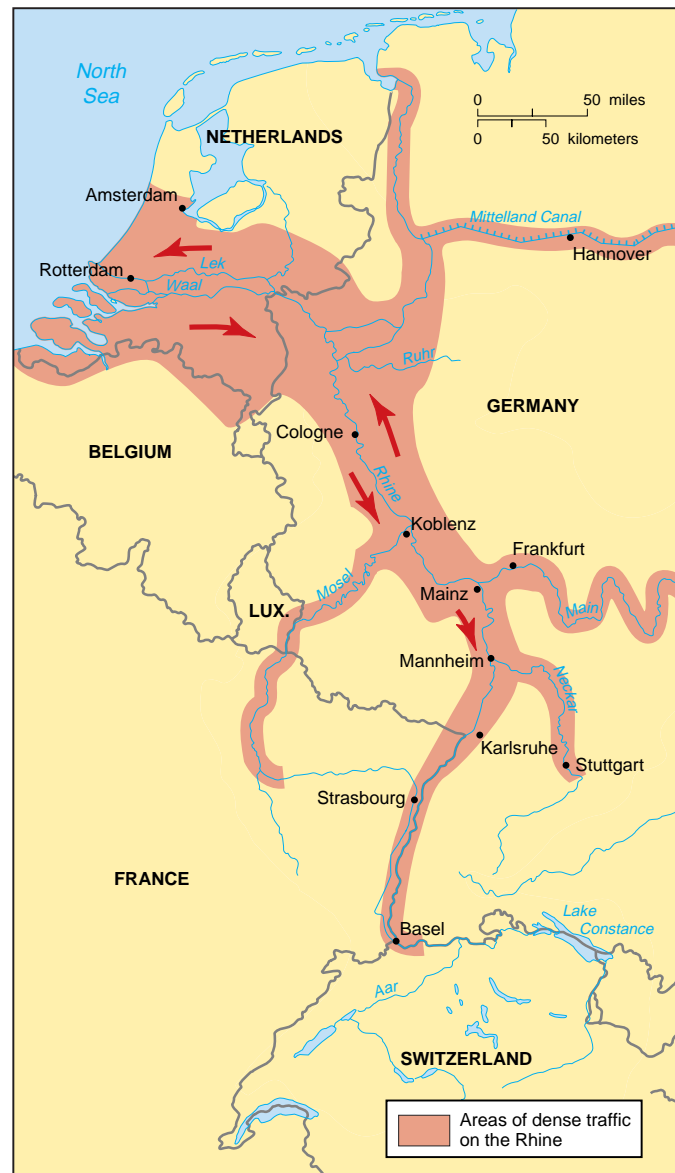


Figure 3.11 Europe: Rhine River waterway. Traffic density on the river. Compare the impacts of the industrial areas along the river's length. Rotterdam is Europe's number one port because of its location at the point where maximum Rhine River traffic meets the ocean, requiring change from barge to containers or bulk cargo ship. New canals increased the amount of trade passing through Rotterdam.

Source: Reprinted by permission from *Financial Times*, February 2, 1995.

tion began in a forested environment in which the circulation of nutrients through an annual leaf fall raised the quality of soils. The most fertile soils developed on river deposits and on the windblown **loess** covering the common limestone rocks in the northern plains. Fir and pine trees growing on sandy soils and on the thin soils of uplands tended to lower the quality of their soils by acidification.

Because clearance of light woodland was easier, initial settlement favored thinly vegetated uplands on limestone, sandstone, and some granite rocks during the period of warming climate to

around 5,000 years ago. Also favored were the easily cultivated loess soils that mantled the southern edge of the North European Plain from Poland to northern France and southern Britain. They provided an easy route of diffusion for farming technology originating around the Mediterranean Sea, via the Danube River valley.

After the introduction of Iron Age tools, human groups rapidly cut into the denser forest on the lowlands. By the time of the Roman occupation of France and lowland Britain, a large proportion of the forest on the lighter lime-rich soils had been cut and some inroads made to the denser forest on heavier soils. Further expansion of the cultivated area on to the clay soils occurred during the Middle Ages.

The marine emphasis of Europe extends to its exploitation of fish resources in the Mediterranean, Baltic, and North Seas and the North Atlantic Ocean. Fishing, related ports, and ships grew in significance in the later medieval period. In the 1900s, overfishing led to decreasing supplies and made sea fishing a source of contention and conflict among European countries.

Natural and Human Resources

Europe contains the natural mineral resources that formed the basis of technological revolutions from the Bronze Age (B.C. 3500–1000) (tin and copper) to modern industrial revolutions (especially coal and iron). Its well-watered lands and moderate temperatures fostered a tree cover and a large proportion of fertile soils that provided the basis for supporting relatively high densities of people at each successive stage of history.

Human ingenuity interacted with the natural environment. By late medieval times, water channels were used widely to generate power in mills and furnaces. Later, the presence of upland areas with high levels of precipitation and snow or ice storage made it possible for engineers to develop hydroelectricity resources there. As populations grew, the development of technologies to support economic growth expanded human resources, making it more likely that the new ideas would spawn further changes.

The rivers and extensive coastline encouraged trade and the exchange of ideas across the region. In the 1800s and 1900s, the human landscapes and historic buildings became resources that made Europe the world's major center of tourism. At the same time, some industrial resources that had been important declined in significance. Coal was replaced by oil and natural gas because of high costs of underground mining and the environmental impacts of burning coal.

Environmental Issues

The occupation of Europe by large numbers of people and their development of technologies for exploiting environmental resources have had major impacts on the natural environment. Today, the wealthier countries are particularly concerned to maintain environmental quality, pouring billions of dollars into such measures.

From Forests to Farms

As soon as humans cut the forest, soil washed down hillsides more rapidly and contributed to the building of lowland river plains and the growth of deltas at their mouths. In the Middle Ages, for

example, a combination of growing populations, rigid political systems, close grazing by sheep and goats, and climate change caused intense soil erosion on the hills of the Mediterranean peninsulas, together with the downstream extension of river plains into coastal deltas. Hilly areas of southern Italy and Greece were denuded of their soils, leaving rocky outcrops. In much of Europe outside the alpine area, however, the slopes are less steep, and cultivation methods were adopted that maintained the soils and their productivity over many centuries. In the 1800s, competition from cheap grain imported from newly opened and settled lands in North and South America resulted in once-plowed lands in Europe being sowed with grass for livestock production, further reducing soil erosion and helping to maintain soil quality.

Impacts of Industrialization

The Industrial Revolution and the spread of factory-concentrated production led to widespread pollution of the rivers and air. Many rivers lost their fish stocks. Occasional major pollution incidents still result in fish kills in major rivers such as the Rhine. Great efforts are being made to improve the quality of river water in European countries, and the European Union sets rising standards to be attained by specific dates. In the Thames River of England, the reduction of pollution was so successful that fish stocks revived in the 1990s after decades of absence.

The winter smoke fogs (smog) that blighted the major industrial and urban areas of Europe in the 1950s were controlled by legislated reductions in coal burning in some countries. More recent air pollution occurs where high densities of road traffic pour sulfur, nitrogen oxides, and carbon particles into the air. Such emissions react with sunlight to lower air quality. Under meteorological conditions of slow-moving air, pollutants may accumulate to dangerous levels in broad valleys.

Emissions of sulfur compounds from thermal power stations, especially those burning coal, create **acid deposition**—of dry particles near the source or of wet “acid rain” farther downwind (Figure 3.12). Acid deposition is common around all the main industrial areas of Europe. It affects susceptible areas of coniferous forest, thin soils, and shallow lakes in the Alps and Scandinavia. The highest levels of acid pollution occurred in southern Poland close to the poorly regulated coal mines of the Communist era.

Awareness of environmental problems led to legislation and institutions to monitor and fight air and water pollution, especially in non-Communist Europe. Although road congestion increased with more cars and trucks, new cars in the 1990s emitted 93 percent less carbon dioxide and 85 percent less hydrocarbons and nitrogen gases than in 1970. Lighter vehicles, electronic engine management, more economical engines, and the retiring of older cars will continue to reduce atmospheric pollution. Controlling pollution, however, often increases the costs of industrial production and urban living and causes governments to raise taxes on fuels.

East Central Europe

Environmental degradation was a legacy of Communist governments in East Central Europe. Manufacturing industries did not have to adopt procedures to reduce air and water pollution.

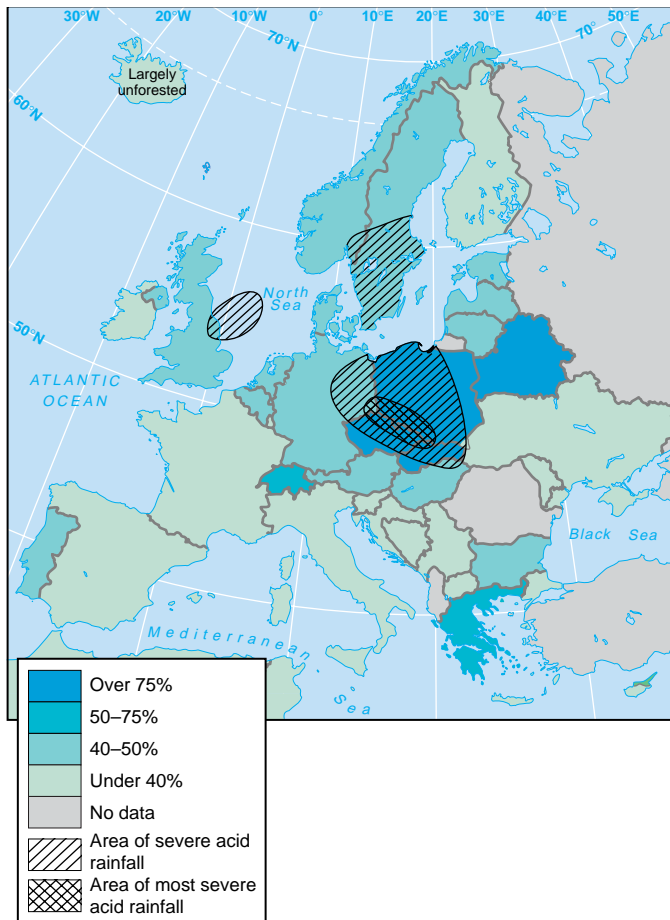


Figure 3.12 Forest damage as of 1998. Westerly winds cause much of the damage to the east of major industrial areas. Most severe damage is in the Black Triangle. Compare to Figure 3.6.

Industrialized areas were badly affected by the burning of low-quality coal that emitted high proportions of sulfur and particles into the atmosphere (Figure 3.13a, b, c). Chemical works emissions polluted the rivers. When compared to standards of the Environmental Protection Agency in the United States, levels of chemical compounds found in the air and water were hundreds, sometimes even thousands of times higher than what is recommended as safe. One of the worst areas lay along the Czech, Polish, and East German borders. Known as the **Black Triangle**, this area witnessed the death of as much as 90 percent of forests from coal mining and other heavy industries in some locales.

Mediterranean Sea

The growth of population in the 1990s, combined with crowding into coastal locations, industrialization, and the great increase in tourism, led to excessive pollution of the Mediterranean Sea—an important issue for many prospective tourists (Figure 3.14). The Mediterranean Sea is also one of the world's major shipping lanes and has the world's highest level of oil pollution. It is an almost closed sea with hardly any connections to oceans where water mixing dilutes pollution. Confined within the Mediterranean, the

chemicals and other nutrients from pollution decay and thereby deplete the oxygen, killing sea life and creating large algae blooms that thrive in the anaerobic conditions. The Adriatic Sea has some particularly large algae blooms. The most polluted European areas of the sea are those near urban-industrial areas, such as Barcelona, Marseilles, Genoa, Naples, and Athens.

In Spain, for example, the coastal population increased from 12 percent of the national total in 1900 to 35 percent in the 1990s, when the annual influx of tourists added several million visitors. Although the Mediterranean countries of Europe have populations that are not increasing in total, tourism and the movement to the coastal areas continue to grow. Tourists arrive mainly in July and August, when water is short and local sewerage systems find it hard to cope.

The North African and Asian Mediterranean countries—which also pollute the largely enclosed sea—are experiencing major population increases (see Chapter 8). For example, the cities along the African coast are likely to double their populations by 2025. Tourism around the Mediterranean Sea is expected to grow from around 100 million local and foreign visitors in the early 1990s to between 170 and 340 million.

Following a 1975 UN conference, the governments around the Mediterranean Sea tackled their pollution problem through the Mediterranean Action Plan. Sewerage treatment improved in the wealthier countries such as France, but the poorer countries of North Africa cannot afford the necessary investment. Even if pollution is reduced as countries get wealthier, the coastline and its delicate ecosystem are changed irrevocably when coastal wetlands are reclaimed and built over.

Waste Management

One of the major environmental concerns in Europe is the disposal of the rising quantities of trash and industrial wastes. Since 1950, the amount of wastes per head doubled, although it is still less than half that in the United States. Europe, however, has more people on less land, and all its most convenient landfill sites are used up. Further, the nature of trash changed from a majority of ashes and loose dry waste in the 1950s, when coal was burned for domestic heating, to a majority of paper, glass, plastic, and organic waste. Industries produce increasing quantities of hazardous wastes, ranging from poisons to waste oils, heavy metals, and radioactive substances, some of which remain toxic for long periods.

Waste management is becoming a growth industry, requiring major inputs of capital and high technology. As environmental legislation increases, large-scale management corporations will be required. At present, most trash is still buried in landfill sites, the management of which is being improved to exclude gases that might cause combustion or to tap them for use in power generation. Incineration is increasing to reduce the bulk of the large quantities of waste, but it still leaves ashes and emits polluting gases. Recycling is increasingly popular, but the processes are often costly. Recent legislation in Germany obliged companies to take back the packaging used in their products, but the outcome was to overload the German recycling system, creating large “mountains” of paper, glass, and plastic, together with exports of waste to other countries, using up their own capacity.



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 3.13 Environmental degradation in East Central Europe. (a) Budapest, Hungary. Though the sky is blue and the air apparently clear, the concern for pollution is shown by this electronic board that displays time, temperature, and atmospheric levels of CO (carbon monoxide), SO₂ (sulfur dioxide), and NO₂ (nitrogen dioxide). (b) Kraków-Nowa Huta, Poland. Sędzimir Steel Mill, formerly the Lenin Steel Mill. Communist governments rarely required any kind of pollution controls, and little is different for this factory today. The cemetery in the foreground is a telling commentary. (c) Pollution levels dropped in many areas of East Central Europe with the end of Communism in 1991, after many inefficient factories shut down because they could not compete in the global market. UN funds were provided to shut down this heavily polluting factory in Copșa Mica, Transylvania, Romania. Considered the most polluted place in Europe, local people called it “black town” because everything was black from the air and sky to laundry on clothes’ lines and children’s faces. Shown a few years after operations ceased, the sky is now blue and the grass green again.

Photos: (a) and (c) © George W. White; (b) © Jerzy Jemiolo.

Figure 3.14 Europe: tourism. Visitors from northern Europe crowd the sunny resorts of Spain, as here at Cadiz. What are the attractions of this place for so many people? The buildings in the background reflect the occupation by the Muslim Moors up to A.D. 1492.

Photo: © Adam Woolfitt/Corbis.



Test Your Understanding 3B

Summary Europe has a mainly coastal environment with mid-latitude climates that include cold polar varieties in the north, all-year mild and humid conditions in the west, more continental extreme conditions toward the east, and summer droughts around the Mediterranean Sea.

The physical landscapes of Europe include alpine, lowland, hilly plateau, glaciated, and river plain areas. Lowland and better soils predominate between the northern and alpine mountains. The rocks contain energy and metallic mineral resources. Easy access to ocean transportation was an important factor in Europe's economic growth.

The postglacial forest vegetation that covered the region was largely removed from the areas of better soil and replaced by cultivation and urban-industrial areas. Soil erosion, water pollution, and air pollution resulted from intensive use of the natural environment.

Questions to Think About

- 3B.1 How does Europe's climate change from north to south? From east to west?
- 3B.2 Which of Europe's rivers are longest and most navigable?
- 3B.3 What impacts have industrialization had on Europe's natural environment?

Key Terms

midlatitude west coast climate	loess
mediterranean climate	acid deposition
midlatitude continental interior climate	Black Triangle

Global Changes and Local Responses

With Soviet Communism firmly established in East Central Europe by the early 1950s, many Europeans felt that their nationalist notions and capitalist practices were threatened. Europeans in countries about to lose their colonies knew that their countries were too small to compete individually with the Soviet Union and United States. Moreover, the two world wars revealed the ugly sides of nationalist political competition and economic protectionism, and capitalist competition. Competition could lead to failure as well as success. On the other hand, cooperation in a non-Communist form was thought to result in everyone's success.

Immediate cooperation came about in non-Communist Europe (i.e., Western, Northern, and Mediterranean) with the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in 1949 (Figure 3.15). NATO included the United States, which was seen as an ally against the Soviet military threat then dominating East Central Europe. After the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, many questioned the need for NATO. Others feared that Russia would eventually become a formidable power again, though the Soviet Union no longer existed and Russia was weak at the time. Having emerged from more than 40 years of Soviet domination, East Central European countries were eager to join



Figure 3.15 Europe: NATO. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, showing the countries that are members and those that are applying for membership. In 2002, Russia formed a special partnership with NATO.

NATO to prevent any future domination from the Russians. However, Russian objections and the cost of expansion delayed NATO expansion. Nevertheless, NATO accepted Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary as new members and is considering other countries. In 2002, NATO formed a partnership with Russia, the country that NATO was created to defend against! Post-Cold War NATO is actually more focused on resolving or policing disputes within the expanded Europe and its immediate neighbors—as in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Macedonia.

To compete successfully again in the world economy over the long run, Europeans in the non-Communist countries created the European Economic Community (EEC), known today as the **European Union (EU)** (see Point-Counterpoint: European Union, on pages 000–000). The European Union represents yet another idea emanating from Europe: **supranationalism**. Supranationalism is the idea that differing nations can cooperate so closely for their shared mutual benefit that they can share the same government, economy (including currency), social policies, and even military. Communism could be considered a form of supranationalism, but most Europeans have abandoned the Communist experiment, leaving those in the EU as the primary advocates of supranationalism. Members of the EU are still working out the details of their cooperation, but what they have accomplished is remarkable, considering that the more predominant nationalist idea, subscribed to by most of the world, holds

that such cooperation is impossible between nations. Nationalism may still preclude ultimate political union in Europe.

It remains to be seen if supranationalism will work or not. This experiment in new economic and political organization aside, it is clear that despite the destruction of World War II and the loss of economic and political power, by the later 1900s, Europe regained a major place within the global economic and political system and was able to respond to changes in the wider world. European countries have many of the highest GDPs per capita in the world (Figures 3.16 and 3.17).

Devolution Within European Countries

As Europe moves toward expanded economic and possibly political integration, it is simultaneously experiencing **devolution**: the process by which local peoples desire less rule from their national governments and seek greater authority in governing themselves. Devolution occurs in the United Kingdom, for example, where Scots and Welsh seek greater autonomy and have recently obtained their own parliaments. Estonia's, Latvia's, and Lithuania's independence from the Soviet Union and the breakup of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were other forms of devolution. Devolution is also seen in the bloody campaigns fought by the Basque peoples straddling the Spain-France border and the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland.

Devolution pressures are not coming only from ethnic and national minorities. They are also coming from the people

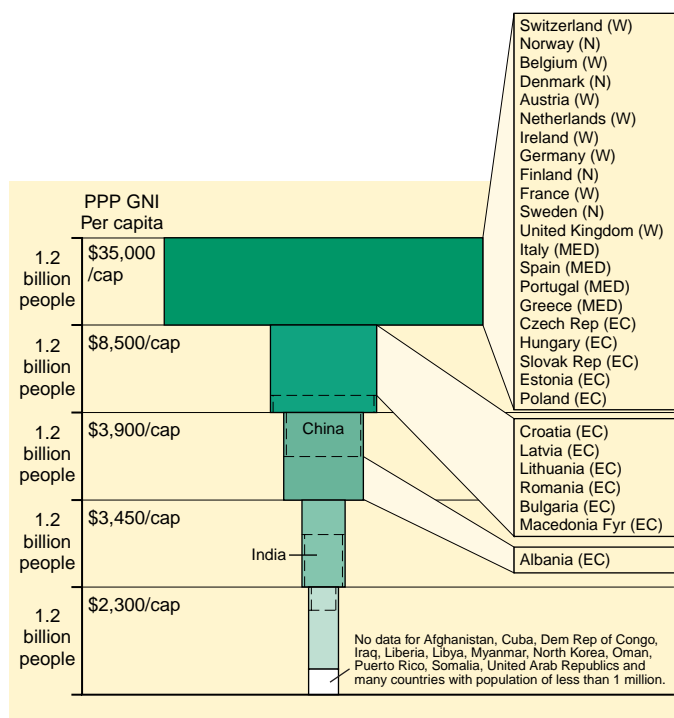


Figure 3.16 Europe: National incomes compared. The countries are listed in the order of their PPP GNI per capita. Compare the relative material wealth of the countries in Western (W) and Northern (N) Europe with those in Mediterranean (MED) and East Central (EC) Europe. Source: Data (for 2000) from *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, 2002.

of provinces that straddle neighboring countries. For example, Strasbourg is the major city in the mid-Rhine Valley, providing goods and services that the smaller cities do not. Though Strasbourg is in France, it is on the German border, making it a city that is closer to many Germans than German cities of a similar size. Thus, many Germans obtain goods and services in Strasbourg. High unemployment rates on the French side of the Rhine River and high-paying jobs in neighboring Germany lead to many French desiring to work in Germany. In the past, differing government policies of bordering countries—customs, border guards, different currencies—made it difficult for citizens to travel routinely to neighboring countries only a few miles away. Nevertheless, interaction was desired, and peoples of border regions have pressured their national governments to make daily commutes easier. To do this, people living in border areas have formed **Euroregions**, which straddle country boundaries. The people of Euroregions work to make transboundary movement easier within their Euroregions. For example, border controls between France and Germany no longer exist, and passes to museums on the French side of the Rhine boundary are valid in German and Swiss museums on the other side of the Rhine. Euroregional

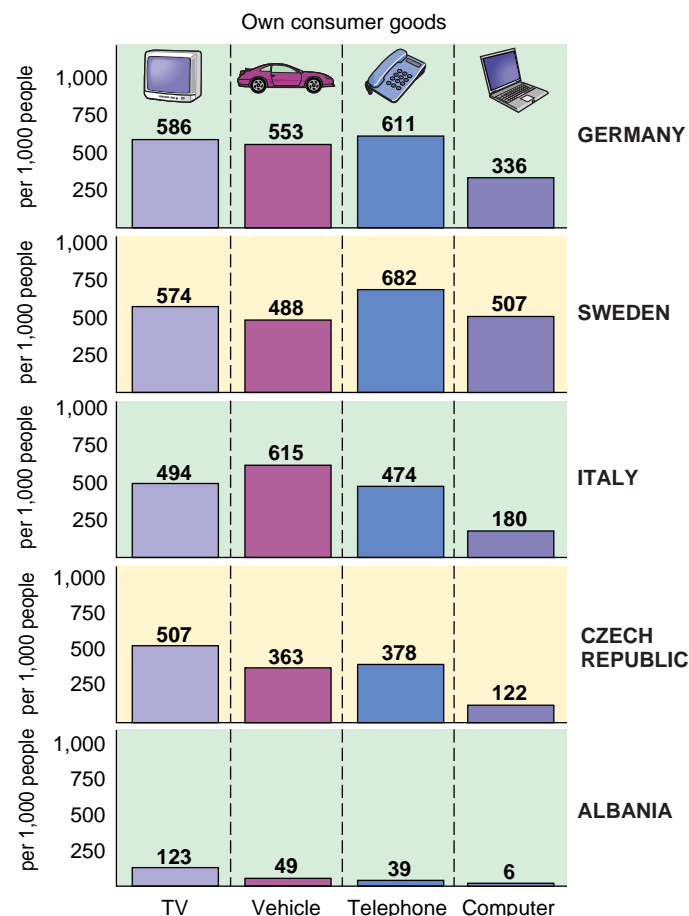


Figure 3.17 Europe: ownership of consumer goods. Note the diversity within Europe. Summarize the differences among the countries by subregion. Source: Data (for 2000) from *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, 2002.

Point COUNTER Point

THE EUROPEAN UNION

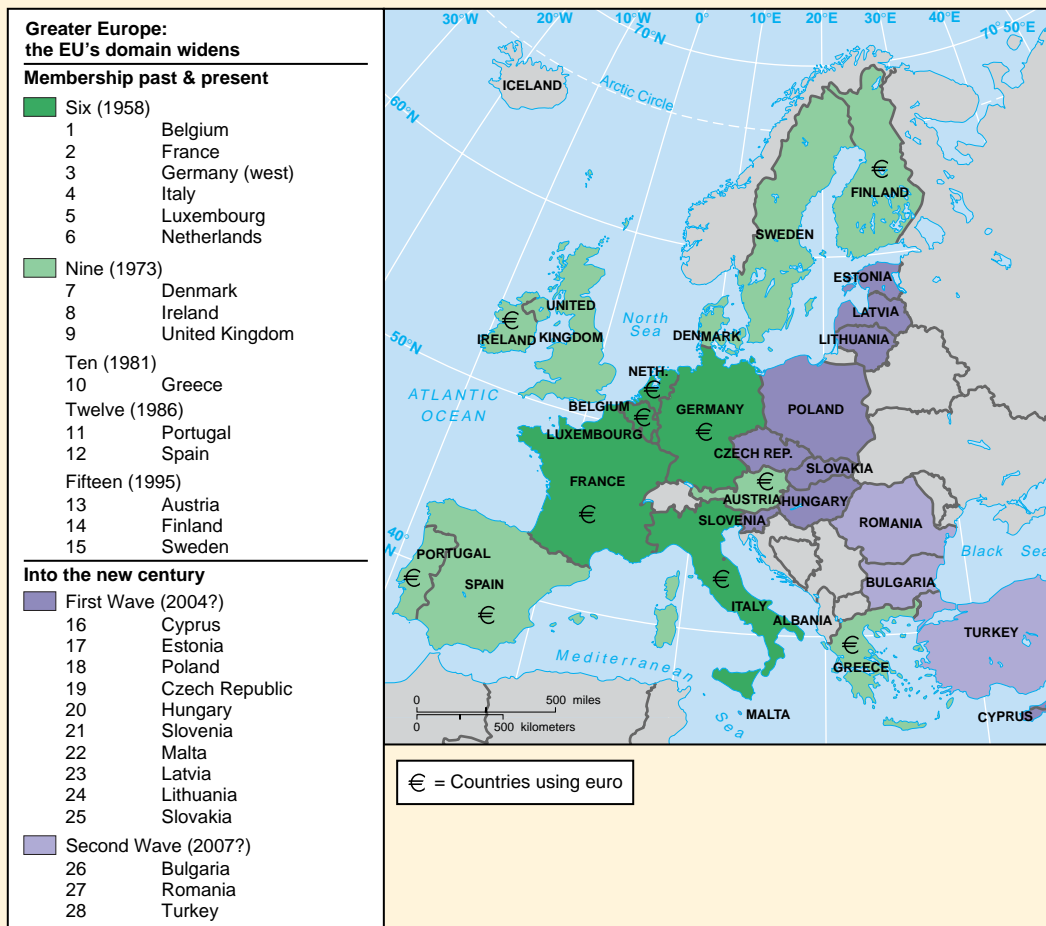
The EU is now a major factor in changing the human geography of Europe. Almost all of the countries of Europe either belong to it or have applied for membership, as the map in Box Figure 1 shows. Yet many issues cause continuing debate, including questions asking whether the European Union is a good idea and whether it will succeed or not.

The EU arose from attempts to ensure that the future of war-torn Europe after 1945 would be peaceful. After two world wars in 30 years, political leaders were determined to lock the economies of European countries so closely together that further wars would be difficult, if not impossible. Some anticipated that once economic links were established, political union in a federation like that of the United States might follow. With American aid and protected from the expansionist ambitions of the Soviet Union by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the first step was the formation of the Benelux customs union between Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg in 1949. In 1952, the Benelux countries joined together with France and West Germany to form the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). In 1957, the five ECSC countries plus Italy signed the Treaty of Rome, establishing the European Economic Community (EEC). The EEC was expected to create a common market in which goods, capital, people, and services moved freely between countries. The European Commission became the executive arm of the community

and was based in Brussels, Belgium. In 1967, the EEC changed its name to the European Community (EC) to emphasize the move from economic toward political goals. As the organization progressed with integration, other countries were motivated to join. Denmark, the Republic of Ireland, and the U.K. became members in 1973, Greece in 1981, and Portugal and Spain in 1986. By then, the European Parliament, with elected members from all these countries, was created and located in Strasbourg, France. Other EU organs are headquartered in countries such as Luxembourg (Box Figure 2).

The Single European Act, signed in 1986 when Spain and Portugal joined, set out the steps needed to implement a single market. The Treaty of Maastricht (1991) attempted to set a timetable for monetary and political union and changed the name of the organization to European Union in 1993. Austria, Sweden, and Finland joined in 1995. The Swiss and Norwegian referendum votes on joining were close but rejected membership at the time. Many of the countries of East Central Europe, formerly part of the Soviet bloc, along with Turkey and Cyprus hope for a future in the EU, but their admission is a slow process.

European integration has proceeded for almost 50 years. Many Europeans see it as good, while many others do not. Those in favor look at the situation of European countries in the world and note that the countries like the United States, Japan, China, and Russia are much larger than any one European country. This makes it difficult for



Box Figure 1 European Union, its growth to date, and possible further expansion. Reprinted by permission from *Financial Times*, Feb. 2, 1995, and updated.



Box Figure 2

In Luxembourg, the European Union flag (blue with yellow stars) proudly flies with seemingly equal importance as the national flag. The historic central part of the once strongly fortified Luxembourg City looms in the background.

Photo: © David C. Johnson

any single European country to compete with these other countries. An economic and political union gives the Europeans more clout in the global economy and world politics. For example, the United States has 281 million people, Japan 125 million, and Russia 144 million. The largest EU country is Germany, and it has a population of only 82 million. However, the combined population of the 15 members exceeds 370 million people and has considerably more economic and political clout.

Internally, union has other advantages as well. Free movement of labor, capital, and goods strengthens businesses and allows great opportunities to buy the best products at the lowest prices. To facilitate such movements, 12 of the 15 EU members adopted a common currency known as the euro in 2002. It replaced the traditional national currencies such as the German mark, the French franc, and the Italian lira. Imagine if all 50 states in the United States each had their own currencies. Imagine then that if you wanted to buy product from a state other than yours, travel to another state, even for a few hours, or take a trip through several states, you would have to exchange your state's currency for those of other states. In the process, you would have to pay fees for making the exchanges. You probably would not travel to or purchase products from other states as you do now, using the dollar. It would also frequently cost you more to restrict your actions to your own state. This was the situation in the 12 EU countries before they adopted the euro.

As mentioned, not all Europeans are in favor of integration or believe that the EU will work over the long run. For integration to succeed, the member countries have to adopt similar—and in many cases, common—laws and economic policies. For the euro to work, for example, all member countries must limit their spending and keep their annual budget deficits within 3 percent of their GDPs. To do so, many countries may be unable, for example, to pay for their social programs and stimulate their economies as they see fit. They would have to give up a lot of what they value and suffer through economic slumps of high unemployment for the benefit of the other member countries. If they choose to break the rules and spend, then they devalue the euro and damage the economies of the other member countries. In short, many Europeans are opposed to the euro because of the restrictions that come with it. The United Kingdom, Denmark, and Sweden have not adopted the euro and continue to use their own national currencies.

Many Europeans are opposed to more than just the euro. Integration involves the adoption of common laws and the removal of barriers, including border controls between member countries. States will not be able to stop the entry of foreigners, whether from other member countries or from abroad as they enter through other member countries. This means that these foreigners will take local jobs, demand cultural rights, and generally be a visible foreign presence. It also means that countries will not be able to stop the surge of cheap, foreign goods and possibly contaminated food, driving businesses into bankruptcy and creating unemployment. In short, the EU—and with it, integration—is seen as the loss of national sovereignty and the erosion of national identity.

Germany and France, along with the Benelux countries and Italy, have typically been great supporters of the EU. Germany alone contributes 30 percent of the EU's budget. The smaller countries of Ireland, Portugal, and Greece are great proponents of the EU because they receive much more from it than they pay into it. The United Kingdom, Denmark, and Sweden tend to be most opposed to the EU's integration policies. It is even said that the United Kingdom joined the organization to slow down integration and prevent the emergence of a monolith on its doorstep that would be stronger than it. Many of the key hopes and fears of the EU member countries are outlined in Box Figure 3.

One of the biggest concerns of the current EU members involves enlargement. Thirteen countries have applied for membership (Box Figure 1). Most are likely to become members in 2004, though Romania and Bulgaria will likely wait to 2007 and negotiations with Turkey have been postponed indefinitely. The inclusion of these countries could make the EU a more powerful force than it is today, but it could also delay or thwart further integration. Some EU countries have been working together for more than 40 years and are ready to move farther down the road of integration. Current members debate whether it is best to wait for new members to catch up or to allow those ready to move ahead on a new issue to do so. As new members have joined, the EU seems to be adopting the multiple path of continued integration. The adoption of the euro with three members opting not to participate is one example of this tendency.

The other problem with EU enlargement is that the applicant countries are mostly much poorer economically than the current members and would be a financial drain. The 10 East Central European countries that applied for admission have 53 regions similar to provinces. In 1998, 41 out of the 53 regions would be below 50 percent of the EU's GDP. Only the regions around Prague and Bratislava have per capita GDPs close to the EU average. These two regions aside, EU regional development funds would clearly be redirected from Ireland, Portugal, Greece, and southern Italy to the East Central European countries. Germany feels that it already contributes a lot and would have to contribute more. France is worried about protecting its agricultural sector. In addition, worker productivity and wages in the East Central Europe countries were only about 40 percent of the EU average. With freedom of movement, current members fear that unemployment will rise in their countries as East Central European workers would willingly work for less. Thus, even the most supportive countries of the EU have moved to postpone and restrict enlargement in the hopes that the economies of the applicant countries will improve before membership takes effect. Nevertheless, Germany successfully lobbied for a seven-year restriction on the free movement of labor, and Spain, with the support of Italy, Portugal, and Greece, lobbied to ensure that it will continue to receive regional development funds though it will no longer have the poorest regions. Interestingly, the United Kingdom has supported enlargement, probably in the hopes of slowing the integration process.

(Continued)

POINT	COUNTERPOINT
Economic union pools together the resources of member countries and thereby strengthens the economies of every member country.	Economic union undermines the ability of member governments to make economic decisions that are in their national best interests.
Economic union allows for the free flow of capital and labor, permitting capitalist tendencies to strengthen members' economies.	The free flow of capital and labor undermines attempts by member governments to protect their national economies.
The euro, or common currency, further facilitates the movement of capital and labor by doing away with the costs of converting currencies.	The euro forces member governments to have monetary and budgetary policies that may harm their national economies.
Political union increases influence in regional and global politics because it combines the political and military strength of member countries.	Political union forces member countries to adopt foreign policies that go against their national interests (e.g., forcing some, like Ireland, to give up their neutrality).
Political union results in common laws and standards for individuals and the environment in member countries. It makes for better social and natural environments.	Common laws and standards among member countries undermine national needs and traditions, often watering down social and environmental laws.

Box Figure 3 Hopes and fears of EU countries.

	Biggest hope	Biggest fear	What they say about themselves	What others say about them
Austria	EU forgets about Haider	Mass immigration from east	Badly misunderstood	Watch those neo-Nazis
Belgium	Brussels as capital of new superpower	Brussels secedes, Belgium disintegrates	We have lots of good ideas	Tiresome zealots
Britain	EU becomes giant free-trade area	Britain submerged into European superstate	We are the only country that obeys the rules	Make up your mind or leave; America's stooges
Denmark	EU integration stops	Welfare state dismantled by EU	Nobody understands us	Please stop having referendums
Finland	EU security arm ends Russian threat	EU-Russian antagonism	We're no trouble, not like those other Nordics	No trouble, nice phones
France	EU as French-led superpower; humiliates USA	EU as German-led superpower; humiliates France	We invented the EU and we are the only people who understand it	Arrogant
Germany	Federal Europe solves "German problem"	Popular backlash in Germany against euro or enlargement	We pay all the bills; we should have more say	Alarmingly ambitious
Greece	EU admits Cyprus, upsets Turkey	Turkey joins EU, upsets Greece	We are Europe's eastern outpost	Levantine rule-breakers
Ireland	Continued boom on back of EU	EU ends Irish neutrality	We are the EU's economic stars	They owe it all to us
Italy	Totally federal Europe	Kicked off top table for being too flaky	We are Europe's true believers	Dodgy politics, dodgy finances
Luxembourg	More EU jobs	EU ends tax-haven status	This is our stage	Too powerful for a microstate
Netherlands	Dutch model adopted by EU	Squeezed between France and Germany	We are founder members; we deserve more respect	Know-it-alls
Portugal	Catches up with EU economically	Small countries marginalized	Don't confuse us with Spain	Poor but honest
Spain	Lots more EU money	No more EU money	We are one of the EU's leading nations	Greedy
Sweden	EU becomes more honest and Swedish	Sweden becomes more corrupt and European	We are the truest democrats	Self-righteous

Source: *The Economist*, 16 June 2001

organizations also lobby their respective national governments for policies to facilitate movement. Euroregions are appearing in large numbers, now straddling almost every country boundary (Figure 3.18).

Euroregions are challenging national governments everywhere throughout Europe. They are exerting leverage with support from the EU. In addition to the rise of Euroregions, many provinces of countries are exerting their authority. Almost all the provinces in Germany, for example, have offices in Brussels, where they lobby the EU directly for funds. The interests of Euroregions and countries' provinces are not the same as each other's or countries' interests. New kinds of governments and new relationships between levels of government are being worked out in Europe.

Changes in Europe's Economic Geography

Two world wars and intervening economic depressions changed Europe's economy and its economic relationship with the rest of the world. Greater governmental intervention restored **productive capacity** (the amount of goods a country's businesses can produce) and now ensures education, health care, unemployment benefits, and pensions for all. In non-Communist Europe, older,

“heavy” (**producer goods**) industries, such as steelmaking, heavy engineering, and chemicals located on coalfields, were replaced in value of output and employment by motor vehicles, consumer goods, and light engineering products. The new products could be manufactured wherever there was an electricity supply and plentiful semiskilled labor. The material wealth created and the numbers employed in primary and secondary industries gave way to service industries—based in offices rather than factories. This further increased urbanization. New locations for manufacturing became significant around the expanding consumer markets of major cities and in new regions. The polluted old industrial centers with major investments in factories based on obsolete technologies—often kept going by state subsidies and staffed by members of trade unions that resisted changes—declined and unemployment in them rose.

In the second half of the 1900s, two major features marked the economic geography of Western Europe and now are showing themselves in other areas of Europe and the world. First, the new industrial areas grew at places more suited to the needs of developing technologies and industries, but long-established production continued in the older areas. The major investments in factories, housing, human skills, and infrastructure made it too costly in financial and human terms to undertake sudden locational shifts of production. The advantages of producing goods in an area that has a trained labor force, assembly and distribution systems of transportation, and support by financial and other services, build up and reinforce the original locational advantages as **agglomeration economies**. Keeping production in an area although its costs may be higher than those in possible competing areas creates **geographic inertia**. It is only when a substantial change in costs occurs, new products emerge, or the demand for the original product is reduced that new areas develop and older manufacturing centers decline.

Second, a process known as **deindustrialization** occurred when the numbers of jobs in manufacturing fell rapidly and old factories became derelict as old industrial areas declined. A fall of 20 percent in European manufacturing jobs between 1970 and 1985 was more than balanced by a rise of 40 percent in tertiary sector jobs. The skills of blue-collar miners and factory production-line workers were seldom convertible into the new white-collar office, hospital, or classroom jobs that were taken by younger and better-educated people. In countries where state-run industries had maintained high levels of employees, privatization—with its emphasis on increased productivity—caused rapid increases in unemployment. Those workers unable to retrain for the new jobs faced long-term unemployment. Older production workers, female workers, and young people with a poor education entering the labor force were particularly at risk.



Figure 3.18 The Upper Rhine Euroregion. Notice the close proximity of French, German, and Swiss cities.

Planning and Privatization

In non-Communist Europe after 1950, the problems of declining old manufacturing areas in particular became political issues and led to additional programs of social welfare, regional

policies for siting new industries in the older industrial areas, and retraining programs. Governments attempted to redress the differences in unemployment between new and old industrial areas by forcing manufacturers to locate new factories in materially poorer, rather than wealthier, areas of their country. State industries were located in such areas despite higher operating costs. Italy, France, and Britain introduced such policies. Investment in southern Italy—the Mezzogiorno—is a major example of government-directed industrial location.

Beginning in the 1970s, EU regional policy took over from national policies aimed at redistributing employment opportunities, and the EU invested large sums in infrastructure construction in the lagging regions. The European Regional Development Fund was established in 1975. There was a net flow of funds to the margins of EU countries, to their older industrial areas, and especially to the newer (and materially poorer) member countries in Mediterranean Europe. The main emphasis of EU regional policy was on granting of loans to create jobs directly or indirectly. The loans were used mainly for infrastructure projects, especially roads, telecommunications, water supplies, and waste disposal. Job creation outcomes had modest success, with a few thousand new jobs created for the millions of unemployed. Nevertheless, the EU continually modifies its policies for regional development funds to help the economically poorer areas of Europe. For the years 2000 to 2006, the EU allocates funds according to the following list of priorities (Figure 3.19): (1) development of the most disadvantaged regions (Objective 1), (2) the conversion of regions facing structural difficulties (Objective 2), (3) interregional cooperation (Interreg III), (4) the sustainable development of urban areas in crisis (Urban II), (5) the development of innovative strategies to support regional competitiveness.

Regional development funds have improved the local living situation in the economically depressed areas of the EU. However, such policies produced a modest effect at great cost and, by focusing on internal issues, often made the countries uncompetitive in world markets.

A major shift in Western Europe in the 1980s and early 1990s moved these countries away from a relatively stable economic and social order in which the losers were looked after by government provision of industrial protection and welfare. The other side of this stability had been that the countries of Western Europe began to price their products too high for world markets, resulting in reduced sales and thus income. Management then decided to lay workers off, rather than increase income by lowering the prices of their products to boost sales volume. Moreover, increasing welfare costs put country budgets into deficit and raised internal tax demands. To combat this economic problem, many Western European countries, led by the United Kingdom, moved toward practices followed in the United States, where private enterprise is encouraged, but potential high rewards are balanced by high levels of risk, making for a less stable human environment. During the 1980s, Britain led the way in privatizing state enterprises, many of which made financial losses and were a drain on tax income. The privatized

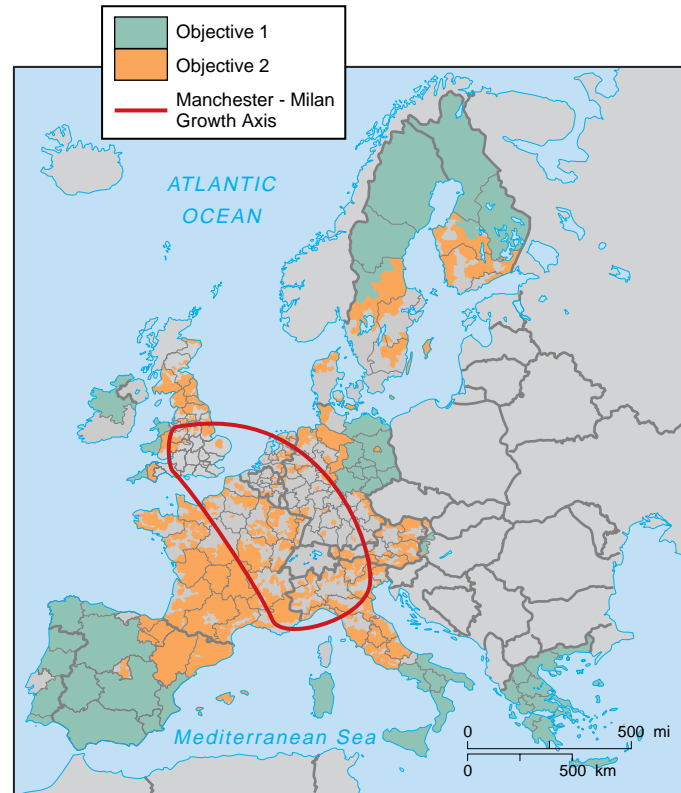


Figure 3.19 European Union structural funds, 2000–2006, areas eligible under Objectives 1 and 2. All of Ireland and Portugal, along with most of Scotland, qualified for structural funds until the current round. Note the locations of the most disadvantaged areas. Former East Germany is among them.

concerns, including steelmaking and electricity, gas, and water utilities, commonly made considerable profits after this change, especially by cutting their labor forces, leading to more unemployment.

Global City-Regions

One way that Europe plays a leading role in global economic system is through its cities. Of the global cities identified in Figures 2.13 and 2.14, Europe has by far the most with well over one-third. These European cities are no longer at the top of the list of the most populous cities in the world, but they are among the most globally connected cities. London and Paris, along with only New York and Tokyo, are the most important cities for accounting, advertising, banking, and law. When we think of cities such as London and Paris, we should not simply consider their businesses as only serving Londoners and Parisians, respectively. The businesses within them serve people all over the world, whether in the Americas, Africa, or Asia (Figure 3.20). Many millions of dollars flow in and out of these cities from and to many areas of the world. After London and Paris, cities such as Frankfurt, Milan, Zürich, Brussels, and Madrid rank high in their global importance.

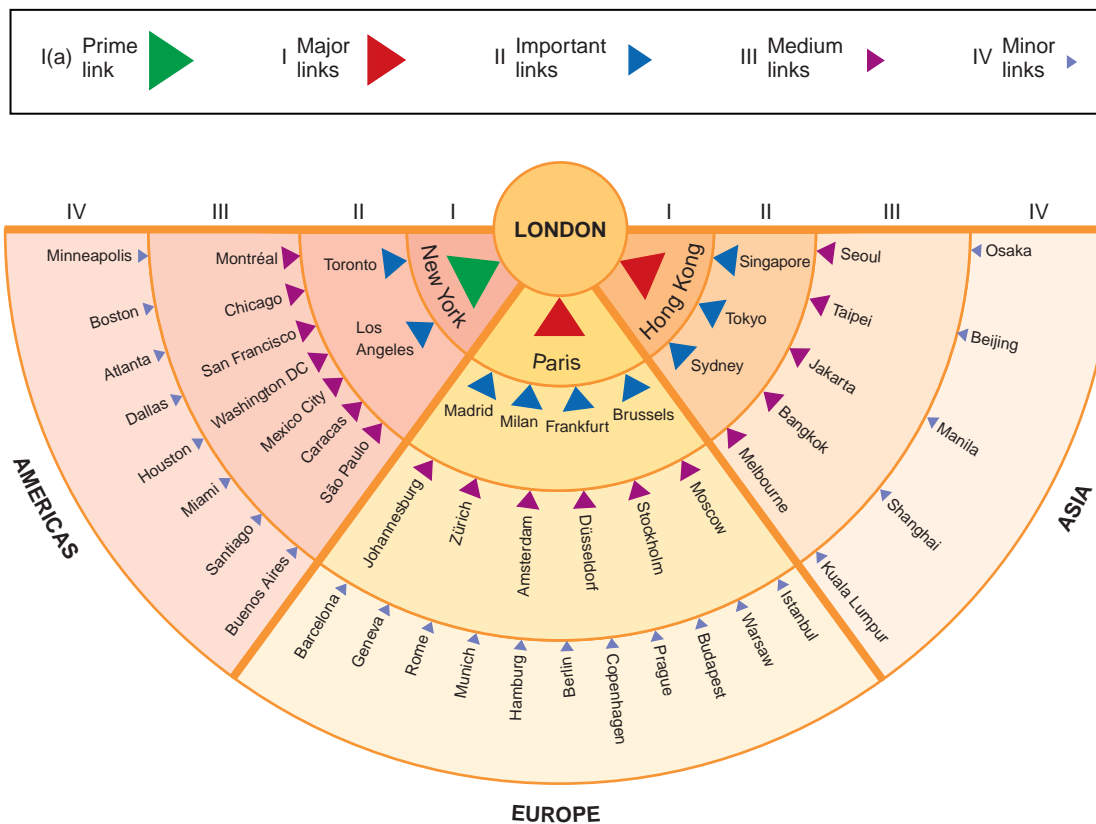


Figure 3.20 London. As one of the four most globally connected cities, London is a major center of accounting, advertising, banking, and law. Source: Taylor, P.J., D.R.F. Walker, and J.V. Beaverstock, *Globalization and World Cities Study Group and Network Research Bulletin 6, Firms and Their Global Service Networks*.

Test Your Understanding 3C

Summary World Wars I and II had a devastating impact on Europe’s political and economic systems. Following World War II, Europeans were forced to rethink their relationships with one another and the wider world. At one scale, Europe was divided into a democratic/capitalist West and a Communist East. The West formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Economic Community (now EU). The East adopted Communism and was tied to the Soviet Union (see Chapter 4). Beginning in the early 1990s, East Central European countries abandoned Communism and applied to join NATO and the EU. All across Europe, devolutionary pressures increased.

Economically, Europe experienced shifting trading links and new locations for manufacturing. European countries still maintain a high standard of living. Europe’s cities, particularly those in Western Europe, continued to play a major role in the global economic system. Despite the devastating effects of World War II, Europe regained a major place within the global political and economical system. European countries have many of the highest GDPs per capita in the world.

Questions to Think About

- 3C.1 What kind of new “supranationalist” organizations did Europeans create after World War II, and how are they supranationalist in their functioning?
- 3C.2 What are Euroregions and what do they have to do with the concept of devolution?
- 3C.3 What happened to “heavy” industries in Western Europe in the decades following World War II?
- 3C.4 What are the spatial patterns of economic development in the European Union? That is, which areas are more economically developed and which areas are less economically developed?
- 3C.5 Which European cities are Global Cities? Where within Europe are they located? Are they spatially concentrated?

Key Terms

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) | productive capacity |
| European Union (EU) | producer goods |
| supranationalism | agglomeration economies |
| devolution | geographic inertia |
| Euroregions | deindustrialization |

The Subregions

Though Europe is smaller than many other world regions, it is marked by distinct subregions:

- *Western Europe:* Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Republic of Ireland, Switzerland, and United Kingdom
- *Northern Europe:* Denmark, Faeroe Islands, Finland, Greenland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden
- *Mediterranean Europe:* Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain
- *East Central Europe:* Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Macedonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, Slovakia, and Slovenia

Population Distribution Patterns

Western Europe has high densities of population, except for its marginal highlands (Figure 3.21). The highest densities are in the urbanized industrial belt that runs southeastward from central Britain, through northern France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, and into Germany. Moderate population densities occur across the French farmlands, eastern and southwestern England, parts of southern Germany, and northern Switzerland. The lowest densities are in the uplands of Scotland, parts of Ireland, the high Alps and Pyrenees in southern France, Switzerland, and Austria.

In Northern Europe, most people live toward the southern part of the subregion. Although (without Greenland and Iceland) they cover an area that is almost as large as Western Europe, these countries, apart from Denmark, have low densities of population because of difficult climates and terrains. (Compare Figures 3.7 and 3.10a with Figure 3.21.)

The distribution of population in the Mediterranean countries of Europe reflects the hilly and mountainous nature of the terrain (see Figure 3.21). Most people live in the lower parts of major river valleys and along the coasts. The Po River valley of northern Italy is the largest area of high population density, with others along the Portuguese coast and eastern Spain. The Alps, Apennines (Italy), Greek mountains, and the Pyrenees and parts of central Spain have very low densities.

East Central Europe has a more even population distribution than other European subregions (see Figure 3.21). The main concentrations of people are in the urban-industrial areas on either side of the borders between the Czech and Slovak Republics and southern Poland. Farther south, the Danube River valley has the main population centers in the cities of Belgrade (Serbia and Montenegro), Budapest (Hungary), and Bucharest (Romania) along its length. The predominance of farming elsewhere is reflected in moderate population densities, with low densities on the poor soils near the Baltic Sea and mountainous areas such as the Carpathians and the Dinaric Alps.

Western Europe

The countries of Western Europe include Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom (U.K.) (England, Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland) (Figure 3.22). This subregion contains three of the four largest populations in Europe (Figure 3.23).

Western European countries have been most significant in creating Europe's image as a global leader, both now and over the course of the last few hundred years. The United Kingdom, France, and the Netherlands were three of Europe's most powerful colonial powers. Along with Germany and Belgium, they were also among the first countries to experience the Industrial Revolution. Colonialism and industrialization gave Western Europe the ability to establish many of the global trade flows that are still in effect today. Though Western European countries are no longer colonial powers, they still import raw materials from countries that were their former colonies and then sell finished products back to them. The economies of Germany, France, and the U.K. rank, respectively, as the third, fourth, and fifth largest in the world. These three countries also account for three of the members of Group of Eight (G8), an informal organization representing the world's most materially wealthy countries. (The other countries in the G8 are the United States, Canada, Japan, Italy, and Russia.) The human environment of this subregion ranks high in health, education, and income standards with all countries ranking within the top 20 on the human development index.

The European Union helped many Western European countries maintain and even increase their economic and political standing in the world. At the same time, these countries helped the EU become the powerful force that it is today. They account for seven of the 15 members and represent five of the six founding members. Beyond the scope of the EU, the political power of Western Europe is underscored by the positions that the U.K. and France hold in the United Nations. They occupy two of the five permanent seats of the UN Security Council, the most powerful organ of the United Nations.

Western Europeans spread many European cultural characteristics around the world. English and French are two of the most commonly spoken world languages. Western Europeans are also the driving forces behind the spread of Protestantism, a branch of Christianity. The British, French, and Dutch, for example, carried Christianity to North America, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and a number of other places.

Western Europe is the hearth for international organizations concerned with human rights. Amnesty International, for example, began in London in 1961 and works today to free individuals around the world who are imprisoned for expressing their opinions. The International Movement of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent traces its origins to Switzerland. From the time of its Geneva Convention in 1864, it has helped to set the modern standard for the ethical treatment of wounded soldiers and civilians during wartime. Oxfam (short for the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief) began in Oxford, England, in 1942 to help starving people in Greece who were caught between Nazi occupation and an Allied blockade. Since

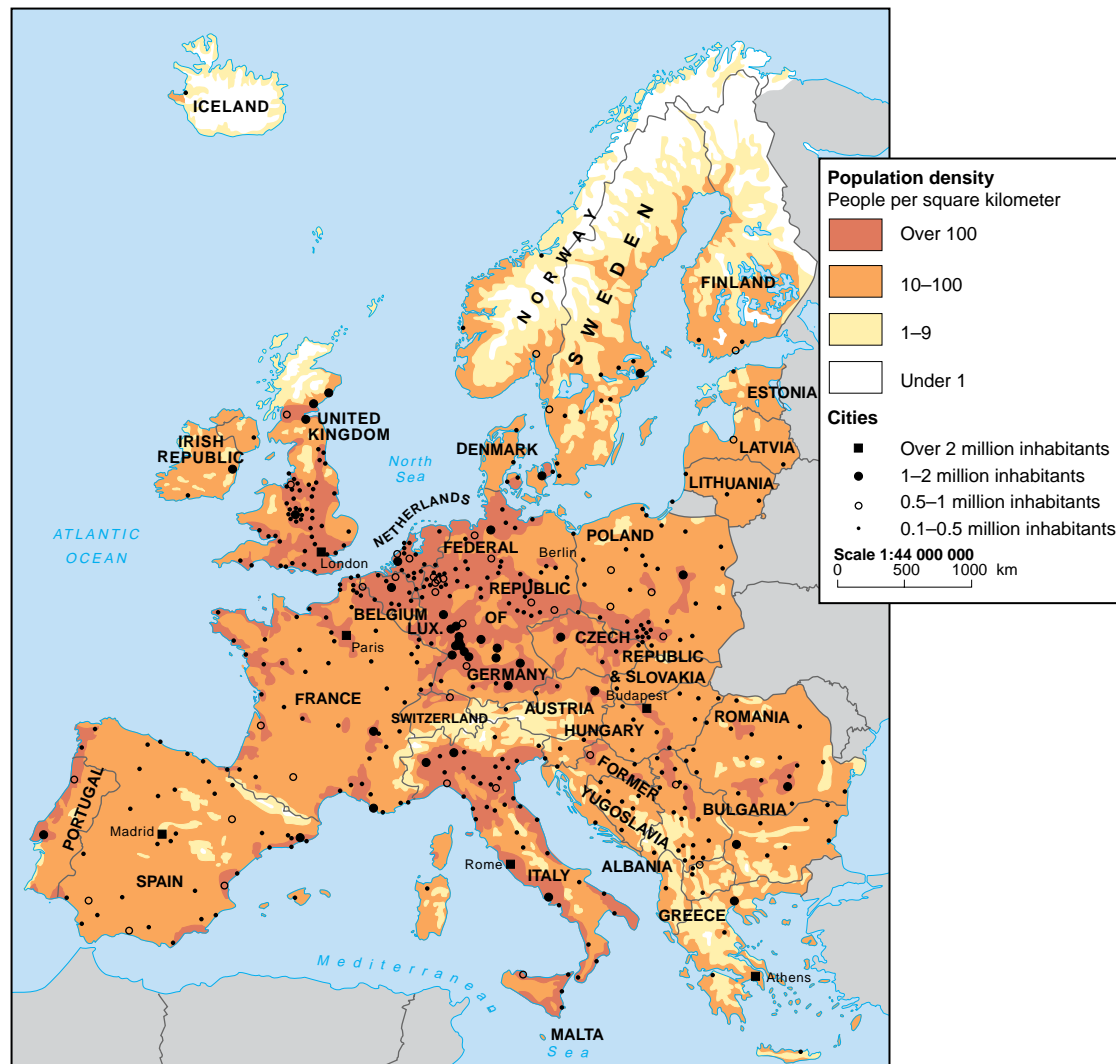


Figure 3.21 Europe: population distribution. Explain the heaviest and lightest concentrations of people in each subregion.
Source: Data from *New Oxford School Atlas*, p. 58, Oxford University Press, UK, 1990.

that first mission, Oxfam has undertaken numerous operations around the world to bring food and medical supplies to those suffering from war and similar causes. The International Court of Justice, located in The Hague, Netherlands, initially began in 1899. At the time, it was designed to find peaceful resolutions to conflicts between countries. Since then, it has expanded its scope to include many human rights issues. For example, it is involved in assessing the responsibilities of those accused of atrocities in the horrific Balkan wars of the 1990s.

Countries

Located primarily along the maritime edges of Europe, Western European countries exerted their independence early in history, compared to other subregions of Europe. Early independence coupled with technological innovation allowed Western Europe to dominate international relations and the global economy from the 1600s to the early 2000s. Strong local voices within Western Europe abolished the monarchies

of the Middle Ages and led to the development of nationalism and the nation-states seen on the map today. Boundaries for these countries continued to change well into the 1900s as West Europeans competed with one another at home and abroad.

France is one of Europe's older and most powerful and influential countries. Beginning with the Capet family in the 900s and its small family holdings around Paris, the country grew over the centuries, becoming a nation-state soon after the French Revolution in 1789. The French Revolutionary expression of "liberty, equality and fraternity" inspired other revolutions in Europe. The French have a strong sense of individuality, but France has a history of having a very centralized form of government with most decisions made in Paris. To satisfy the desire for more local decision-making, the central government created 22 provinces called *regions* in 1982 and granted them considerable autonomy in raising taxes and spending funds on local projects (Figure 3.24).

The United Kingdom is one of the other powerful European countries. It adopted its name in 1801 and included

Figure 3.22 Western Europe: countries of the subregion. The western margins include Scotland, Ireland, Wales, southwest England, and Brittany.



Figure 3.23 Western European countries: key data on countries.

Country	Capital City	Land Area (km ²) Total	Population (millions) Mid-2001	Population (millions) 2025 Est.	GNI 1999 (US \$ million) Total	GNI PPP 1999 Per Capita	Human Development Index Rank of 175 Countries	Human Poverty Index: Percent of Total Population
Belgium, Kingdom of	Brussels	33,100	10.3	10.3	252,051	25,710	5	12.4
French Republic	Paris	551,500	59.2	64.2	1,453,211	23,020	11	11.9
Germany, Federal Republic of	Berlin	356,910	82.2	80.0	2,103,804	23,510	14	10.4
Ireland, Republic of	Dublin	70,280	3.8	4.5	80,559	22,426	20	15.3
Luxembourg, Grand Duchy of	Luxembourg City	2,586	0.4	0.6	18,545	41,230	17	no data
Netherlands, Kingdom of	The Hague	37,330	16.0	17.7	397,384	24,410	8	8.3
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	London	244,880	60.0	64.1	1,403,843	22,220	10	15.1
Austria, Republic of	Vienna	83,850	8.1	8.3	205,743	24,600	16	no data
Swiss Confederation	Bern	41,290	7.2	7.6	273,856	28,760	12	no data

Source: Data from *Population Reference Bureau 2001 Data Sheet*; *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, 2001; *Human Development Report*, United Nations, 2001.

the whole of Ireland until 1922. The United Kingdom (U.K.) has a political geography that reflects strong local voices within the country. England, Wales, and Scotland are district entities that together with Northern Ireland comprise the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (see Figure 3.22). The rise of Scottish and Welsh nationalism over the last few decades resulted in greater autonomy for both Scotland and Wales.

Irish nationalism in Northern Ireland brought about some autonomy at times but also great bloodshed. The Northern Ireland situation is very complex. Independent-minded Irish succeeded in removing all but six counties of Ireland from the United Kingdom in 1922. The freed coun-

tries became known as the Irish Free State. Still part of the British Commonwealth, the Irish Free State had to swear allegiance to the British monarch until 1949, when it achieved its independence and adopted the name “Republic of Ireland.” The six counties of the north remained part of the United Kingdom after 1922 and became known as Northern Ireland. The violence in Northern Ireland often is depicted as a religious conflict between Roman Catholics and Protestants, but it is really a conflict between Irish nationalists and Unionists, also called Loyalists. Irish nationalists, feeling oppressed by British colonialism, seek to unite the six counties of Northern Ireland with the Irish republic to the south, but others, the Unionists/Loyalists, prefer to maintain the union with Great Britain and have resisted attempts to change the situation. Roman Catholics and Protestants were originally on both sides of the conflict. Because many Irish nationalists are Catholic and have the goal of uniting Northern Ireland with a Catholic country and because Unionists/Loyalists tended to be Protestant and want to maintain a union with a Protestant country, the issue usually is described as a religious conflict. As the conflict became progressively violent, even ambivalent Catholics had to seek protection of other Catholics and Protestants sought refuge with other Protestants. The conflict has led to religiously segregated communities, though almost as many violent acts are committed by Catholics against Catholics and Protestants against Protestants as across religious lines.

The global connections that France and the U.K. had with the rest of the world changed when these countries withdrew from most of their colonies in the 1950s and 1960s. Though these two countries no longer directly control other peoples and their lands, they both are very involved with their former colonies. The U.K. maintains ties, for example, through the British Commonwealth. In 1945, France created a currency known as the CFA franc (franc of the French Colonies of Africa) for use in its western and central African colonies. These colonies are now independent countries, but the CFA franc still



Figure 3.24 Western Europe: regions of France. The regions of France and associated major cities. How central is the position of Paris?

Country	Ethnic Groups (percent)	Languages O=Official	Religions (percent)
Belgium, Kingdom of	Flemish 55%, Walloon 33%	Flemish (Dutch) 56%, French 32%	Protestant 25%, Roman Catholic 75%
French Republic	Celtic/Latin with Teutonic, Slavic, Nordic, African	French, with dialects	Roman Catholic 90%
Germany, Federal Republic of	German 95%, Turkish 2%	German, English	Protestant 45%, Roman Catholic 37%
Ireland, Republic of	Celtic, English	Irish (Gaelic), English	Roman Catholic 93%
Luxembourg, Grand Duchy of	Celtic/French/German, some Portuguese, Italian	Luxemburgisch (O), German, French	Roman Catholic 97%
Netherlands, Kingdom of	Dutch 96%, Moroccan, Indonesian, Turkish	Dutch (O), Frisian, English, German	Protestant 25%, Roman Catholic 34%
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	English 82%, Scottish (10%), Irish, Welsh	English (O), Welsh, Scottish Gaelic	Protestant 49%, Roman Catholic 16%
Austria, Republic of	German	German (O)	Protestant 6%, Roman Catholic 85%
Swiss Confederation	German 85%, French 18%, Italian 10%	German (O), French (O), Italian (O)	Protestant 44%, Roman Catholic 48%

exists and ties their economies closely to France. France also maintains the French Foreign Legion, a military unit of non-French citizens that fights for French interests. France is the main supporter of the Agency for Francophony, an organization that promotes the French language and culture around the world.

The Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg lie along the deltas of the Rhine and Meuse (Maas) Rivers and were once all called “The Netherlands,” meaning “Low Countries.” The modern country of the Netherlands has one quarter of its land below sea level. Dutch ingenuity and hard work reclaimed much of the country from the sea, mostly in the form of polders (Figure 3.25). In the past, windmills helped to pump the land dry, and more than 1,000 are still in working order today, though modern engines do the pumping.

The people of the Netherlands voiced their desire for independence from Catholic Spain during the Protestant Reformation in the 1500s. The seven northwest provinces, calling themselves the United Provinces of the Netherlands, under the leadership of the province known as Holland, fought for their independence and achieved it in 1648, the year of the Treaty of Westphalia and the end of the Thirty Years’ War. In 1815, the southern provinces were joined with the United Principalities to the north. Almost two centuries of separation made union impossible. Most of the southern provinces declared their independence from the Netherlands in 1839 and became the country of Belgium. The province of Luxembourg lost most of its territory to Belgium at that time, but what remained became the country of Luxembourg in 1868.

The Netherlands became one of the great colonial powers, and Belgium had colonies, too. Colonialism helped to make Dutch

cities such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam great trading centers, the latter still being the largest port in the world. Over half of the Netherlands GDP comes from international trade. These countries tried to remain neutral in recent wars but were usually overrun because they lay in the path of easy access from Germany to France. After World War II, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg worked together, garnering the name “**Benelux**” (**B**elgium, the **N**etherlands, and **L**uxembourg). Belgium’s capital, Brussels, serves as the seat for the European Commission and headquarters for NATO. The Hague, the Netherlands, is the seat of the World Court, and Luxembourg is the location of agencies of the EU.

The three alpine countries of Austria, Switzerland, and Liechtenstein are centered on the high mountains of the Alps with their glaciated valleys. Austria and Liechtenstein began as dynasties, though Austria grew into one of Europe’s largest empires under the Hapsburgs. Modern Austria represents most of the German-speaking regions of that former empire, which disintegrated at the end of World War I. Vienna’s grandiose buildings are a clear reminder of earlier, more regal times. Allied agreements after World War II kept Austria from joining the European Economic Community, but in 1995, not long after the breakup of the Soviet Union, Austria joined the European Union.

Switzerland is a country of strong local voices. It began as an attempt not to be incorporated into any dynasty or empire, especially the Hapsburg monarchy. Switzerland began in 1291 when three communes in the Alps swore to help defend one another from outside aggression. The Swiss Confederation is composed of cantons that have a considerable amount of local decision-making power compared to the federal government. This internal

Figure 3.25 Land reclamation in the Netherlands.



political geography unites a country with a complex geography of languages and religions. Over two-thirds of the country is German-speaking, but French dominates in the west, Italian in the south, and Romansh in the southeast. Roman Catholicism and Protestantism are both common in the country. For external relations, Switzerland has a long history of neutrality in wars and declined to join the EU, though the last referendum on the question came close to achieving the necessary votes.

Germany is one of the younger nation-states in Western Europe, having come into existence only in 1871. Since then, its boundaries have changed. After World War II, the Allies could not agree on a common form of government, so they divided Germany into a Communist country and a democratic/capitalist one. The German Democratic Republic (East Germany) represented the former and the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) represented the latter. October 3, 1990, was the day that the two countries reunified (Figures 3.26 and 3.27). Germany's internal political geography is neither as centralized as France nor as devolved as the U.K. With a federal structure like that of the United States, Germany is comprised of 16 provinces called *länder*. Most, such as Bavaria and Saxony, are based on historical territories. Similar to the states of the United States and provinces of Canada, the German *länder* represent local voices and have the ability to craft their own laws and policies concerning such issues as education, transportation, and social welfare.

People

Dynamics

Western European countries are notable for their zero population growth rates (see Figures 3.2 and 3.23). The overall change comprises a decrease in Germany and small increases

Figure 3.26 Berlin (former East). “We were the people” sign cynically hangs over a Communist-era East German Trabant, a car with a two-stroke engine. During the Cold War, East Germans were told that they were building an advanced society of equality and economic prosperity for all. After Communism and then unification with West Germany in 1990, East Germans felt conquered and colonized by West Germans with their high-powered Porsches, Mercedes, BMWs, and Audis. Photo: © George W. White.



in other countries. Rates of natural increase fell from 0.5 percent in the 1970s to around 0.3 percent in 2000. Total fertility rates declined from around 3 births per female in 1965 to around 1.7 in 2000. In the demographic transition, these countries approach or are in the fourth stage (Figure 3.28), where birth rates and death rates are almost equal: after West and East Germany united, their death rate was higher than their birth rate through the 1990s.

Following a baby boom throughout the subregion from around 1950 to 1964, the number of children per family declined with later marriages and the use of family planning methods. The greater number of divorces and later marriages, and increased numbers of widows resulting from the longer life expectancy for women (80 years) created more and smaller households so that more housing units were required. Some of the impacts of such demographic changes are illustrated by the age-sex diagram for Germany (Figure 3.29).

Figure 3.27 Berlin. Located near the center of the city, Potsdamer Platz was a thriving business district before World War II. (a) During the Cold War, it was immediately behind the Berlin Wall (foreground) and became a landscape of tank traps, mines, guard dogs, and patrolling soldiers with machine guns. (b) In 1991, with new apartment buildings, a repaved street, and beginnings of a reopened subway station. Use the mound of Hitler's bunker on the left, the East German transmission tower, the church dome, and the tall, almost windowless concrete building as reference points. Photos: © George W. White.

(a)



(b)



Figure 3.28 Europe: demographic transitions. Birth rates and death rates are almost equal in most countries. What does that signify?

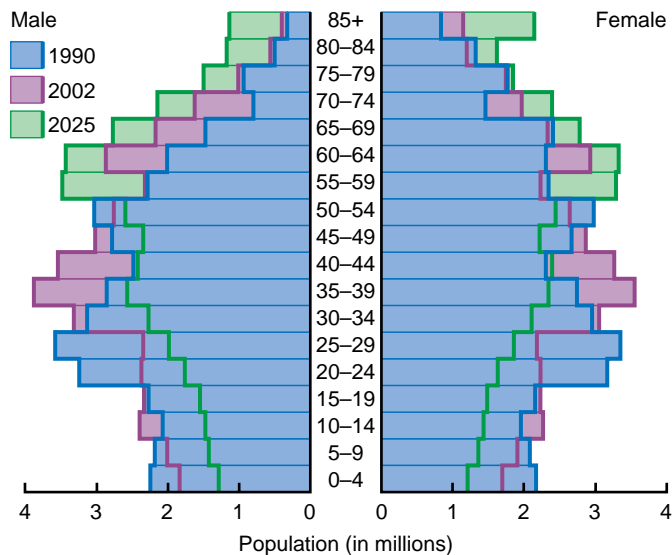
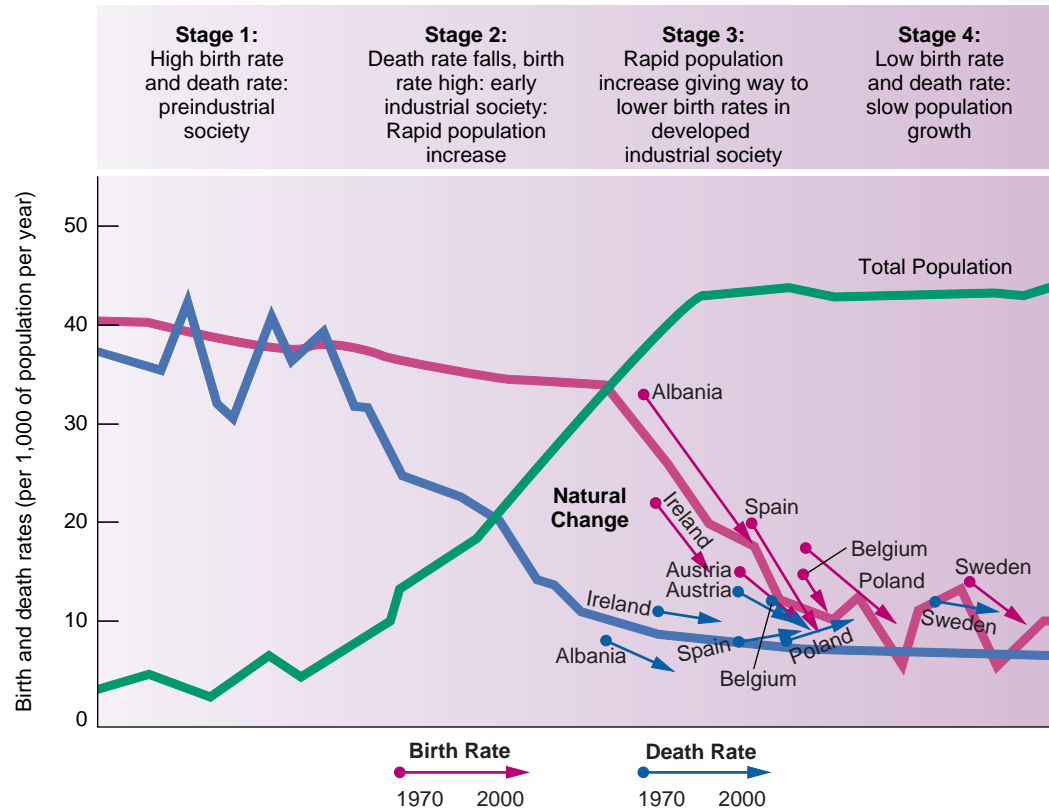


Figure 3.29 Age-sex diagram of Germany. Notice the impacts of the 1950–1964 baby boom (ages 38–52 in 2002), the subsequent “baby bust,” and the impact of 1900s warfare on the older male populations. Source: US Bureau of Census International Data Bank.

Immigrant Work Forces

World War II destroyed many Western European cities, particularly industrial cities. The advent of the airplane, especially the bomber, resulted in many civilian deaths and the destruction of vast areas far from the front lines. Much rebuilding had to be done, but many young men of prime working age had

been killed during the war. German industry in particular looked for workers in southern Europe: Portugal, Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia, and Greece. When not enough workers were found in these places, Turkey became another source. Over time, Turks came to represent the largest immigrant work force in Germany (Figure 3.30)

The U.K., France, and the Netherlands did not have to search for labor. As decolonization progressed in the 1950s and 1960s, tens of thousands people preferred to migrate to the former ruling countries. Thus, the U.K. received many migrants from the Caribbean, Pakistan, and India, while France accepted large numbers from Algeria and other African countries, as well as Southeast Asia, especially Vietnam. Thousands from Indonesia migrated to the Netherlands.

These foreign workers were frequently granted only limited rights. They obtained the legal right to work but in some cases not citizenship or all the legal rights enjoyed by full citizens. The Germans coined a term for these foreign workers, *gastarbeiter*, or **guest worker**. Though these people were allowed to stay as long as work was available, decades if necessary, the fundamental principle was that they would always be foreigners and, therefore, would eventually go back to their respective homelands. Though more than 7 million immigrants, of which 2 million are Turks, live in Germany, few have more than guest worker status. With so many immigrants, Germany changed its citizenship law in 1999, which previously required German blood, allowing many more immigrants to become German citizens. Of the 4 million foreign-born workers in France, just over 1 million have French citizenship. The United Kingdom granted citizenship to a far

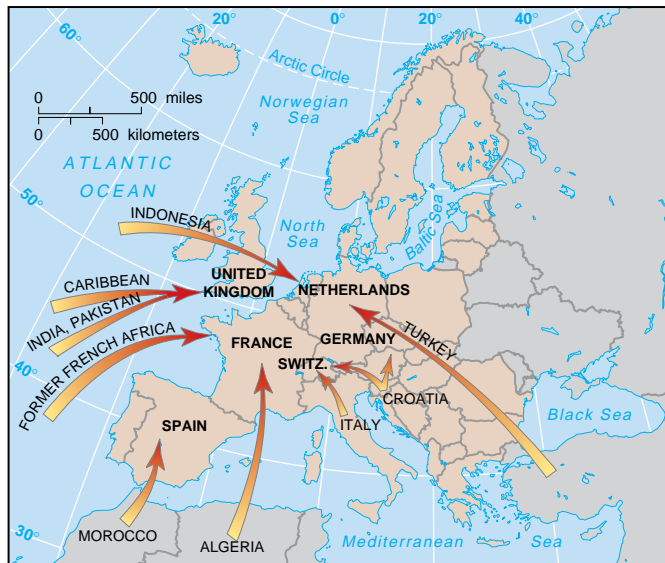


Figure 3.30 Europe: sources of guest workers, 1970 to 1990s. The sources vary from the former colonies of the United Kingdom, France, and the Netherlands to the countries around the Mediterranean Sea. What contributions have such workers made to the sending and receiving countries?

greater percentage of its foreign population but tightly controls further immigration.

By the 1970s, Western Europe was rebuilt, but slumping economies hurt further by an international oil crisis meant that less labor was needed. As unemployment began to rise, many Western Europeans began to blame the migrant peoples for taking their jobs. Though many guest workers also lost their jobs, most did not leave. Unemployment benefits allowed them to maintain a standard of living that was higher than any they would have had back in their home countries. Moreover, many had raised families in their host countries, and their children and grandchildren had no desire to relocate to the countries of their parents' birth. Though many guest workers thought fondly of their ancestral homelands, their children viewed these countries as "foreign lands." The situation became apparent in the 1980s, when the German government offered Turkish guest workers cash to go back to Turkey. One stipulation was that they would have to take their entire families with them. As many unemployed Turkish men considered the offer, it was not uncommon for their children to run away in fear that they would have to go live in what they felt was a Third World country where they could not speak the language.

As Western European economies began to improve again in the late 1980s, hostility toward foreign workers subsided for a time. However, following the end of Communism in other areas of Europe in 1989, a flood of new people looking for asylum and work came from East Central Europe. As jobs became scarce, many Western Europeans became hostile toward Eastern Europeans but even more so against non-Europeans. What was often overlooked was that unemployment was not caused simply by foreigners but by changes in the economy and society. As the new service sector replaced

old industry, many could not make the transition from factory worker to computer operator. At the same time, population growth rates among Western Europeans dropped considerably. The current population decline has economic consequences. The number of retired people is growing while the number of workers is declining (Figure 3.31). The declining working generation is increasingly having difficulties supporting pensions for the growing retired generation. Industry also has difficulty finding workers and frequently seeks foreign workers, though it may be unpopular among many citizens.

Refugees

The relatively high level of economic health and political freedom found in Western Europe has been attractive to refugees and asylum seekers from other areas of Europe and the world. With very liberal asylum laws that provide for free housing and education for those under 16 years of age, Germany attracts and receives the largest numbers of refugees. The end of Communism and the onset of wars in the Balkans only increased the number of refugees. People from Bosnia-Herzegovina are the largest group in recent years. Germany has accepted by far the largest share, with over 300,000. Large numbers of refugees in Western Europe come from countries such as Sri Lanka, Turkey, Ghana, Iran, Somalia, Ethiopia, Zaire, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Together with guest workers, they contribute to an ethnic diversity in Western Europe that is much greater than usually acknowledged.

Women, Power, and Social Position

Compared to other areas of the world, women in Western Europe generally have a high degree of political power and a large share of the economic wealth. At a basic level, equality can be measured by life expectancy. For the subregion, men typically live 75 years on average, while women live to 81. Power often begins with literacy and education. In contrast to many other areas of the world, women's literacy levels in Western Europe are equal to men's, at just under 100 percent. Almost an equal percentage of women as men receive university degrees. France and Ireland rank highest with 55 percent of all university degrees received by women. Switzerland is the lowest with 41 percent. In the fields of education, humanities and arts, social and behavioral sciences, and medicine, women commonly receive 60 to 70 percent of the degrees. On the other hand, women receive only 15 to 20 percent of the engineering degrees.

A more direct indicator of women's power is their representation in government. The Netherlands ranked highest among Western European countries by placing fifth in the world in 2001, with women holding over a third of the seats in the lowest house in parliament. Ireland and France were lowest, with Ireland ranked at 55 with 12 percent in the lowest house in parliament and France at 58 with only 11 percent. However, these percentages are still high compared to those in the United States.

Urbanization

Western European countries are among the most highly urbanized countries in the world. In 2000, Belgium had 97 percent of

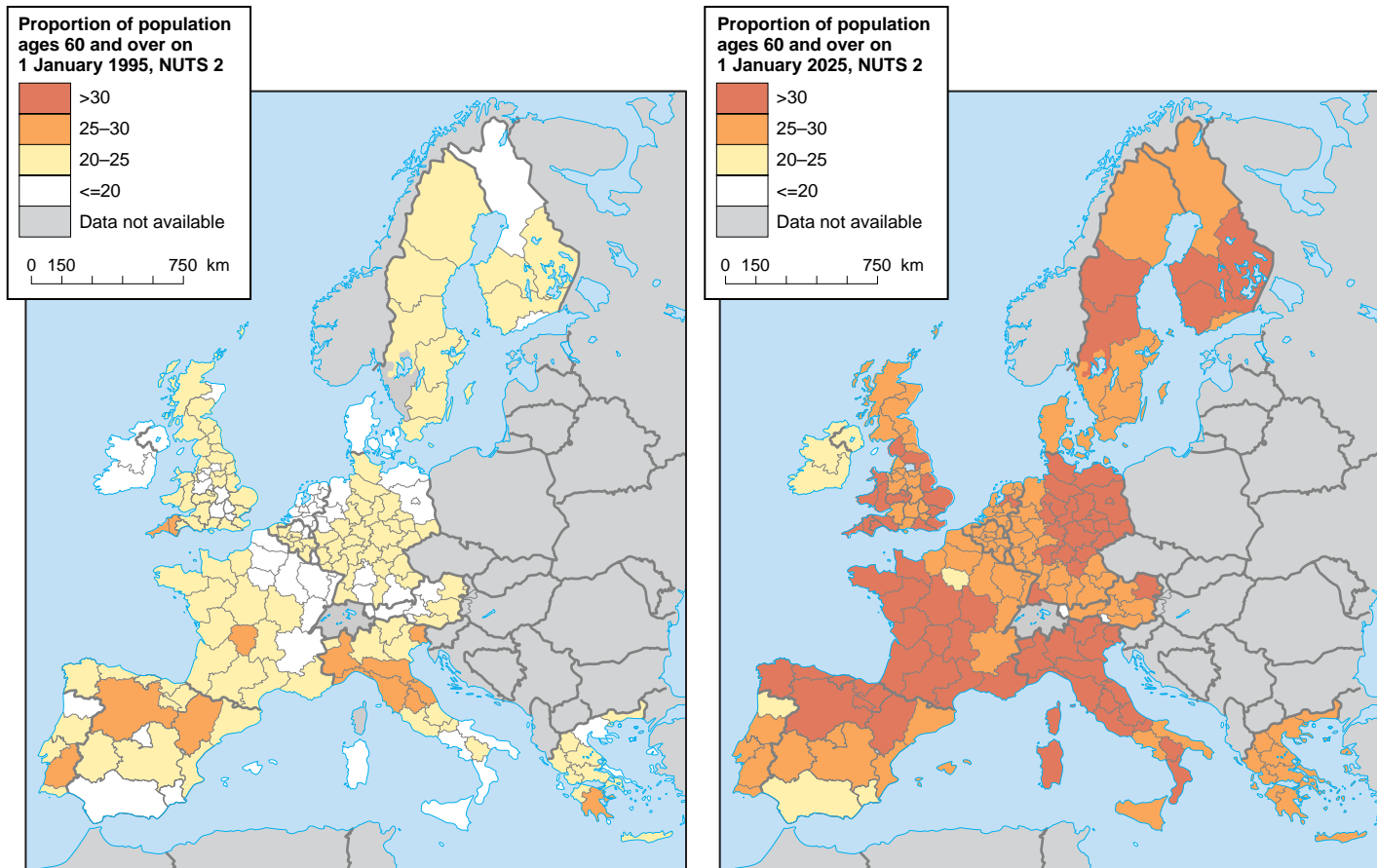


Figure 3.31 Europe's spatial patterns of aging. Source: Statistical data: Eurostat, REGIO database; Cartography: Eurostat–Gisco, 03/1999.

its population living in urban areas. For much of the rest of the subregion, many of the countries had 85 to 90 percent of their populations living in cities. Ireland (59 percent) and Austria (65 percent) were the least urbanized but had increased their urban percentages notably over just the previous few years. The high proportions reflect the economic focus on urban-based manufacturing and service industries. There are few extremely large cities, since functions are often spread among several cities. Paris (France), with around 10 million people, and London (U.K.), with over 7 million, are by far the largest urban centers, combining the government and private services of capital cities with diversified manufacturing. Other major cities in France include Lyon, Marseilles, and Lille. Those in the United Kingdom include Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and Glasgow. In Germany, Berlin is the reinstated capital. The Ruhr industrial complex around Essen, Düsseldorf, and Cologne forms the largest concentration of people. The major port of Hamburg, the regional manufacturing centers of Munich and Stuttgart, and the financial center of Frankfurt are other major German cities. The largest centers in the low countries are Brussels and Antwerp (Belgium) and the ports of Rotterdam and Amsterdam in the Netherlands. Dublin is the capital of the Republic of Ireland. Vienna, Austria's capital, is by far the largest city in Austria.

In Switzerland, the largest city of Zürich has closer rivals in Geneva, Basel, and the capital, Bern.

Urban Landscapes

The geographic characteristics of the city landscapes of Europe result from centuries of making and remaking built environments. They record the consequences of change (Figure 3.32). A number of Western European cities contain relics of historic cultures from Roman times onward. In medieval times, a network of towns grew with walled defenses and market and administrative functions. Internal spatial differentiation by class was not strong.

With the Industrial Revolution of the 1800s, cities grew tremendously and land uses differentiated into central business districts of shops and offices, industrial areas of large factories, worker housing, and suburbs in which the growing management classes lived. In the early 1900s, the development of public transportation in cities led to further differentiation of land use and the building of suburban housing linked by streetcar or bus to the city centers where retailing, commercial, and manufacturing activities concentrated.

During World War II, bombing and ground fighting reduced parts of many European cities to rubble, destroying older areas, including medieval and industrial buildings. The

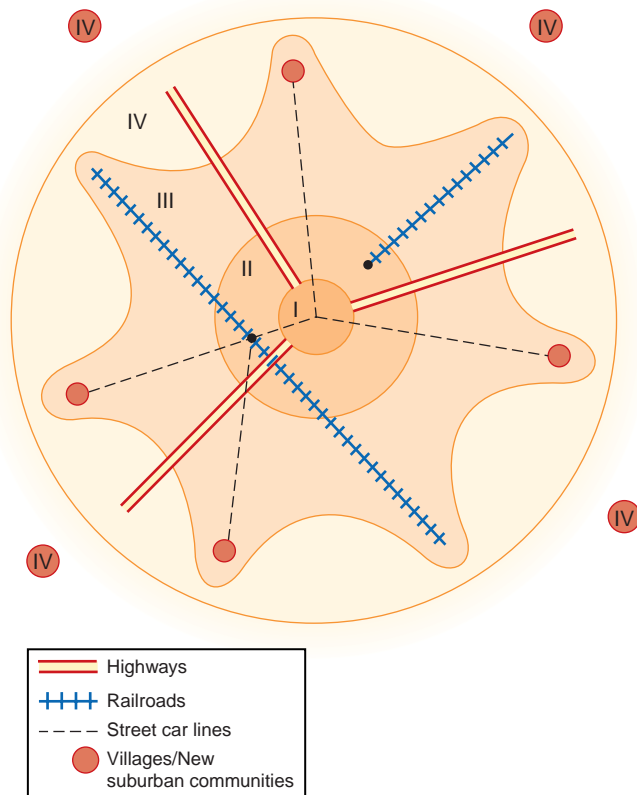


Figure 3.32 Generalized morphology of non-Communist European cities. (I) Medieval core. (II) Early growth area later penetrated by railroads and the location of early industrial factories and worker housing. (III) Star-shaped pattern created by suburbanization along street car lines in the early 1900s. (IV) Post-World War II suburbanization with automobiles.

period from 1945 to 1970 was one of rehabilitation, expansion, and restructuring of cities. Nearly all cities expanded their functions and populations. City centers were rebuilt with utilitarian buildings (Figure 3.33a), while large tracts of public housing catered to lower-income groups. New towns were built at a distance from the largest cities, separated by “green belts” of rural land in which new building was seldom allowed. A major result was decentralization—a movement away from the previous focus on the central business district and toward more economic activity in the extensive suburbs built since 1945.

From the 1970s, there was disillusionment over the outcome of postwar reconstruction and the bleak nature of low-cost public housing. Large public housing tracts, especially where high-rise buildings were common, proved unsuccessful and often became centers of unemployment and crime. A significant move began toward public and private cooperation, particularly in efforts to make city centers and old dockland waterfronts more livable (Figure 3.33b). Areas with buildings of historic interest were declared conservation areas, but the finances for pursuing such a policy now came from private investors who saw the potential returns from encouraging tourism and in building new accommodations for those wishing to move back near the city center.

Older couples whose children had become independent and younger professionals moved to neighborhoods near city centers. They bought and renovated poor and dilapidated housing, increasing the value of the housing stock and raising neighborhoods from low-income to higher-income. This process is known as **gentrification**. Allowing only pedestrian traffic in central areas (see Figure 3.33a) and arcades of specialty shops became features of city centers, together with the congregation of high-order services requiring support from people living in a wider area—theaters, opera houses, cinemas,

Figure 3.33 Europe: urban landscapes in Plymouth, England. Modern changes in the city center. (a) The main shopping area was totally rebuilt after World War II bombing and remains the largest retail district in the city despite out-of-town supermarket and warehouse shopping developments from the 1980s. Vehicles were excluded from some streets in this shopping area in the early 1990s to encourage pedestrian traffic. (b) The wharves and warehouses around the old harbor—from which Sir Francis Drake (1570–1590) and the *Mayflower* Pilgrims (1620) sailed—are now adapted for tourists with restaurants and gift shops. Photos: © Michael Bradshaw.

(a)



(b)



and clubs. Areas around the city center that had become derelict, such as old railroad yards, factories, workshops, and worker housing, became sites for the new facilities.

In the 1980s, the relaxation of planning constraints led to a further dispersal of economic activity from city centers to the suburbs and beyond. Manufacturing had already moved out from cramped inner city sites to suburban industrial estates. Now retail and office facilities followed to suburban warehouse shopping, supermarkets, shopping malls, and office parks. Nevertheless, densities of European cities are still much higher in the United States and suburbanization is much less pronounced.

Economic Development

Western Europe remains the economic heart of the region, with 60 percent of all manufacturing jobs in the region and 75 percent of the research and development that devises and applies new technology. Germany in particular has the third-largest economy in the world and the largest in Europe. Germany is often referred to as the “motor” of Europe and is responsible for much of Western Europe’s economic strength. Total German exports almost meet the combined exports of France and the U.K., and Germany is the major trading partner for almost 20 European countries. By contrast, France and the U.K. each are the main trading partners for only three to four other European countries.

Since 1950, Western Europe’s economy and the geographic distribution of economic activity have changed in response to shifting economic sector structures, the use of new energy sources, increasing involvement in the global economy, and the development of the European Union. The continuing high levels of affluence are reflected in the widespread ownership of consumer goods (see Figure 3.17).

Agriculture

Centuries ago, as various European peoples settled lands (see the section on “Migrations of Peoples” in this chapter), they often cleared the forests and established the two- and three-field system. Typically with this system, farmers would divide their land into thirds and rotate what they grew on each third every year, leaving one-third fallow to regenerate. In areas where the soil was poor, farmers alternated their crops between two fields. Wheat was the most common crop, but rye, oats, and barley were cultivated. Livestock played an important role, with much of the grain going to fatten the livestock. Until the Industrial Revolution, most people were farmers who owned small plots of land that primarily fed their own families but frequently produced a small surplus that could be sold for profit.

As the Industrial Revolution progressed, agriculture was transformed. The production of tractors, fertilizers, and pesticides meant that fewer people were needed to work larger farms, otherwise known as **concentration**. Small farms of a few hectares were taken over by more successful farmers, resulting in fewer but much larger farms. It led to a strong flow of people from the countryside to the cities, where they found

jobs in factories. Today, agriculture still occupies almost as much land as before (Figure 3.34) but provided only 2 to 7 percent of total employment in 1996.

Tractors, fertilizers, and pesticides also resulted in greater agricultural productivity per hectare, known as **intensification**. Fertilizers led to increased output. Scientific crop rotation, which involved the planting of soil-enriching crops such as clover and turnips every four years, made it unnecessary to leave half or one-third of the land fallow every year.

Modern agriculture also meant that farmers were no longer producing crops primarily for their families’ consumption but for sale. The new situation motivated farmers to switch from producing a variety of crops for their families to single crops that brought high profit (Figure 3.35), such as sugar beets or oil seeds. This is known as **specialization**.

Concentration, intensification, and specialization have radically changed agriculture and the rural way of life over the last hundred years. In contrast to the past, modern farms are large and the farmers who run them require management skills. Farms also depend on industries that produce seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, and machinery to produce agricultural goods. They rely on food processing plants and marketing agencies to get their products to the consumer. The term **agribusiness** was coined to describe how businesslike farming has become and the close links that farming has with other industries. Thus, while fewer Europeans work on farms, agriculture is still very significant sector of European economies.

Though agricultural production is high in Europe, the number of farmers continues to decrease. Farmers worry that their declining numbers will result in less political power and will endanger the future of farming. European governments, however, have been sensitive to the need to protect a traditional way of life and maintain a stable food supply. The EU Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) at first provided a set of price supports that made farming almost risk-free at a time of advancing technology. Output increased rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s, although costs to consumers and taxpayers rose. Providing agricultural subsidies to farmers has come to represent the largest expense of the EU’s funds. The most productive farming areas of southeastern England, northeastern France, northern Belgium, and the Netherlands were most favored by EU agricultural policy. Farmers in these regions had larger farms, had access to more capital, and adapted easily to new methods. Mountains of grain and butter, and lakes of milk and wine resulted. For example, the cereal crop rose by 40 percent between 1975 and 1985, generating a surplus and huge storage costs. The main fears of farmers in this subregion in the 1990s concerned the possible admission to the EU of countries in East Central Europe with their lower costs, but this change will take years, and at present, those farmers are much less efficient than their counterparts to the west.

In the hilly regions, where more marginal livestock farming replaced crops, farmers received support for social and environmental reasons rather than economic ones. Governments feared rural depopulation and soil erosion if the farms in these areas were abandoned. Governmental support helped the environment and slowed depopulation, but did not reverse it.

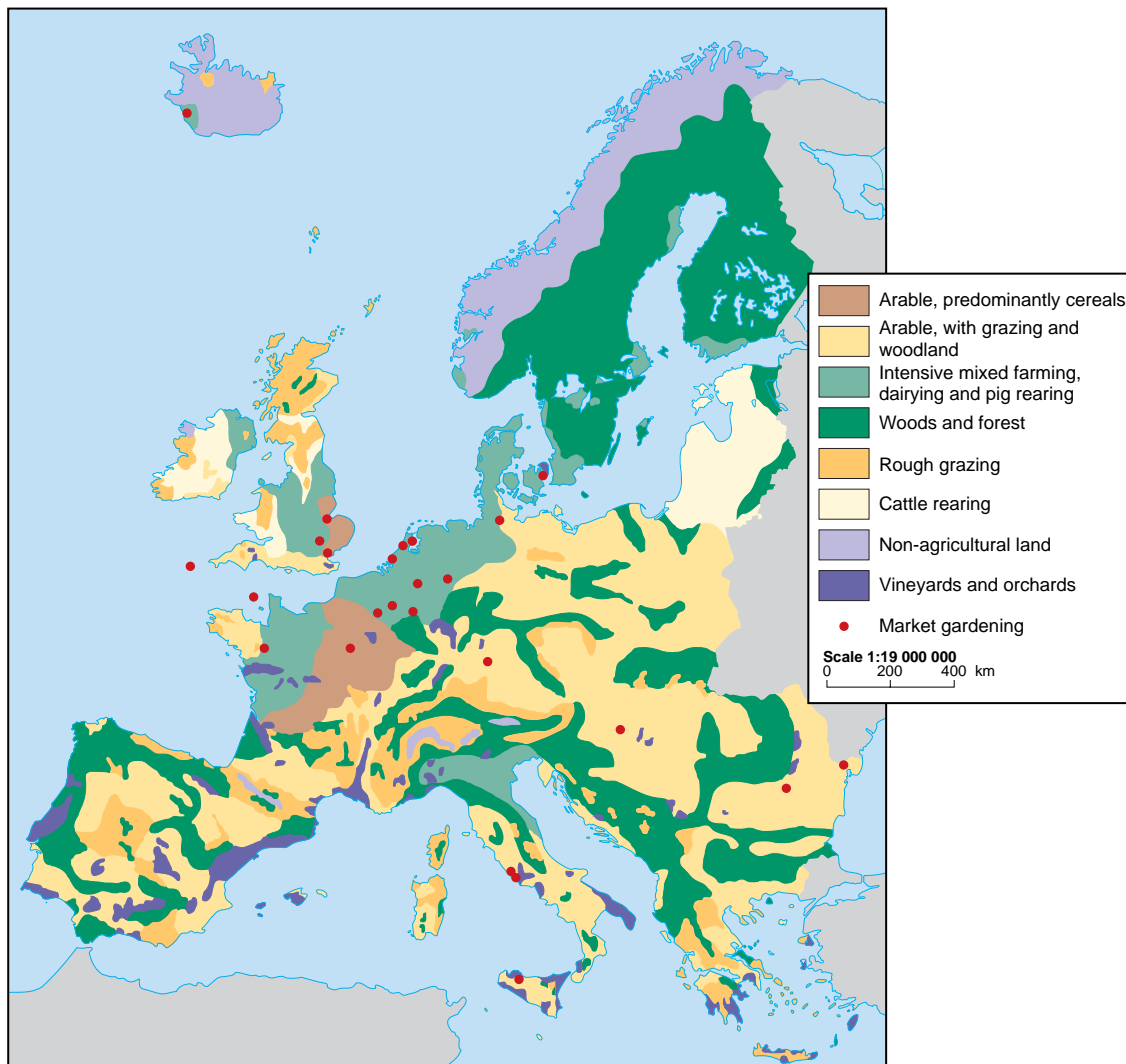


Figure 3.34 Europe: farming land uses. Relate the categories on this map to the relief details shown on Figure 3.10.
Source: Data from *New Oxford School Atlas*, p. 55, Oxford University Press, UK, 1990.

During the 1980s, the Common Agricultural Policy changed to reduce the huge surpluses of produce in storage as a result of price guarantees to farmers. It was decided that agriculture should be linked more closely to market prices but that an immediate lowering of guaranteed prices would be devastating to farmers and rural areas alike. More gradual reductions were engineered through downward revisions of price thresholds and milk quotas, and by forcing overproducers to pay part of the storage costs. It was also recognized that less production would reduce stress on the natural environment.

In 1988, further measures encouraged major cutbacks in production. Older farmers were helped to retire early by being given pensions in exchange for ceasing production of surplus capacity crops. Arable land was retired from production in exchange for grants to farmers who would continue to look after the land but not produce certain crops on it. Livestock farmers were encouraged to produce less from the same area, a process known as **extensification**.

By the late 1990s, the results of the attempts to reduce farm output in the EU countries were not clear. Setting aside land does not always reduce productivity in proportion to the area set aside. The poorer land is often retired first. Retired land may continue to be used intensively for nonsurplus crops. The grants are often applied to situations in which farmers would have retired or let land revert to woodland in any case. The geographic impacts are variable, since France in particular resists any move that reduces its agricultural sector. In other countries, there is debate as to whether the poorer hilly lands should be retired to a greater extent than the productive lowlands. Reducing milk quotas and increasing storage charges appear to be the most effective policies for controlling production levels.

As European farmers faced the loss of long-term subsidies and increased competition from new EU members in the late 1990s, they were hit by other events that reduced their incomes and led to reductions in farm acreage. Urban expansion continued, and planning restrictions on the conversion of



Figure 3.35 Europe: agriculture. This farm, located east of Dresden, Germany, specializes in growing maize (corn), a crop Europeans learned of during the Age of Discovery when they sailed to the Americas. European farmers most often grow this high-yield crop to fatten animals, usually pigs, which they sell to market for profit. Photo: © Emily A. White.

farmland were relaxed. The feeding of inappropriate animal matter to cattle in the late 1980s led to the expansion of bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE)—a disease similar to Downes cow syndrome in the United States and generally known as “mad cow disease”—in Britain and scares over its transmission to humans through ingestion of the infected beef. The EU prevented the U.K. from exporting its beef, but farmers in other countries were affected by a loss of confidence among meat buyers and the reoccurrence of the disease more widely in Europe. An outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in the U.K. in 2001 led to the slaughter of thousands of livestock in an attempt to stop the spread of the disease overseas. Though the disease was halted, the outbreak cost millions and further damaged the reputation of the British meat industry.

Major Manufacturing Industries

Two of Western Europe’s major industries are automobiles and airplanes. The automobile industry finds it difficult to expand further. It is partly nationalized and partly owned by foreign companies. Renault in France and part of Volkswagen are state corporations, as was the former British Motor Corporation. General Motors and Ford Motor Company of the United States opened their European plants in the 1950s and built a complex set of interrelationships throughout Europe among assembly plants, independent suppliers of components, and specialist factories producing engines and transmission systems (see Figure 2.14). The Japanese carmakers Nissan, Toyota, and Honda all built assembly plants in the U.K. to gain a foothold in the EU market. There are still locally owned private firms, such as Peugeot-Citroën (France) and BMW (Germany).

Germany produces around 4 million cars per year, France around 3 million, and the United Kingdom and Belgium around 1 million each. The total is well above the numbers that can be sold. In the 1980s, only Germany expanded the number of cars produced as overproduction became common—a situation made worse by the opening of Japanese-owned factories in the U.K. Automation was introduced to cut costs, causing tens of thousands of layoffs in the assembly and component factories. Other cost-cutting moves included increased links

between the assemblers and component manufacturers so that inventories could be kept low. This placed a greater emphasis on close geographic links—including location and transportation—between the carmakers and their suppliers.

In 1998, the merger of Daimler-Benz (Mercedes) and Chrysler suggested a new approach toward world markets that involves some of the largest automobile makers in different countries working together. Renault is linked with Nissan (Japan) and Volkswagen with Seak (Spain) and Skoda (Czech Republic).

The aerospace industry is another key sector. Aeronautical research and manufacturing are well developed in Western Europe and have been pursued for decades. Defense was an important reason for the support of this industry, but commercial production receives more attention because of competition with U.S. corporations. The small size of Western European countries makes it difficult for them to compete commercially with a country as large as the United States and its airline manufacturers such as Boeing. To compete, a group of Western European airplane manufacturers formed a consortium in the late 1960s that is now known as Airbus. In the same spirit of the European Union, Airbus pools the resources of several countries. Companies in France, Germany, the U.K., and Spain all manufacture various components that are then shipped to assembly plants in either Toulouse or Hamburg (Figure 3.36). Toulouse is the bigger assembly plant and headquarters for Airbus. The first airplane did not roll off the assembly line until 1972, and it took until 1975 before Airbus was able to capture just 10 percent of market share. Growth has been steady and rapid. Today, Airbus employs 44,000 and was able for the first time in 1999 to capture the biggest share of new passenger-jet orders.



Figure 3.36 Western Europe: aerospace industries. Cooperative European manufacture of Airbus aircraft. The high levels of capital inputs and technological complexity required for constructing passenger aircraft make it impossible for the aerospace industry in one country of Europe to support the whole process. What are the political and economic implications of these movements? Source: TO COME

Competition between Airbus and Boeing is now fierce. With commercial airline traffic at a high and likewise airport congestion, the two companies are staking their market positions on two different scenarios of what the future may bring. Airbus believes that continued congestion will result in greater difficulties for airlines in obtaining gates at major airports such as London's Heathrow, Tokyo's Narita, and New York's John F. Kennedy. Airbus believes that the best solution is to build a bigger airplane to funnel more passengers through the limited number of gates. Therefore, Airbus is launching the A380, a plane that has 50 percent more floor space and at least one-third more seats than Boeing's 747. The plane is also intended to fly greater distances and offer more comforts such as shower facilities, a piano bar, an exercise room, and a barber shop. In contrast, Boeing believes that greater airport congestion will lead to both new airport construction and the expansion of current facilities, calling for more mid-size and faster jets. Thus, Boeing is developing a modest-sized but very fast subsonic cruiser. It is difficult to predict the future, but European cooperation in aeronautics may make Western Europe the world's leader in the commercial airline industry.

Energy Sources

Domestic coal remained the main source of energy until the 1950s: as late as 1952, it provided 90 percent of energy needs in the U.K. and 92 percent in Germany. After 1955, however, home-produced coal declined rapidly as environmental legislation made burning it more costly and as cheaper imported oil, mainly from Southwest Asia, took over in residential, industrial, petrochemicals, and transportation uses. By 1972, oil supplied 65 percent of the subregion's energy needs, while coal was reduced to 22 percent. Three-fourths of what coal was still produced was used to generate electricity.

Oil-price shocks in 1973 and 1979–1980 raised the oil price ten times above its 1970 level. The growth in oil use slowed, energy conservation became important, and alternative fuels were evaluated. The rising oil prices of the 1970s gave a boost to exploration and production in the North Sea basin, extending northward from the discoveries of natural gas in the Netherlands in 1963 (Figure 3.37). The U.K. and Norway were the main beneficiaries. Early estimates of reserves and production were raised again and again: the Netherlands gas fields have already extracted twice the original reserve estimate and nearly as much again remains available in the rocks. In the North Sea oil and gas fields, production continued to rise in the 1990s, and exploration shifted west of the northern British Isles.

Oil prices in the mid-1980s fell in response to new discoveries that created competition and conservation by users that lowered demand. Natural gas became the cheapest fuel for electricity generators. By discovering its own oil and gas fields, reducing the growth in its demand, and adopting new technologies, Western Europe obtained good prices and a greater security of delivery from competing producers of oil and gas, particularly those in Northern Africa and Southwest Asia. The vast natural gas resources of Russia were brought by pipeline into Germany, France, and Italy. In the future, this source of supply is likely to expand because Russia needs to export vast



Figure 3.37 North Sea oil and natural gas fields (1995).

Source: TO COME

quantities to pay for the consumer, capital, and producer goods that it imports (see Chapter 4).

Of other sources of energy, nuclear-powered electricity generation is the most important, especially in France and Belgium (77 and 57 percent of the national totals, respectively, in 1996). It would have been more important elsewhere if early promises of low cost and safety had materialized and the Chernobyl nuclear power plant explosion in Ukraine in 1986 had not occurred. Hydroelectricity is important in Northern and Alpine Europe. There is some development of wind power in western Britain and of tidal power in northern France, but these and other alternative energy sources provide a tiny fraction of current needs and are often subject to local opposition—against, for example, the visual pollution of wind farms in the landscape.

Service Industries

While manufacturing in Western Europe ventured into new sectors but fell behind the world leaders in the United States and Japan, the development of the service sector almost rivaled that in the United States. In the late 1990s, employment in the service sector made up over 65 percent of the total work force in most Western European countries.

Service jobs grew in importance as the countries increased their populations, became richer, and instituted strong social welfare programs. Jobs in retailing, wholesaling, education,

health care, and government employment relate closely to numbers of people and population distribution. The providers range from private corporations, such as food and drink retailing, to state-controlled institutions in health care and education. Such services support and depend on the manufacturing sectors of the economy but play an indirect role in production. For example, better education and health care may provide a more skilled and adaptable work force.

The main growth areas in the service sector are in producer services and tourism. **Producer services** are involved in the output of goods and services, including market research, advertising, accountancy, legal, banking, and insurance. They serve other businesses rather than consumers directly. Greater use of computers and information technology increased **productivity**, which is frequently measured by the amount of product generated or work completed per hour of labor. Yet despite the increase in productivity, producer service jobs have increased by a quarter to a third in the countries of Western Europe since the 1970s and employ around 10 percent of the labor force. Producer services concentrate in the centers of major cities, where agglomeration economies are significant. Agglomeration economies, as stated earlier, involve the clustering of businesses in a location, often near governmental agencies, to produce savings from the sharing of infrastructure, labor pools, market access, and reduced transportation costs. London, Paris, Amsterdam, Frankfurt (Figure 3.38), and Munich have major shares of these industries. While some functions, such as back-office routine processes, are decentralized in suburban and small-town “paper factories”—often in landscaped office parks—major city centers retain the high-order functions in which face-to-face personal contact is important.

Mergers and takeovers after the mid-1980s led to a smaller number of very large producer service firms, each broadening the range of services. Banking, insurance, property services, and accountancy were combined. Centrally located specialist firms took over provincial firms to extend their influence nationwide and internationally. Although financial firms dealing with huge sums of money are liable to occasional scandals, the level of control in Western Europe is high enough to attract many transactions of world financial significance.

Tourism is another growth sector among service industries. Western Europe dominates the international market with over 158 million foreign visitors in 1999. In 1997, European countries held six of the seven top places in terms of international tourist receipts: Italy, France, Spain, U.K., Germany, and Austria (2nd to 7th) had total receipts of \$134 billion (compared to the United States, which was 1st with \$75 billion).

The numbers of internal and international tourists, both incoming and outgoing, doubled from 1970 to the 1990s. The growth resulted from increased incomes and leisure time, together with new lifestyle expectations. The expansion of package tourism made foreign travel accessible to greater numbers of people. College students, for example, buy rail passes and visit major cities, staying in youth hostels along the way. Working-/middle-class families travel using campgrounds and recreational vehicle (RV) parks. More people take second holidays or have short weekend breaks. Germany and the U.K.

provided the main source of tourists in other European countries. Although Mediterranean countries were the main receiving areas, the mountainous, rural, coastal, and historic urban areas within Western Europe also increased their tourist trade. While tourism is increasingly significant in Europe, tourist industries in other world regions have developed more rapidly. Europe still dominates the world in tourism, though its share of tourism receipts declined from 64 percent of the world total in 1975 to 49 percent in 1997.

Tourism is encouraged by the governments of each country, EU regional investment in infrastructure (roads, airports), and agreements on the sharing of health facilities, currency regulations, and customs. Individual countries promote their facilities through tourist boards. In the mid-1990s, tourism generated one job in eight in the whole European Union, making it the largest industry in Europe. Unlike in many other industries, the growth in tourism has not led to the rise of many large international tourist corporations. Smaller tourist companies remain the norm.

Tourism is often promoted to help in regional development, since many popular rural and coastal areas are located away from urban-industrial economic growth areas and need increased local economic activity to prevent further population loss. Tourist developments provide useful additions to local

Figure 3.38 Western Europe: financial services. In one of Europe's major financial centers, Frankfurt, Germany, medieval buildings are preserved in the heart of the city, surrounded by other buildings limited in height, although some were rebuilt after World War II. Beyond these are high-rise office and apartment blocks. Photo: © SuperStock, Inc.



Test Your Understanding 3D

Summary Population in Europe is densest in the industrialized areas of Western Europe. Densities are lowest in the cold, mountainous areas, especially in the north, and more evenly distributed across East Central Europe. Western Europe contains many of Europe's former colonial and imperial powers, and it is where the Industrial Revolution began in the 1700s. Countries of this subregion are still powerful today and rank high on the human development index.

Three of the four largest countries by population in Europe are in Western Europe (France, Germany, United Kingdom). The population of Western Europe is static in overall numbers and aging. Decreasing numbers of people in the working-age groups support increasing numbers of retired people. In the 1960s and 1970s, immigration was encouraged to bring in guest workers.

Western Europe is one of the most urbanized areas of the world. Towns and cities present landscapes that contain relic features from their long history together with massive areas of recent industrial and residential expansion that reflect the growth of urban living in the region.

Agriculture was modernized so that the subregion that was a net importer is now a net exporter of food. The manufacturing industries modernized in type and levels of productivity. Service industries, especially financial and tourism aspects, are the main employers, contributing increasingly to the continuing affluence of the subregion.

Questions to Think About

- 3D.1 What are the trends in population growth rates in Western Europe? What are the causes of these trends?
- 3D.2 How have Western Europeans contributed to the struggle to achieve human rights around the world?
- 3D.3 Why do so many difficulties confront the movement toward peace in Northern Ireland?
- 3D.4 What happened to urban landscapes in non-Communist Europe in the decades after World War II?

Key Terms

Benelux	specialization
guest worker	agribusiness
gentrification	extensification
concentration	producer services
intensification	productivity

household incomes, often improve the facilities available in an area, and add to amenities that attract other forms of employment. Much tourism employment, however, is seasonal, poorly paid, and female-dominated. The unskilled and low-paid nature of many jobs lead to them being taken up by migrants and thus having less impact on the local economy than anticipated.

Northern Europe

Northern Europe is sometimes called “Norden” and extends from the North European Plain to beyond the Arctic Circle and encompasses the Scandinavian and Jutland peninsulas,

Finland, and several islands in the Baltic Sea and North Atlantic Ocean. It includes the countries of Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden, together with the former colonies of Denmark, Greenland, the Faeroe Islands, and Iceland (Figure 3.39).

Northern Europe conjures up images of the Vikings who extended their control to the British Isles, northern France, Iceland, Greenland, much of the Baltic area, and Ukraine from the 800s through 1200s. Later, Sweden, as a modern imperial state, controlled much of northern Europe and areas that are now in Russia, the Baltics, northern Poland, and Germany at various times until the early years of the 1800s. Since then, Swedish and Denmark gave up imperial ambitions and frequently take positions of neutrality in international relations. Northern European countries are great advocates for human rights. Sweden is known for the Nobel Institute, though a committee of the Norwegian parliament awards the Nobel Peace Prize. Finland is known for the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights. Compared to the rest of the world, women in these countries hold the highest percentage of elected and nonelected positions in government. Though Northern Europe is sparsely populated and contains many resources, some would argue that the high level of women's empowerment has likewise contributed to the subregion's considerable economic prosperity and some of the world's highest GDP per capita and HDI figures (see Figures 3.16 and 3.40).

Countries

Throughout much of their histories, the peoples of Northern Europe remained mostly free of rule from outside the subregion and thus were able to express their local voices in self-governance. Within the subregion, the Danes and Swedes frequently controlled the others, as well as people and lands outside Northern Europe. Norway, Finland, and Iceland have enjoyed independence only in the last hundred years.

Denmark is one of the smallest countries in Europe but has strong global connections since early times. Claiming the oldest capital city and flag, the Danes also claim that their queen, Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II, has the oldest royal lineage in the world, dating from Viking king Gorm in the early 900s. During the Middle Ages, Denmark was a major power in northern Europe. The Danes willingly joined the EC (now EU) in 1973, but they have resisted adopting many EU standards because they have usually been lower than their own. Danes even threatened to unravel the EU in the early 1990s, when they failed in 1992 to ratify the Maastricht Treaty, which called for greater political and economic union among the member countries. In a second vote in 1993, the Danes narrowly ratified the treaty but more recently refused to adopt the euro as their currency.

Though Denmark is not the world power that it once was, it still has close ties with Iceland, the Faeroe Islands, and Greenland, which were all part of it at one time. The populations of the latter two are only 46,000 and 52,000, respectively. Iceland gained some autonomy in 1918 but retained strong links with Denmark until World War II, when U.S. and U.K. forces

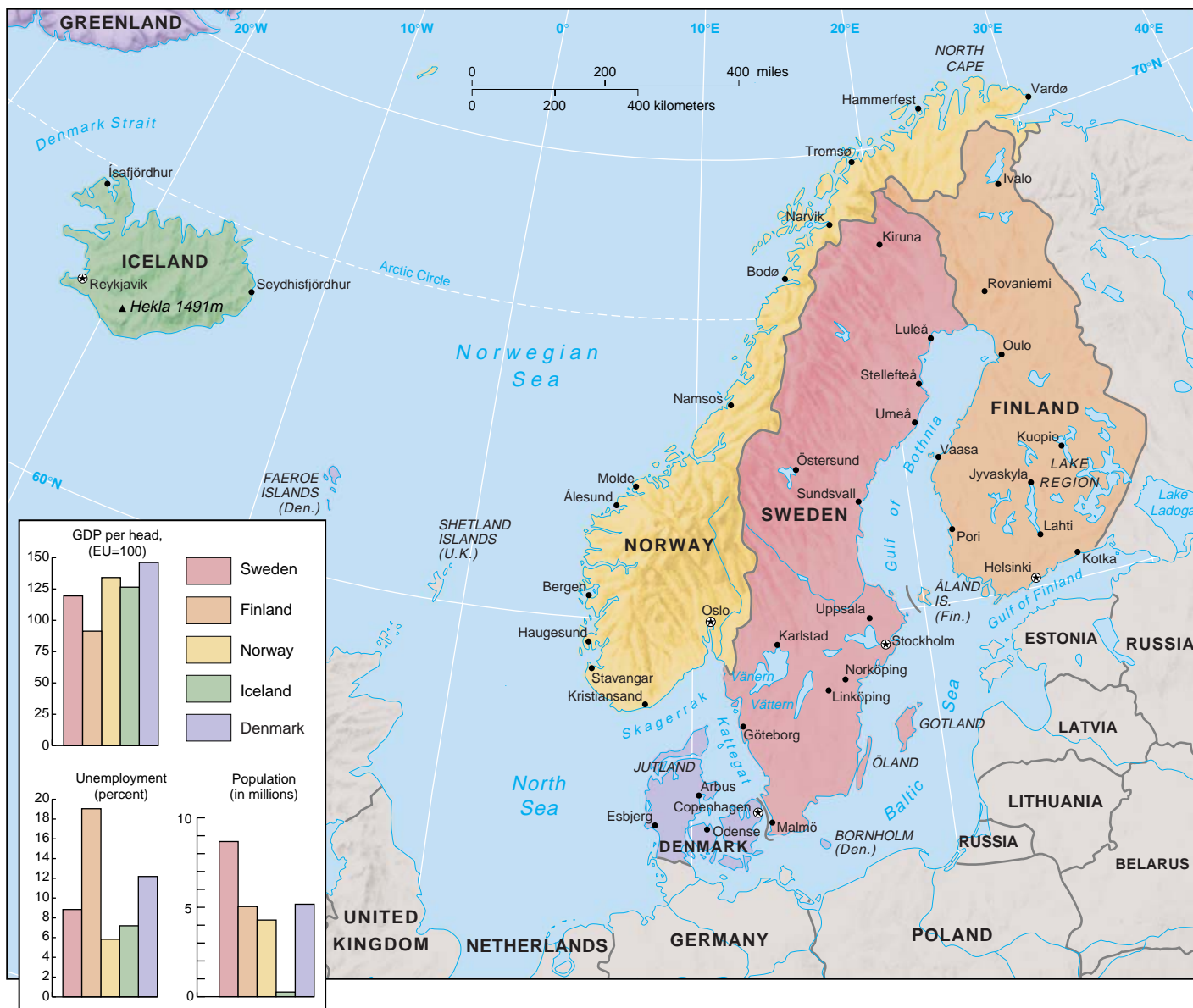


Figure 3.39 Northern Europe: the countries, cities, and physical features. Compare the countries in terms of GDP per head, unemployment rate, and population. Norway and Sweden comprise the Scandinavian Peninsula; the Jutland Peninsula is part of Denmark.

occupied it after Germany conquered Denmark. Iceland declared full independence in 1944. The Faeroe Islands and Greenland achieved autonomy in 1948 and 1979, respectively, though both are still part of Denmark. All three places are inhibited by physical difficulties of climate and land and rely on fishing the surrounding waters. In the late 1990s, fish stocks declined as other countries increased their take. Competition for use of the surrounding waters led Iceland and the Faeroe Islands to extend and defend their 200-mile limits against European fishers until international agreement was obtained. Iceland has come under international pressure not to resume whaling.

Norway is a mountainous country with limited farmland primarily around Oslo and Trondheim. During the Ice Age, glaciers rounded river valleys as they cut their way to the sea. After the Ice Age, these river valleys flooded as sea level rose.

These flooded inlets are known as **fjords**. At the very end of these fjords, small patches of good agriculture land formed and were called “Viks.” The people who inhabited them were called “Vikings.” The Norwegians are proud of their Viking heritage and their seafaring ways. Modern Norway was controlled either by Denmark or Sweden and did not achieve self-governance until 1814. Even then, the Swedish king remained the king of Norway until 1905, meaning that independence was not fully achieved until 1906, when the Norwegians elected their own king. Since then, Norwegians have guarded their independence carefully. Norway is a member of NATO, but Norwegians rejected referendums to join the EU. Until the 1970s, Norway’s economy was based on fishing and the smelting of metals using hydroelectricity. It is believed that the Norwegians’ desire to protect their fishing grounds and their practice of whaling

Figure 3.40 Northern European countries: key data on countries.

Country	Capital City	Land Area (km ²) Total	Population (millions) Mid-2001 Total	2025 Est.	GNI 1999 (US \$ million) Total	GNI PPP 1999 Per Capita	Human Development Index Rank of 175 Countries	Human Poverty Index: Percent of Total Population
Denmark, Kingdom of	Copenhagen	43,090	5.4	5.8	170,685	25,600	15	12.2
Finland, Republic of	Helsinki	338,100	5.2	5.3	127,764	22,600	13	11.9
Iceland, Republic of	Reykjavik	103,000	0.3	0.3	8,197	27,210	9	no data
Norway, Kingdom of	Oslo	323,000	4.5	5.0	149,280	28,140	2	11.3
Sweden, Kingdom of	Stockholm	449,960	8.9	9.4	236,940	22,150	6	7.0

Country	Ethnic Groups (percent)	Languages O=Official	Religions (percent)
Denmark, Kingdom of	Danish, Inuit (Eskimo), Faroese, Greenlander	Danish, Faroese	Protestant 91%
Finland, Republic of	Finn 90%, Swede 9%	Finnish (O), Swedish	Protestant 89%
Iceland, Republic of	Norwegian/Celtic descendants	Icelandic (O), Danish, English	Protestant 96%
Norway, Kingdom of	Germanic (Nordic, alpine, Baltic)	Norwegian (O), English	Protestant 88%
Sweden, Kingdom of	Swede, Finn, Dane, Norwegian, Greek, Turk	Swedish, English	Protestant 94%

Source: Data from *Population Reference Bureau 2001 Data Sheet*; *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, 2001; *Human Development Report*, United Nations, 2001.

played a major role in the rejection of EU membership, even after new wealth came with the discovery of North Sea oil and natural gas in the 1970s. The oil was abundant enough to make Norway the world's second largest crude oil exporter after Saudi Arabia in 1995.

Like Norway, Finland achieved its independence late. Finland was within the Swedish kingdom from the 1100s to 1809, when it became a Russian possession. Finnish independence was declared in 1917, but Stalin's armies attacked Finland in 1939 with the intent of reincorporating Finland into the Soviet Union. The Finns fought off the attack but sought a closer alliance with the Axis powers to protect their country's independence. As the Red Army rolled back Hitler's forces, it launched new campaigns against Finland. Vastly outnumbered, the Finns sued for peace, surrendering strips of land adjacent to the Soviet Union and agreeing not to join any political organization, which would include NATO and the EU, or engage in anti-Soviet rhetoric. The Soviets were particularly concerned about Finnish broadcasting, which could be received in nearby Estonia, a Soviet republic where the language was so closely related to Finnish that Finnish was easily understood. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, Finland was freed from its forced neutrality, quickly joined the EU, and established close links with the Baltic countries, especially Estonia.

Sweden has been the largest and politically strongest Northern European country throughout history with only Denmark as a rival. At its height from 1610 to 1718, "the Great Power period," Sweden controlled the areas now known as Finland and the Baltics, and northern areas of Poland and Germany. The Swedish army was able to defeat Danish, German, and Russian forces, often simultaneously, before it was permanently weakened in 1721. Sweden lost most of its possessions but retained much of Finland. In 1809, Sweden

lost Finland and in 1812 acquired its current boundaries, but a few years later and until 1905, Sweden gained considerable control over Norway.

Though Sweden has not engaged in a war since 1812, the Swedish government cooperated with Nazi Germany by providing it with ball bearings necessary for weapons and by allowing German troops to be transported by rail across Sweden to Norway and Finland. In contrast, Swedes such as Raoul Wallenberg became famous for having rescued thousands of Jews from the Nazis' Holocaust. After the Cold War, Sweden gave up its neutrality and joined the EU in 1995. It has decided, along with Denmark and the U.K., however, that it will not adopt the euro as its currency. Since the end of Cold War, Sweden has also invested heavily in the Baltic countries.

People

Dynamics

The population of Northern Europe is small, only 24 million people in total in 2000, and likely to rise by just over another million by 2025. Rates of natural population change were between -0.01 and 0.3 percent in 2000, and total fertility rates dropped from around 2.5 in 1965 to under 2 by 2000. Those born in Northern Europe in 2000 expect to live around 80 years. In all countries, birth rates almost equal the low death rate levels (see Figure 3.28). The 2002 age-sex diagram for Sweden (Figure 3.41) shows maximum numbers in the age groups around 30 to 40 years, reflecting the baby boom from the later 1940s into the 1960s and the subsequent fall in births. Those over 65 years make up 15 to 17 percent of the total population, a growing burden on the comprehensive welfare systems of these countries that is already being felt in increased taxes and the reduction of some welfare programs after years of wide-ranging

coverage. Many of these countries have had to cut back on the services they provide.

Urbanization

The lack of farming land and cold northern climates are linked to high percentages of urbanization. Finland (67 percent) and Norway (76 percent) were the only two countries less than 85 percent urbanized. Even so, the major cities are not very large. In each country the capital city is by far the largest, but only Copenhagen, (Denmark; Figure 3.42), Stockholm (Sweden), and Helsinki (Finland) had over 1 million people in 1996. Oslo, Norway’s capital, does not exceed 1 million. The main cities of Northern Europe were little changed by warfare, and their centers continue to be dominated by government and commercial buildings built in the 1800s and early 1900s.

Culture

Culturally, the Scandinavians (Swedes, Danes, Norwegians) are Germanic peoples, specifically the northern branch, and descendants of Vikings. Their languages are closely related, and so are their histories (see Figure 3.4a). The inhabitants of the Faeroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland are descendants of early Scandinavian settlers and likewise have similar cultures, though Greenland also is inhabited by Inuits. In contrast, the Finns and Sami (more commonly but derogatorily called Lapps) are Finno-Ugric peoples whose languages, related to Hungarian, are not Indo-European like most of the other languages of Europe and bear no resemblance to the Germanic languages of the Scandinavians. The Sami practice a traditional nomadic lifestyle of herding reindeer. They are found in the far northern reaches of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and adjacent areas of Russia.

Evangelical Lutheran Christianity is the major religion for Northern Europeans (see Figure 3.4b). Officially, 90 percent or more of the population are Lutherans in the four major countries and in Iceland. This Protestant variant of Christianity influenced



Figure 3.42 Denmark: Copenhagen’s urban landscape. Photo: © Loren W. Linholm.

the lives of the people, inducing very serious and community-conscious attitudes toward work and social life. In recent years, the combination of affluence and materialism broke many of these strong cultural links and loosened the control exercised by the churches.

Economic Development

The economies of the countries of Northern Europe relied on primary products until development of manufacturing and service industries in the 1900s. Denmark is a major agricultural country; 75 percent of Denmark’s lowland area on the Jutland peninsula and on the islands between the peninsula and Sweden is farmed with an emphasis on dairy and livestock products (see Figure 3.34). Denmark also commonly has the largest fish catches in the EU and engages in world shipping. Sweden has agriculture in the south, while the north has significant timber and iron-mining industries. The Swedish sawmill industry is Europe’s largest and accounts for about 10 percent of the world’s exports. Sweden was also the world’s third-largest exporter of pulp and paper in the early 1990s. Finland is another major wood-producing country, and Norway has fishing and shipping industries. The discovery of major oil and gas reserves beneath the North Sea brought new wealth to Norway from the 1970s (see Figure 3.37).

In terms of industry, Denmark is known around the world for Tubourg beer and the toy company Lego, though Denmark has many other industries that manufacture furniture, handicrafts, medical goods, automatic cooling and heating devices and sensitive measuring instruments. The Finnish company Nokia is world renowned for its mobile phone, Finland’s most important export product. Finland itself has more mobile phones per capita than any other country with 65 cellular phones per 100 inhabitants. Finland’s other important industries are glassware, metal, machinery, and shipbuilding.

Sweden is the largest and most industrialized Northern European country. In addition to forestry, its biggest industries are in engineering, iron and steel, chemicals, and services. Engineering products account for the largest share of Sweden’s manufacturing industry. Swedish engineering companies such as SKF, ABB, and Ericsson and inventions such as the ball bearing have given Sweden a good worldwide reputation in this sector.

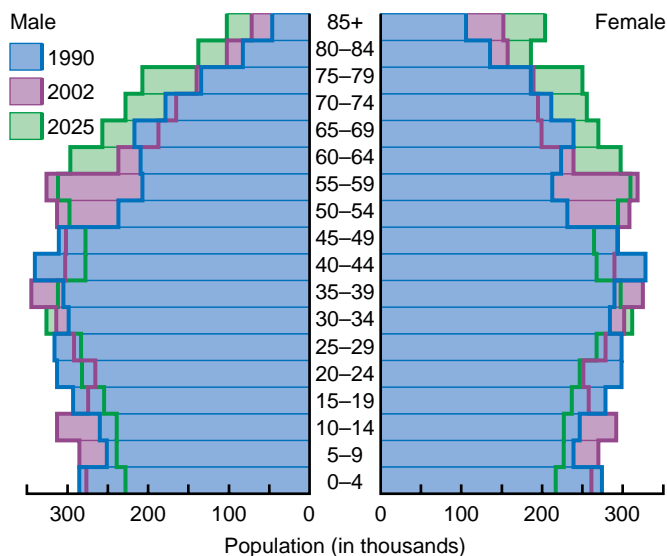


Figure 3.41 Age-sex diagram of Sweden.

Volvo and Saab are well-known companies in the automotive field. Saab is also a producer of commercial and military airplanes. Many of Sweden's traditional mechanical manufacturing companies diversified into the electronics industry. ABB is the largest producer of industrial robots in Europe. In telecommunications, Ericsson sells digital exchanges and phone systems. The Swedish chemical industry originally produced matches and explosives, but paint and plastics grew in importance after World War II. In the last few decades, pharmaceuticals became important with companies such as Astra and Pharmacia & Upjohn. The service sector employs the largest number of people in Sweden. Financial, educational, and medical services are the major areas. Much of the employment is in the public sector, but high costs led to increasing privatization.

The four largest Scandinavian countries have some of the highest GDP per capita figures in the world. In recent decades, Sweden maintained its income level, while Finland (new industries such as mobile phones), Norway (oil and natural gas), and Denmark (high-tech industries) increased their affluence. The small, stable populations made it possible to develop societies in which poverty is limited, as reflected in the ownership of consumer goods (see Figure 3.17).

Mediterranean Europe

Mediterranean Europe consists of four large countries—Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Greece—and five small independent countries, Andorra, Monaco, Vatican City, San Marino, and Malta (Figures 3.43 and 3.44). Gibraltar remains a British colony, although discussions between the U.K. and Spain continue over its future. Portugal is not strictly a “Mediterranean” country, because its coast faces the Atlantic Ocean, but it is part of the Iberian Peninsula with Spain, and its history and culture are closely linked to that of its neighbor. Southern France is also oriented to the Mediterranean Sea but its position within France and, therefore, governance from Paris makes it more convenient to include it in Western Europe.

From ancient Greek and Roman ideas to those of the Italian Renaissance, Mediterranean Europe played a major role in directing the course of Western civilization. In the 1400s, Portuguese and Spanish exploration launched the Age of Discovery and soon marked the beginning of European colonization of other lands and peoples. With colonization, the Portuguese and Spanish transplanted their languages and religion—Roman Catholicism—around the world. By the Industrial Revolution of the 1800s, Mediterranean Europe had lost a lot of its political power. In the 1900s, differences grew among the Mediterranean countries. Italy became the most industrialized and Spain followed, while Portugal and Greece still rely on agriculture, fishing, merchant marines, and tourism for much of their overseas income.

Countries

Portugal is one of the oldest countries in Europe, tracing its roots back to the year 1143, but it did not attain its current terri-

tory until the 1400s, when the Moors from North Africa were finally expelled from the Iberian Peninsula. Portugal's boundaries also are among the oldest and most stable in all of Europe. Spain, too, traces its roots to the 1100s through the Kingdom of Castile but did not attain its current and familiar shape until the 1600s.

With the riches gained from the sea voyages of the 1400s, Portugal and Spain quickly dominated the world, but competition between them led the pope to divide the world between them by the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494). The treaty designated a line of longitude 370 leagues (approximately 1,500 km, 1,000 mi.) west of the Azores as the eastern boundary of Spanish influence and the western boundary of Portuguese influence. Subsequently, Portugal colonized the coast of what became modern Brazil (see Chapter 10) and parts of Africa and Asia, while Spain established its rule in the rest of Latin America and some Pacific Ocean islands.

The rise of France, the Netherlands, and the U.K. as colonial powers sharply curbed the global influence of Portugal and Spain. By the early 1800s, both countries lost their Latin American colonies, although they maintained African colonies until the 1970s (see Chapter 9). Two dictators, Antonio Salazar, who came to power in Portugal in 1926, and Francisco Franco, who took control of Spain in 1938, kept these two countries inward looking. Following the deaths of these two men in the 1970s, Portugal and Spain became more democratic and outward looking, and joined the European Community (now EU) in 1986.

Spain is much larger than Portugal, but great devolutionary forces are working against it. The Basques, descendants of a people who lived in Europe before the arrival of the Indo-Europeans, seek independence. They live in a northern region along the French border around the city of Bilbao. Some of them use violence to achieve their goal. The Catalans on the northeast coast, where Barcelona (Figure 3.45) is their main city, also press for greater autonomy. Catalans (17 percent of the Spanish population) frequently prefer to fly their own flag and speak their own language that is close to Spanish but still distinctive. The Galicians, north of Portugal, have been less vocal but are culturally different than Castilian Spaniards, having more in common with Portuguese culture.

Though Greece and Italy are hearths for some of Europe's oldest civilizations, the modern nation-states of Greece and Italy came into existence only in modern times. Greece emerged as a nation-state in 1832 but did not take its current shape until the early 1900s. Italy is the youngest of the major Mediterranean nation-states, coming into existence in 1861 and still having experienced some boundary changes as late as the 1940s. Regionalism within Italy is very strong, with most Italians considering themselves Sicilians, Tuscans, Venetians, and so on first and Italians second. A strong north-south differentiation is part of this regionalism. The south is still very rural, Roman Catholic, and under the control of familial organizations such as the Mafia. The Mafia's main reputation is as a crime organization, but it is also a way of doing business through family connections. In contrast, the



Figure 3.43 Mediterranean Europe: the countries, cities, and physical features. The countries occupy peninsulas extending southward into the Mediterranean Sea.

north is very urban, modern, and industrialized. The Communists of northern Italy, centered in the industrial towns, long gave Italy the distinction of having the largest Communist party in non-Communist Europe. The Communist Party’s influence waned in the 1990s as the Northern League had tremendous growth. The Northern League is a political party and movement that seeks greater autonomy for northern Italy. Unlike the Communists, who draw their support from factory workers, the Northern League is made up young entrepreneurs engaged in activities tied to the modern global economy.

People

Dynamics

Populations in the Mediterranean countries changed from a period of rapid increase and relatively high fertility and birth rates up to the mid-1900s to one in which they have the world’s slowest levels of natural increase and fertility in the 1990s. Total fertility rates dropped from nearly 3 in 1965 to under 1.5 in 2000. Projections suggest that the total population of this subregion, some 118 million in 2000, will fall to 111 million by 2025.

Figure 3.44 Mediterranean Europe countries: key data on countries.

Country	Capital City	Land Area (km ²) Total	Population (millions) Mid-2001	Population 2025 Est.	GNI 1999 (US \$ million) Total	GNI PPP 1999 Per Capita	Human Development Index Rank of 175 Countries	Human Poverty Index: Percent of Total Population
Hellenic Republic (Greece)	Athens	131,990	10.9	10.4	127,648	15,800	27	
Italian Republic	Rome	301,270	57.8	55.0	1,162,910	22,000	19	11.6
Portuguese Republic	Lisbon	92,390	10.0	9.3	110,175	15,860	28	
Spain, Kingdom of	Madrid	504,780	39.8	36.7	583,082	17,850	21	13.0

Source: Data from *Population Reference Bureau 2001 Data Sheet*; *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, 2001; *Human Development Report*, United Nations, 2001.



Figure 3.45 **Barcelona, Spain.** Barcelona is world renowned for its Temple de la Sagrada Família. Begun in 1882 and designed by the famous Catalan architect Antoni Gaudí (1852–1926), this church is far from complete. Photo: © Loren W. Linholm.

With levels of life expectancy rising to 75 years (men) and 80 years (women), aging is becoming a major issue (Figure 3.46). All four countries are expected to decrease in population by 2025 (see Figure 3.44). Although three countries—Italy, Portugal, and Spain—are predominantly Roman Catholic in religion, that church’s opposition to birth control is clearly having little effect. By 2000, Italy and Spain had the lowest total fertility (1.2) in the world. Population growth was only by immigration. In Italy, few babies are born outside marriage, but the access of women to careers, young people continuing to live with parents, and the end of pressures to have children tend to defer marriage and reduce the numbers of children.

Urbanization

Apart from Spain, the Mediterranean countries are less urbanized than those of other parts of Western Europe. In 2000, Greece had the lowest percentage of its population living in urban areas with 60 percent, Spain the highest with 78 percent, and the others falling in between. Athens, Greece, and Lisbon, Portugal, are the predominant cities in government, port, and industrial activities in their countries. Italy’s capital city of Rome is now exceeded in population by the Milan metropolitan area, Naples, and Turin. In Spain, Madrid and Barcelona (see Figure 3.45) are the largest cities, and Seville and Valencia are important, too.

Mediterranean cities are most distinctive, with their ancient Greek and Roman historic cores surrounded by medieval, 1800s, and modern industrial and residential developments (see Figure 3.32). Athens, Rome, Naples, Florence, Venice, and Milan, Grenada and Barcelona, and Lisbon have distinctive townscapes that include relics of Greek, Roman, Moorish, and medieval contributions. Although their historic sectors gain much attention from the many tourists drawn to them, Mediterranean cities are also often ports, industrial centers, administrative centers, or magnets for beach-based tourism. Port sectors are of great significance to Lisbon, Barcelona, Genoa, Naples, Venice, and Athens. Manufacturing industries created distinctive townscapes in Barcelona and the northern Italian cities. Lisbon, Madrid, Rome, and Athens have growing sectors of government offices. The huge new tourist cities of southern Spain, the French Riviera, eastern Italy, and southern Greece add new urban forms to the old established features.

Culture

The Portuguese, Spanish, and Italians all speak languages in the Romance (also Latinic) branch of the Indo-European language family (see Figure 3.4a) and are Roman Catholic (see Figure 3.4b), having inherited both characteristics from the Romans. Though the Greeks were also in the Roman Empire, their culture predates the Romans and remained distinctive during and after Roman control. The Greeks are Eastern Orthodox Christians and use the Cyrillic alphabet, as do many of the Christians of East Central Europe, Russia, and its neighboring countries. As a language, Greek has its own branch within the Indo-European family.

Country	Ethnic Groups (percent)	Languages O=Official	Religions (percent)
Hellenic Republic (Greece)	Greek 98%	Greek (O), Turkish	Greek Orthodox 98%
Italian Republic	Italian, Sicilian, Sardinian, German, French	Italian (O), German, French, Slovenian	Roman Catholic 98%
Portuguese Republic	Mediterranean	Portuguese (O)	Roman Catholic 97%
Spain, Kingdom of	Mediterranean and Nordic types	Castilian Spanish 74%, Catalan 17%	Roman Catholic 99%

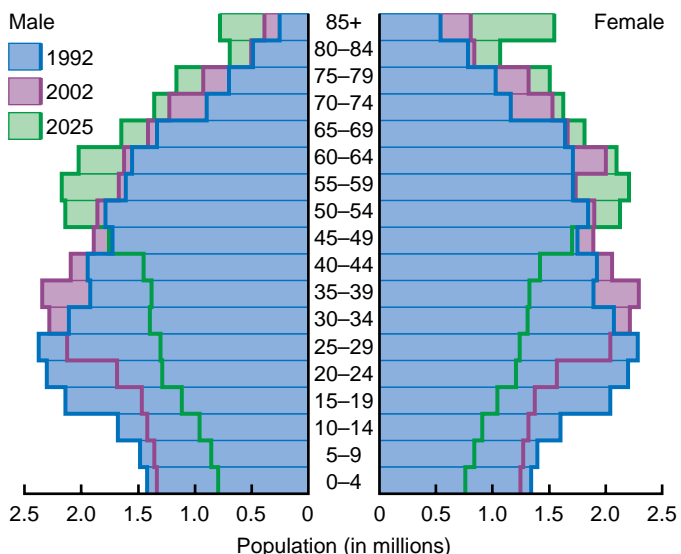


Figure 3.46 Age-sex diagram of Italy.

In Italy, there are only tiny areas in the northeast (German) and northwest (French) where Italian is not the dominant language. The modern differences between northern and southern Italy grew out of the medieval occupation of the region south of Rome by Muslims and its later domination by feudal systems under French and Spanish kings. The northern city-states maintained trading links and developed industrial output at an earlier date. It was not until 1861 that Italy achieved unification.

Economic Development

The four main countries of Mediterranean Europe remained as peasant-farming countries with feudal or fragmented types of social organization while Northern Europe industrialized in the 1800s. Industrialization began in the late 1800s in northern Italy and in the Catalan region around Barcelona in north-eastern Spain. Most modernization occurred after World War II and the incorporation of the Mediterranean countries in the EU. Industrialization in Greece and Portugal has been very modest. The two countries remain the poorest of the EU countries and receive large sums of regional development funds (see Figure 3.19).

Italy's GDP is almost twice the total of the other Mediterranean Europe countries and closest to that of the U.K. As one of the world's largest economies, Italy is a member of the Group of Eight (see the "Western Europe" section in this chapter). The country's economic power comes mainly from northern-based and high-tech industries. The Po River valley between the Alps and the Apennines is the largest center of manufacturing in Mediterranean Europe. For example, Fiat manufactures automobiles in Turin. Venice, at the mouth of the Po River, is famous for its glass manufacturing. Milan, the largest city in northern Italy, is a major center of financial and other service industries as well as a producer of a diverse group of manufactured goods including tractors, domestic electronic goods, china, fashion, and pharmaceuticals. Milan

and its surrounding towns produce nearly one-third of the Italian GDP and form one of the major growth areas of Europe.

Agriculture

Agriculture is very important to the Mediterranean countries. The warm dry summers and cool winters that seldom drop below freezing allow the Mediterranean countries to produce crops that are difficult to grow in the other subregions of Europe (see Figure 3.34). Examples of these crops are olives, table and wine grapes, citrus fruits, figs, and specialized cereal grains for pasta. In addition, Portugal produces most of the world's cork for wine bottles, obtained from the bark of the cork oak (Figure 3.47). Furthermore, specialization has led to **market gardening**, the commercial production of these crops.

Tourism

The Mediterranean's warm climate, sunny beaches, and historic centers attract tourists, making tourism a major industry. Each year, Portugal and Greece each receive 10 million tourists, meaning that tourists outnumber the inhabitants of these two small countries. Italy and Spain typically receive three or four times more tourists per year. As a result, English and German are commonly understood in the tourist areas of these countries. In Portugal, the Algarve (along the southern coast) and the Madeira islands are popular. In Greece, many tourists are found on the islands or in the capital, Athens. Barcelona, Madrid, and the cities of southern Spain account most tourist visits to Spain. In Italy, most tourists go to the historic centers of Rome, Florence, Venice, and Pompeii (near Naples) (Figure 3.48a and b; see Figure 3.9). The east coast beaches, Sicily, many smaller towns with their art treasures, and the winter sports and lake resorts in the Alps attract many others. Venice has become so popular with international tourists that the city has many more tourists than residents. An increasing problem for Venice is rising sea level. While global warming is debated, sea-level rise has resulted in seawater breaching canals and flooding streets more and more every year (see the "Natural Environment" section in this chapter).

Figure 3.47 A cork oak forest in Portugal. Bottle corks are made from the bark of these trees. Little processing is required. Once the bark is stripped from the tree, bottle corks are cut. Numbers on the trees refer to a calendar year and indicate when the bark can be stripped from the tree again. Photo: © Alexander B. Murphy.



Test Your Understanding 3E

Summary Northern Europe includes Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. These are affluent countries with small populations. Denmark and Sweden were once great empires, but in recent times, Northern Europe is known for its neutrality. The economies of these countries were based on primary products from farm, mine, forest, and ocean, but now income is from manufacturing and services.

Mediterranean Europe comprises the countries of three peninsulas—Portugal and Spain, Italy, and Greece. These countries represent some of the oldest civilizations in Europe. Apart from northern Italy, which is as prosperous as parts of Western Europe, these countries lagged far behind their more affluent neighbors until their incorporation in the European Community (now EU) in the 1980s. They are now developing manufacturing and service industries, and all rely heavily on income from tourism.

Questions to Think About

- 3E.1 What factors account for the economic well-being of the Northern European countries?
- 3E.2 What attracts tourists to Mediterranean countries, and what are some of the environmental impacts of tourism (see also the “Natural Environment” section in this chapter)?

Key Terms

fjord

market gardening

East Central Europe

Modern East Central Europe is comprised of the following countries: the Baltics (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), Poland, the Czech and Slovak Republics, Hungary, and what is often called the Balkans: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania, Romania, and Bulgaria (Figures 3.49 and 3.50). These countries are grouped together because Communist forms of government and economies were imposed upon them shortly after World War II ended in 1945 (see the section on “Changes in the Modern Era” in this chapter). Most of these countries were directly controlled by the Soviet Union and called Soviet satellite states. The Baltic countries even were incorporated into the Soviet Union. Though Soviet domination ended by 1991, these countries still share common experiences as they move from Communism to more democratic forms of government and capitalist economies. East Central Europe includes the Baltic countries because they historically belong to the subregion. They also struggled with Communism for the same length of time as other East Central Europeans and not as long as those in the former Soviet Union, though they were part of that country for a time.

Countries

The countries of East Central Europe emerged as nation-states in the late 1900s and early 2000s. For example, Serbia,



(a)



(b)

Figure 3.48 Mediterranean Europe: Italian tourist attractions. (a) Pompeii, near Naples, is a Roman city that was buried by an eruption from Mount Vesuvius and recently excavated by archaeologists. (b) Florence has its cathedrals and art galleries by the Arno River. Photos: © Michael Bradshaw.

Romania, and Bulgaria became independent in the 1870s and 1880s, and Albania was created for the first time in 1912. Others, such as the Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) and the countries that emerged from the demise of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, achieved independence only as recently as the 1990s. Boundaries also moved considerably over time. Poland, for example, was one of the larger countries in Europe in the 1600s and 1700s. Carved up by Prussia, Austria, and Russia in a short 23-year period, it disappeared in 1795. Poland reemerged after World War I in 1918, only to shift westward after World War II in 1945. Located on the North European Plain, Poles have had difficulty defending their borders through history. The Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians had similar problems. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania emerged as nation-states after World War I in 1918, only to be overrun by Hitler’s armies in 1941 and incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1945, before gaining independence again in 1991 with the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

From the beginning of the nationalist idea in late 1700s to the end of World War I in 1918, most of East Central Europe was dominated by four great empires—the Russian, German, Austro-Hungarian, and Ottoman empires (Figure 3.51a). World War I started in the subregion—specifically in Sarajevo,



Figure 3.49 Central Europe: countries, cities. This subregion has been a buffer zone between the major powers of Germany and Russia for centuries, and the countries are in transition from a period of domination by the Soviet Union that ended in 1991 to subsequent orientation westward to the rest of Europe.

Bosnia-Herzegovina—when a Serb nationalist assassinated Archduke Ferdinand of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the aftermath of the war, diplomats met in Paris in 1919 to create a lasting peace by redrawing Europe’s boundaries. Sir Halford J. MacKinder, a British geographer and Member of Parliament, had long argued that future peace could only be ensured by separating the German and Russian empires. He proposed the creation of a zone of small countries for this purpose. Woodrow Wilson argued for the right of “national self-determination” for the peoples of Europe. With both MacKinder’s and Wilson’s complementary ideas, a series of new or modified countries were created from Finland to Greece (Figure 3.51b). It was at this time that Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia came into existence. With them, the term “Eastern Europe” came into use.

After World War II, Stalin’s Red Army moved into most of Eastern Europe. Through Stalin’s manipulations, including boundary changes (Figure 3.51c), their governments and economies adopted Communist forms. Winston Churchill said that an “Iron Curtain” had fallen across Europe. Politically, Europe was divided into East and West during the Cold War. The term “Central Europe” disappeared with the

Figure 3.50 East Central European countries: key data on countries.

Country	Capital City	Land Area (km ²) Total	Population (millions) Mid-2001	2025 Est.	GNI 1999 (US \$ million) Total	GNI PPP 1999 Per Capita	Human Development Index Rank of 175 Countries
Albania, Republic of	Tirana	28,750	3.4	4.5	3,146	3,240	100
Bosnia-Herzegovina, Republic of	Sarajevo	51,130	3.4	3.6	4,706	no data	no data
Bulgaria, Republic of	Sofia	110,910	8.1	6.6	11,572	5,070	63
Croatia, Republic of	Zagreb	56,540	4.7	4.4	20,222	7,260	55
Czech Republic	Prague	78,860	10.3	10.3	51,623	12,840	36
Estonia, Republic of	Tallinn	45,100	1.4	1.2	4,906	8,190	54
Hungary, Republic of	Budapest	93,030	10.0	9.2	46,751	11,050	47
Latvia, Republic of	Riga	64,500	2.4	2.2	5,913	6,220	74
Lithuania, Republic of	Vilnius	65,200	3.7	3.5	9,751	6,490	62
Macedonia, Former Yugoslav Rep of	Skopje	25,710	2.0	2.2	3,348	4,590	73
Poland, Republic of	Warsaw	312,680	38.6	38.6	157,429	8,390	44
Romania	Bucharest	237,500	22.4	21.6	33,034	5,970	68
Slovak Republic	Bratislava	49,010	5.4	5.2	20,318	10,340	42
Slovenia, Republic of	Ljubljana	20,050	2.0	2.0	19,862	16,050	33
Serbia and Montenegro	Belgrade	102,170	10.7	10.7	no data	no data	no data

Source: Data from Population Reference Bureau 2001 Data Sheet; World Development Indicators, World Bank, 2001; Human Development Report, United Nations, 2001.

Nazis, who used it as a synonym for the empire they wished to create. “Eastern Europe” then referred to the Communist part of Europe between the Soviet Union and Western Europe. The East Germans were added while the Baltic countries were excluded because they were incorporated into the

Soviet Union. Finland and Greece were likewise excluded from the concept of Eastern Europe because they did not adopt Communism.

By the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, many of the peoples of this subregion resurrected the old concept of

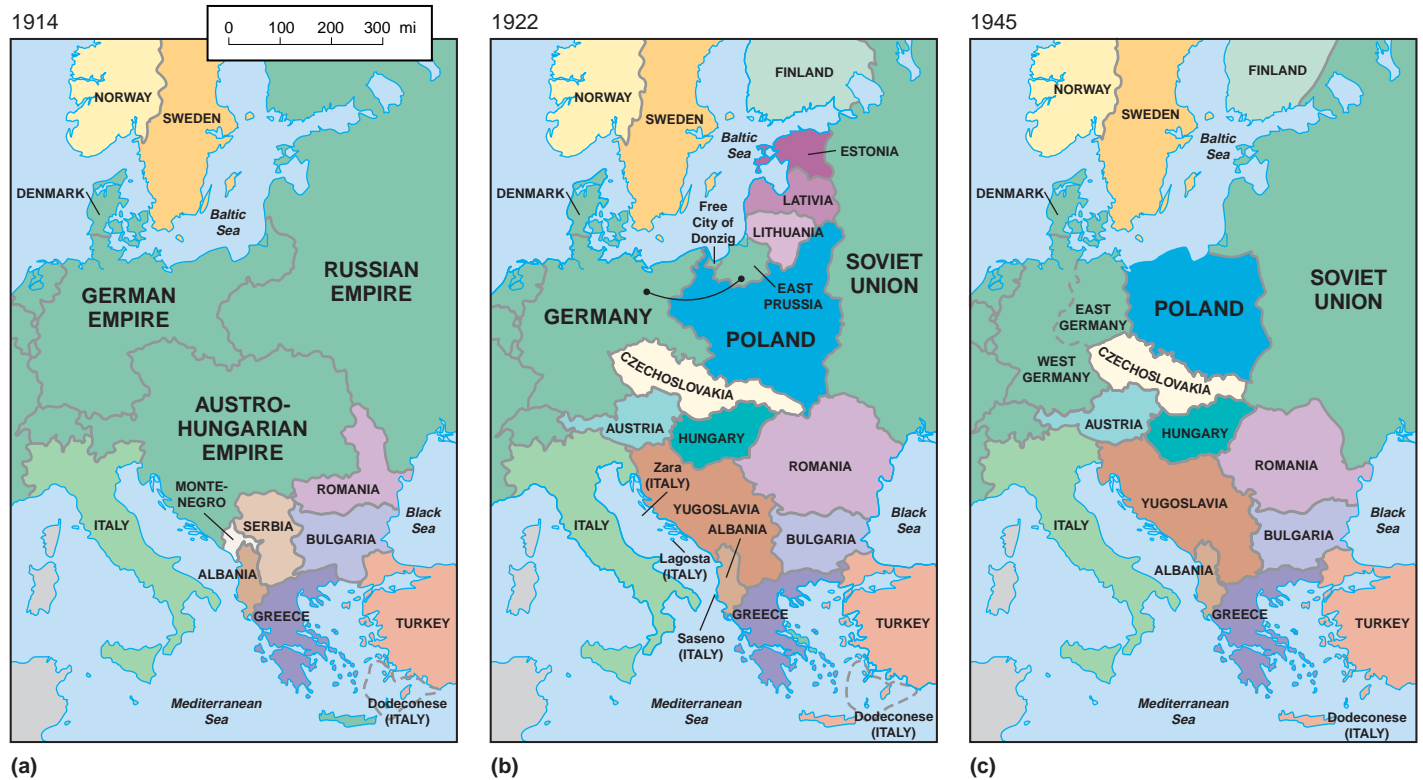


Figure 3.51 The boundaries of East Central European countries at three different dates in the 1900s. What are the locations of countries such as Poland, Latvia, and Yugoslavia at each of these times?

Country	Ethnic Groups (percent)	Languages O=Official	Religions (percent)
Albania, Republic of	Albanian 95%, Greek 3%	Albanian (O)	Christian 30%, Muslim 70%
Bosnia-Herzegovina, Republic of	Muslim 44%, Croat 17%, Serbian 31%	Serbo-Croat 99%	Christian 46%, Muslim 40%
Bulgaria, Republic of	Bulgarian 85%, Turkish 9%	Bulgarian	Bulgarian Orthodox 85%, Muslim 13%
Croatia, Republic of	Croat 78%, Serb 12%	Serbo-Croat 99%	Orthodox 11%, Roman Catholic 77%
Czech Republic	Czech 81%, Moravian 13%, Slovak 3%	Czech, Slovak, German	Protestant 5%, Roman Catholic 39%, none 40%
Estonia, Republic of	Estonian 62%, Russian 30%	Estonian, Latvian, Russian	Protestant, Russian Orthodox
Hungary, Republic of	Hungarian (Magyar) 90%	Hungarian 98%	Protestant 25%, Roman Catholic 68%
Latvia, Republic of	Latvian 52%, Russian 34%	Latvian (O), Russian	Protestant, Roman Catholic, Orthodox
Lithuania, Republic of	Lithuanian 80%, Russian 9%, Polish 8%	Lithuanian (O), Russian	Protestant Roman Catholic (most)
Macedonia, Former Yugoslav Rep of	Macedonian 65%, Albanian 21%	Macedonian, Albanian	Macedonian Orthodox 67%, Muslim 30%
Poland, Republic of	Polish 98%	Polish (O), English, German	Roman Catholic 75%
Romania	Romanian 89%, Hungarian 9%	Romanian (O), Hungarian	Romanian Orthodox 70%, other Christian 12%
Slovak Republic	Slovak 86%, Hungarian 11%	Slovak (O), Hungarian	Protestant 8%, Roman Catholic 60%
Slovenia, Republic of	Slovene 91%, Croat 3%	Slovenian, Serbo-Croat	Roman Catholic 96%
Yugoslavia, Federal Republic of	Serb 63%, Albanian 14%, Montenegrin 6%	Serbo-Croat 99%	Orthodox 65%, Muslim 19%

Central Europe and emphasized that they were Central Europeans and not Eastern Europeans, a term that had taken on very negative connotations. The peoples of the Baltic countries also readopted the term “Central Europe” for themselves. Though many of these countries were part of an older Central Europe, they represented the portion east of the Germans. Thus, we have the term “East Central Europe.” During the Cold War, the other Central Europeans—the Germans, Austrians, and Swiss—became so Western oriented that they are rarely labeled Central Europeans any more, or even “West Central Europeans.”

Devolutionary processes occurred in East Central Europe after the end of Soviet domination in 1991. The declarations of independence from the Soviet Union by the Baltic republics are one example. Czechoslovakia divided into separate Czech and Slovak Republics in 1993. In these cases, the movements toward independence advanced peacefully. The Czechoslovak situation was referred to as the “Velvet Divorce,” coined from the “Velvet Revolution” of 1989 that peacefully ended Communism in that country. Devolutionary processes also occurred in Yugoslavia but were not so peaceful as the country broke apart. The Yugoslav case is important because it illustrates the ugly aspects of fervent nationalism, and it changed international laws concerning human rights. The Yugoslav situation also took on international significance as it involved other European countries and the United States, including NATO, as well as Russia.

“Yugoslavia”

As of 2002, Yugoslavia ceased to exist as a country. The country’s last two republics abandoned the name and now call themselves Serbia and Montenegro. Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) were republics of Yugoslavia but seceded in 1991

and 1992. For some republics such as Slovenia, independence was achieved relatively quickly and without much bloodshed. For others such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, the opposite was the case. To explain what happened in Yugoslavia, it is necessary to understand the origins of the country (Figure 3.52).

Yugoslavia came into being after World War I. At the time, it was called the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Figure 3.53a), reflecting the fact that the country was created for a number of nations. In 1929, the name “Yugoslavia” was adopted. “Yugoslavia” translates from the Slavic languages into “the land of the South Slavs.”

The relationships of South Slavic peoples are very close and overlapping. Identities are very complex and intertwined. The Slovenes and Croats are Roman Catholic, while the Serbs, Macedonians, and Bulgarians—also South Slavs but not part of Yugoslavia—are Eastern Orthodox Christians. Other South Slavs are Muslims like many Bosnians. Many Bosnians claim that a Bosnian can also be Roman Catholic or Muslim. Despite having differing faiths, all South Slavs speak closely related languages with the Serbs and Croats essentially speaking the same language—Serbo-Croatian—though many Serbs now say they speak Serbian and many Croats say they speak Croatian.

Prior to World War I and the creation of a Yugoslav state, Serbia and Montenegro were independent countries. Both, however, only achieved independence in 1878 and obtained much of their territories during the Balkan wars of 1912–1913. The Slovenes and Croats had lost their independence in the Middle Ages, eventually finding themselves divided among a number of provinces within the Austro-Hungarian Empire before World War I.

In the late 1800s, Serbia’s leaders planned to annex to Serbia the territories of their South Slavic brethren in Austria-

Figure 3.52 Time line of Yugoslavia.

1878	– Serbia and Montenegro become independent; Austria-Hungary occupies Bosnia-Herzegovina.
1908	– Austria-Hungary formally annexes Bosnia-Herzegovina.
1912/1913	– First and Second Balkan Wars. Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece annex portions of Macedonia.
1914	– Serbian nationalist assassinates Austrian Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo. Austria-Hungary declares war on Serbia. World War I begins.
1919	– Paris Peace Conference. The Kingdom of the Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs is created and includes Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Vojvodina.
1929	– The Kingdom of the Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs becomes “Yugoslavia.”
1941	– Yugoslavia is dismantled and occupied by Axis powers during World War II.
1945	– Josip Tito, leader of the Partisans, who are Communists, takes control of a recreated Yugoslavia. Six internal republics are created.
1980	– Tito dies and nationalists begin expressing themselves. Slobodan Milosević eventually catapults to power by fanning ethnic hatreds.
1991	– Slovenia and Croatia declare independence; bloodshed ensues as Yugoslav military tries to prevent secession and Serbs in Krajina of Croatia declare their independence from Croatia.
1992	– Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia declare independence. Bloodshed ensues as many Serbs resist the independence movement.
1995	– Croatian army retakes Krajina and forcibly expels Serb population. Dayton Peace Accord ends open hostilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina and divides between a Muslim-Croat federation and a Serb republic.
1999	– Serb military and paramilitary units terrorize ethnic Albanians in the Serb province of Kosovo. NATO begins intensive bombing campaign of Yugoslavia. Millions of ethnic Albanians flee to Albania and Macedonia. Success of the air campaign leads to the stationing of NATO and Russian ground forces in Kosovo.
2000	– Slobodan Milosević loses a national election and is no longer the leader of Yugoslavia.
2001	– New Yugoslav government arrests Slobodan Milosević and sends him to the International Court of Justice in The Hague, the Netherlands, where he is the first leader of a country indicted for genocide and crimes against humanity.
2002	– Yugoslavia changes its name to Serbia and Montenegro.



(a)



(b)

Figure 3.53 Yugoslavia. (a) The territorial formation of Yugoslavia in 1919: P, Prekomurje; M, Medjumurje; C, Caribrod; B, Bosiljgrad; and S, Strumica. (b) Yugoslavia's administrative boundaries under Tito (1945–1980). The boundaries lasted until 1991.

Hungary. Serb nationalists were upset when Austria-Hungary formally occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878 and outraged when Austria-Hungary formally annexed the territory in 1908. Not long afterward, a Serb nationalist sought revenge by assassinating Austria-Hungary's Archduke Ferdinand when he visited Sarajevo in 1914. The episode began World War I. Because Austria-Hungary was so much bigger than Serbia, Serbia was always on the defensive and could not use its military to annex the South Slavic lands of Austria-Hungary. Nevertheless, the opportunity came following the defeat of Austria-Hungary and its allies at the end of the war.

Many South Slavs wanted to be free of Austria-Hungary even before the war began, but they also had differing goals for

freedom. Some wanted independence, but not having independent governments of their own, they lacked fully recognized diplomatic corps. Thus, those wanting an independent Slovenia, Croatia, or even Bosnia-Herzegovina had little voice at the Paris Peace Conference. On the other hand, the Serbs had a diplomatic corps that spoke for the South Slavs. The Western powers were aware that many Slovenes and Croats wanted their own independent countries, yet they felt that these countries would be too small to be economically viable. Thus, they went along with the Serb proposal to unite the South Slavic lands of Austria-Hungary with Serbia and Montenegro to create a single country.

Though the South Slavic movement succeeded in its goal of creating a single South Slavic country, many South Slavs had serious disagreements over the meaning and purpose of this country. Were they to form a common national identity or remain distinct? The answer to this question was required to answer the question of governance. Should the country have a strong centralized government with everyone obeying the same laws, or should the provinces exercise their autonomy? The desired answers to these questions varied not only between the national groups but also within them. In the meantime, Serbia's capital, Belgrade, became the new country's capital, the Serbian king the new country's king, and Serbian symbols such as the flag, the new country's symbols. Resentment toward the Serbs quickly grew before these important questions could be answered. The situation only became worse as Serb nationalists used their power to insist that the Serb way become everyone else's. These tensions led to the disintegration of the country during World War II.

Following the war, the Partisans, who were Communist and under the leadership of Josip Tito, gained control of the country. Tito's parents were Slovene and Croat, yet as a Communist, he did not believe in nationalism, so he suppressed any expressions of national pride. Instead, Tito promoted the "Yugoslav" idea while not using any one group's characteristics for Yugoslav characteristics. He generally allowed everyone to continue with their differing cultural practices while insisting they all consider themselves Yugoslavs. Tito also set up the internal political geography of the country (Figure 3.53b). He created the six republics that we see today, with Serbia having the autonomous regions of the Vojvodina and Kosovo. Each republic was named after and dominated by one national group except for Bosnia-Herzegovina (Figure 3.54 see "Personal View: Bosnia-Herzegovina" on page 000). Macedonia became one of these republics. Formerly, it was part of Serbia. Serb nationalists considered the Macedonians South Serbs, but Tito recognized a separate Macedonian identity and thus gave the Macedonians their own republic. In fact, while Tito was Yugoslavia's leader, seven major and 17 smaller groups came to be recognized. The nationalists of various groups were unhappy with Tito's policies and practices, but Tito kept them in check with his charisma and heavy hand.

In 1980, Tito died and the politics within Yugoslavia began to change. Nationalism and old resentments began to surface. Slovenes and Croats felt that the Serbs had always forced them to become more Serbian. In addition, Slovenia and Croatia were the wealthier republics, and the peoples from both felt that the



Figure 3.54 Importance of ethnic differences: The former country of Yugoslavia in the Balkans of Europe. After 1991, Yugoslavia broke into five independent countries, although Serbia and Montenegro continued to call themselves Yugoslavia until 2002. The independence movements resulted in war in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Kosovo (Serbia) experienced violence in the late 1990s, bringing U.S. and NATO involvement in 1999. The colors show areas where particular ethnic groups comprise over 50 percent of the population.

profit from their hard work was going to subsidize the poorer republics. In 1991, Slovenia and Croatia declared independence, and the Yugoslav army attempted to prevent the secession movements. For Slovenia, the fight was brief. Within a short time, Belgrade accepted Slovenia's independence. The situation in Croatia was bloodier. Twelve percent of Croatia's population was Serb. Most of them lived along Bosnia's border in a region known as Krajina ('the borderland') and in eastern Croatia. The Belgrade government, dominated by Serbs, used the Yugoslav army, also dominated by Serbs, to help the Serbs of Croatia establish their own republic. Croatia achieved independence but could not control a significant piece of its territory.

Yugoslavia without Slovenia and Croatia, not to mention Macedonia, which was making plans for secession, left Bosnia-Herzegovina in a Yugoslavia more dominated by Serbs than ever before. Before long, Bosnia-Herzegovina also began moving toward secession. Bosnia-Herzegovina's ethnic complexity, however, made secession a very difficult issue (see Figure 3.54). In the 1991 census, 44 percent of the population was Muslim, 31 percent Serb, 17 percent Croat, and 8 percent

of other groups. Many from all the groups supported the independence of their republic. Serb nationalists were the greatest opponents, and with support from the government in Belgrade and the Yugoslav army, they began an armed insurgency with the intent of keeping Bosnia-Herzegovina within Yugoslavia. Eventually, Croat nationalists turned against government forces with the goal of incorporating territories of the republic into Croatia. Without a neighboring country to support them and under attack from two directions, the Muslims remained loyal to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serb and Croat nationalists claimed that Muslims were oppressing them in an attempt to make Bosnia a Muslim state. Ironically, Serb and Croat nationalists helped to make Bosnia-Herzegovina more Muslim as they tried to separate its non-Muslim territories.

The international community proposed a number of partition plans to end the conflict. However, the geographic distribution of groups within the republic was complex. Though some groups were associated with particular areas, other patterns existed. For example, Muslims tended to live in the cities, while Serbs were in the surrounding countryside. In 1995, the United States became involved and brokered the Dayton Peace Accord (see Box figure 1, "Personal View: Bosnia-Herzegovina," on page 000). Though recognizing the integrity of the republic, it temporarily divided the republic into two "entities." The north and east came under the Republika Srpska (Serb Republic) with the capital in Banja Luka. The central and western areas became part of a Muslim-Croat Federation with the capital in Sarajevo. The situation is peaceful, but tensions and animosities remain, as do UN peacekeepers. At the same time, Bosnia-Herzegovina's economy is in shambles. Unemployment has been as high as 70 percent in many communities, and the country has relied heavily on foreign aid. Bosnia's territory is used to funnel prostitutes and illegal immigrants into and across Europe.

As these republics moved toward independence, so did Macedonia. Macedonia was fortunate to escape bloodshed when it negotiated the withdrawal of Yugoslav troops in April 1992. Because war broke out at the same time in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Macedonians may have benefited from a decision in Belgrade not to engage the Yugoslav army in two conflicts at the same time. Nevertheless, Macedonia was still in a precarious position.

Macedonia is an old region, having existed in ancient times. Alexander the Great, for example, was from Macedonia. Compared to the modern republic, historic Macedonia stretches beyond the boundaries of the former Yugoslav republic into western Bulgaria and northern Greece. Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece fought the Balkan wars of 1912–1913 to gain control over the territory. Though Serbs, Bulgarians, and Greek nationalists all claimed Macedonia on the grounds that Macedonians were really members of their own respective nations, all three agreed that Macedonians were not their own distinct nation. The situation changed when Tito recognized the Macedonians, created the Macedonian republic, and recognized the Macedonian language. The Bulgarian and Greek governments still do not recognize the Macedonians as a separate people. Moreover, fearing that the Macedonian government would claim historic Macedonia, the Greek government

blocked international recognition of the country as long as it insisted on calling itself Macedonia. After international negotiation, a compromise was found for the country's official name: the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. This name prevents the country's government from claiming historic lands in either Greece or Bulgaria.

Though Belgrade allowed Macedonia (i.e., FYROM) to secede without a military struggle, it also left Macedonia landlocked and surrounded by hostile countries. In addition, Macedonia was the former Yugoslavia's poorest republic. Independence has not brought an improvement in the standard of living. Twenty percent of its GDP comes from agriculture, and unemployment is around 30 percent. Macedonia would still most likely have to depend heavily on Yugoslavia, that is, Serbia and Montenegro after Yugoslavia ceased to exist. Twenty-three percent of Macedonia's population is Albanian (see Figure 3.54). In 2001, Albanian nationalists began an armed insurgency. NATO forces are helping local peoples to achieve and maintain peace, as they also are in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Together, Serbia and Montenegro contain almost half of former Yugoslavia's population with almost 11 million inhabitants. With 62 percent of the population, Serbs are clearly the majority. Montenegro (meaning "black mountains") is by far the smaller of the two republics in the new federation with Montenegrins only representing 5 percent of the country's population. Montenegrins are very closely related to the Serbs. Some simply call them "mountain Serbs." Some Montenegrins have been unhappy with Serb policies and are seeking independence for their republic. Comprising almost 17 percent of the population and found mostly in Kosovo in the south, Albanians are a sizable minority. A Hungarian minority is noteworthy, found mostly in Vojvodina in the north of Serbia.

Though many of the nations/republics of Yugoslavia seceded from the country because they feared or were simply tired of Serb nationalism, the Serbs had a different view of the situation. Like majority groups in other countries, many Serbs believed that their wealth was squandered by Yugoslavia's minorities. They saw their monies invested in the poor areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Macedonia, many of which were Muslim and did not benefit the Serbs. Additional fears were fanned by the fact that these minorities had higher population growth rates. Serbs also felt that they were persecuted by Slovene and Croat nationalists. Slobodan Milosević catapulted to power by playing on these fears. He used the Yugoslav army and paramilitary units of mainly Kosovar Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina to "protect" Serbs. After losing these wars and bringing ruin to the Yugoslav economy, Milosević began a war against the Albanians of Kosovo. NATO intervention stopped the persecution by a bombing campaign, followed by the stationing of troops in the province. Lost wars, Kosovo occupied by foreign troops, and a severely damaged economy led Serbs to oust Milosević in elections at the end of 2000. Not long after, Milosević was taken into custody and charged with crimes against humanity and genocide at the International War

Crimes Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague, the Netherlands. Many Serbs supported Milosević because he was supposedly protecting Serbs throughout the former Yugoslavia. Until recently, only a few had begun to realize the atrocities that he committed in pursuing these goals. Many Serbs will undoubtedly learn more as Milosević's trial unfolds.

People

Dynamics

The populations of the countries in East Central Europe are mostly static to declining (see Figure 3.50), a situation explained by very low fertility rates. Most women have fewer than two children. Birth rates and death rates both fell to low levels, and some countries have death rates that are above birth rates, giving natural decrease (see Figure 3.28). In 2000, most countries had negative natural population change rates of -0.1 to -0.6 percent. The age-sex diagram for Poland, for example, shows that within overall low rates of increase in the later 1900s, Poland experienced alternate periods of more and fewer births (Figure 3.55). The exceptions to population decline are countries (e.g., Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia) with significant Muslim populations. The traditional way of life still practiced in these countries is just as likely an explanation for population growth as religious belief.

Urbanization

Urbanization levels in the subregion range from a low of 42 percent in Albania to a high of 75 percent in the Czech Republic. Though urbanization levels are relatively low for Europe, Communist policies of industrialization led to most of the urban growth, especially in countries that previously had little industry. Still, no cities are of great size. In 2000, Riga

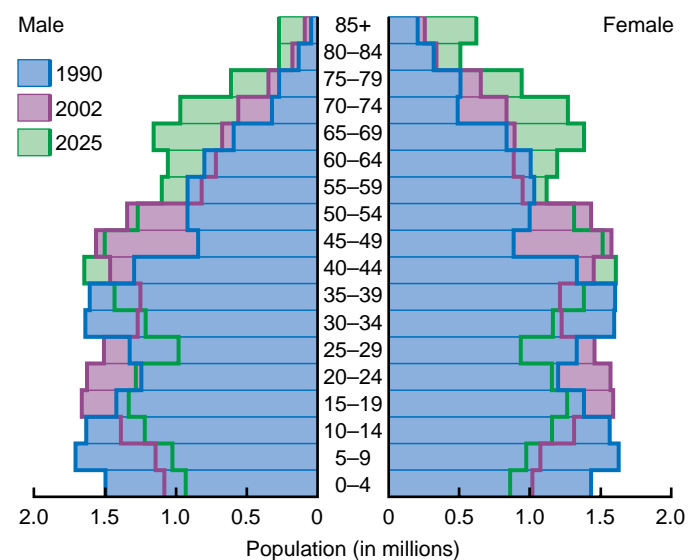


Figure 3.55 Age-sex diagram of Poland.



Personal View

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

The wars that ensued in Yugoslavia after the country began disintegration in 1991 were particularly bloody in Bosnia-Herzegovina, lasting from early 1992 until the end of 1995, when the Dayton Peace Accord was brokered (Box Figure 1). Bosnia-Herzegovina was different from other republics in that it was not named after an ethnic group that inhabited it. Instead, it was named partly after a river and partly after a medieval territory. Bosnia derives its name from the Bosna River. Herzegovina stems from the German word *herzog*, which means “duke.” Therefore, Herzegovina literally means “duke-dom.” Bosnia-Herzegovina most likely kept its historical name because no single group occupied the territory to justifiably change its name for that group (see Figure 3.54). For a long time, Bosnia-Herzegovina’s multiethnicity worked very well. The people of the republic were even able to showcase their ethnic harmony to the world when they hosted the 1984 Winter Olympics in Sarajevo.

The war destroyed Bosnia’s ethnic harmony and caused many to flee and seek refuge elsewhere. Miro Paunović and his family are one such example. Miro was born in Mostar and lived there for most of his life until the beginning of the war in 1992. Mostar is the main city of Herzegovina and is internationally known for its stone bridge. Referred to locally as the “Old Bridge” (*stari most*) (Box Figure 2), it was built by the Ottoman Turks in 1561 and came to symbolize ethnic harmony within all of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Sadly, the bridge was destroyed by the Croatian army on November 9, 1993, the anniversary of *Kristalnacht* (the night when Nazis attacked Jews and Jewish businesses throughout Germany in 1938). Miro has fond memories of the bridge and will never forget how people would travel from all over Yugoslavia every summer to compete in a bridge diving contest.

Miro also misses the old town center where people would come to shop and meet at cafes to socialize. In terms of its site, Miro says that Mostar is not unlike Cumberland, Maryland, where he now lives. Both cities are crowded down along rivers that wind their way through mountains. Mostar’s river is the Neretva, which flows south into the Adriatic Sea, some 50 miles away. The short distance to the sea made it easy for Miro and his family to travel to the beaches of Adriatic, often for just one day. For vacations, Miro’s family would typically spend a couple of weeks on the coast, usually traveling to the famous cities of Dubrovnik and Split. Mostar’s proximity to the coast means that both the summers and winters are relatively mild. Skiing is popular in this mountainous country, but those interested in doing so must travel farther inland, to the north and east, to places such as Sarajevo before they can find enough snow to ski.

Mostar is a regional center for southeastern Bosnia-Herzegovina. Its factories produce a variety of goods, including aluminum, military airplanes, car and truck parts, and clothing. The mountainous character of Bosnia-Herzegovina means that the country produces far less agri-

(Latvia, 775,000 people), Warsaw (2.3 million), Katowice (3.5 million) (both Poland), Prague (Czech Republic, 1.2 million), Budapest (Hungary, 2 million), Belgrade (Serbia and Montenegro, 1.5 million), Bucharest (Romania, 2 million), and Sofia (Bulgaria, 1.2 million) were the only cities of a million or more people. The lack of major world cities in East Central Europe arises from the small size of the countries, the late arrival of industrialization, and the focus on manufacturing growth linked to medium-sized industrial town expansion during Soviet times.



Box Figure 1 Map of Croatia and Bosnia.

culturally than many of the other Balkan countries. Nevertheless, some agricultural goods are produced. The area around Mostar is known for wine grapes, nectarines, and plums. Not surprisingly, Mostar has a winery and a distillery that makes a hard alcohol called *Loza*.

When Miro went to school as a young boy in Mostar, the educational system was somewhat different than what his children are now experiencing in the United States. All children went to elementary school, which lasted until the eighth grade. Foreign languages were taught in Miro’s school beginning in the fifth grade. English, German, Russian, and French were the choices. Miro selected English, probably the most popular foreign language at the time. From the ninth through twelfth grades, young people went to specialized high schools, of which Mostar had five. The *Gymnasia* was for those bound for university. Another school emphasized automotive training, while a third focused on working with industrial machines. A fourth specialized in food technology, and the fifth centered its curriculum around economics. According to Miro, this latter school went through the greatest transformation in recent years. During Communism, the school emphasized the teachings of Marx and Engels but has since changed to the modern principles of capitalism. Miro states that school was quite rigorous in Mostar. He considers what his children are now learning in school in the

The city landscapes of East Central Europe suffered great war damage and were subject to post-1945 industrialization and the construction of monolithic buildings (Figure 3.56a) but often retain older townscape (Figure 3.56b). In Romania, however, the dictator Nicolae Ceaușescu demolished villages and whatever remaining historic structures to industrialize. East Central European cities lack the high-rise office buildings containing commercial and professional service facilities and apartments that dominate the central parts of large cities in Western Europe. Many, such as the cities in Polish Silesia, are



Box Figure 2 Mostar, Herzegovina. The “Old Bridge” (*stari most*) was built by the Ottoman Turks in 1561 and came to symbolize ethnic harmony within all of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The bridge was destroyed by the Croatian army on November 9, 1993, but with international support is being rebuilt.
Photo: © Ronald Wixman.

United States and notes that he learned the same information when he was two to three years younger than American students.

Miro went to the automotive school and received a diploma in auto mechanics. Like all young males at the time in Yugoslavia, Miro had to complete a year of military service before pursuing his career. When he returned to Mostar after his military service, Miro immediately accepted a job in a bar before ever looking for a job as an auto mechanic. He had the position for about three years when the war broke out in April 1992. Like most people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Miro did not fit easily into any of the ethnic categories of Serb, Croat, or Muslim. Usually people were identified according to their father’s status. In Miro’s case, his father was a Serb from Serbia, not Bosnia-Herzegovina. Miro’s father had come to live in Mostar many years before while serving in the Yugoslav army. While in Mostar, he met and married Miro’s mother, a Muslim, and stayed to raise a family. Like many Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Miro’s mother was nonpracticing. With Mostar also having a large Croat population, it meant that Miro did not force himself into any one category, nor did he have to for most of his life. As far as he was concerned, he was a Yugoslav. He, like everyone else, had the right to travel anywhere throughout Yugoslavia and associate with whomever he pleased, regardless of religion.

When the war began in 1992, his family found itself in a difficult situation. Serbs were a minority in Mostar. Moreover, Miro’s parents were not categorized together in the same group, although it should be noted that Miro’s parents were divorced for a few years by this time. The Yugoslav army offered Serbs where they were minorities in Bosnia-Herzegovina safe passage to Serbia proper. Miro and his sister, Maja, were airlifted to Zaječar in Serbia to join their father, who had moved back to his hometown following his divorce from Miro’s mother in 1988. Miro’s mother, Melva, stayed in Mostar until some of her family became victims in the war. Her niece Maja, who had the

same name as her daughter, was wounded. Maja lost her leg when the shell from a bomb landed in front of her apartment building in Mostar. The war prevented Maja from receiving proper medical care, and her leg had to be crudely amputated. Maja then fell victim to a bone infection. Thanks to the help from Veterans for Peace, Maja was taken to a hospital in Cumberland, Maryland, for proper medical treatment. By the time Maja was ready for transport to the United States, her father was also wounded and could not accompany his daughter. Melva undertook the journey with her. Maja’s father was able to join his daughter later.

After Miro’s mother was settled in Cumberland, she contacted Miro and his sister in Serbia and asked them to join her, their cousin, and their uncle in Cumberland. By this time, Miro had met a woman named Natasha and married her. They had a son named Milan. Nevertheless, Miro welcomed the opportunity to go to America, so he and his new family moved with his sister to Cumberland.

Miro has a construction job and must drive 70 miles to work everyday. Even though Miro never had to commute so far for work in Bosnia, he is happy to be working and living in a place that is peaceful. After some time and with a lot of hard work, Miro and his mother were able to purchase a house in Cumberland. Miro’s mother and his sister live in the lower half of the house, while Miro lives with his young family in the upper part. Since arriving in the United States, Miro’s wife, Natasha, has had another child, named Nina. Miro is happy to have his relations in close proximity as is the custom in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In many ways, Miro’s new family is as complex as the one that he was born into. Miro has Bosnian citizenship while his wife and son are citizens of Yugoslavia (now only Serbia and Montenegro). Miro’s youngest child, Nina, is an American. However, Miro eagerly awaits for the time in the near future when the whole family will officially become Americans.

dominated by obsolete and rusting industrial facilities built in the 1960s and 1970s.

The largest cities in the southern part of the subregion were often built as expressions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire presence. Budapest, the capital of Hungary, combines two cities on opposite banks of the Danube River (Figure 3.56c) and is a government center with industrial suburbs. Its central areas include spacious 1800s buildings. Bucharest, the capital of Romania, had much of its central area built to resemble Paris. Romania’s Communist leader, Nicolae Ceaușescu,

destroyed Bucharest’s urban landscape and put up his own grandiose buildings to bolster his image.

Cities in the Balkans often contain historic centers, such as the port of Dubrovnik (Croatia) that was subject to destruction by military action in 1992. An earthquake destroyed much of Skopje, the capital of Macedonia, in the 1960s. Cities such as Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, expanded after 1950 with central apartment blocks, suburban industries, and single-family homes but suffered destruction in the early 1990s civil war.

Figure 3.56 East Central European cities. (a) The 38-story Palace of Culture was built with funds from the Soviet Union in 1952–1955. The building, which houses several scientific and cultural institutions, theaters, and Congress Hall, was built on the World War II ruins of the city. (b) Czech Republic: Having escaped much of the destruction of World War II, Prague is one of the best-preserved cities in East Central Europe and subsequently a major tourist destination. Photo shows tourists on the famous Charles Bridge with Prague's castle in the background. (c) Budapest, Hungary: Looking from the castle in Buda across the Danube to the parliament in Pest.

Photos: (a) © Jerzy Jemiolo; (b) © Emily A. White; (c) © George W. White.



(a)



(b)



(c)

Culture

Most of the peoples of East Central Europe are Slavs. Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, and Sorbs are Western Slavs. Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Bulgarians, and Macedonians are South Slavs. Their languages are all closely related, even to those of the East Slavs, such as the Russians (see Figure 3.4a). As Roman Catholics, the West Slavs, Slovenes, and Croats use the Latin alphabet (see Figure 3.4b). The other South Slavs—the Serbs, Macedonians, and Bulgarians—use the Cyrillic alphabet because they are Eastern Orthodox Christians. Cyrillic is a modified version of the Greek alphabet that the Orthodox monks Cyril and Methodus specifically created to convert the Slavs to Christianity. Though all the Slavs are related to their fellow Slavs the Russians, the Eastern Orthodox Slavs of East Central Europe have a closer connection to the Russians, who are also Eastern Orthodox Christians. They have also tended to align themselves politically with the Russians, especially the Bulgarians.

Romanian stands out as a language because it is a Romance language. With Italian as the closest related language, Romanian is the only Romance language spoken in the subregion (see Figure 3.4a). Romanians are primarily Eastern Orthodox, but their language and Western orientation led them to adopt the Latin alphabet. Romanians see themselves as descendants of Dacians, a people who lived 2,000 years ago with an empire centered in Transylvania, and of Romans. Roman ancestry gives Romanians a sense of good pedigree (Figure 3.57).

Lithuanian and Latvian are also together in a category. Having come under the influence of the Poles, the Lithuanians are Roman Catholic. The Latvians accepted Protestantism from

Figure 3.57 Deva, Transylvania, Romania. This statue of a Dacian soldier atop a pedestal with the she-wolf nursing Romulus and Remus, the symbol of Rome, illustrates the Romanian belief that their nation descended from a Daco-Roman mix. Located in front of a Hungarian castle, this statue declares the legitimacy of Romanian control over the ethnically mixed territory of Transylvania. Photo: © Emily A. White.



Swedes and Germans. The Estonians, however, do not speak an Indo-European language but rather a Finno-Ugric language like Finnish and Hungarian. The Hungarians are primarily Roman Catholics, but many in the eastern part of Hungary are Protestants. Albanian is an Indo-European language but stands alone in its own category. With 70 percent of its population Muslims, Albania is the most Muslim country in Europe, though a significant number of Albanians are Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic.

Jews and Roma, commonly known as Gypsies, also live in East Central Europe. Europe in general was a thriving center for Jewish culture, but both groups experienced intense discrimination throughout history. The Nazi Holocaust in particular resulted in the extermination of more than 6 million Jews, not to mention many from other groups such as Slavs and Roma. Europeans who are not Roma have historically discriminated against the Roma because the Roma have comparatively darker skin and, like Jews, have non-Christian beliefs and practices. Roma still are persecuted intensely and are forced to live as an underclass.

Ethnic Tensions

The breakup of Yugoslavia in the 1990s is Europe's most recent major tragedy involving war and massive human rights violations. Because many of the ethnic groups in the conflict had differing religions, many international diplomats and commentators, as well as governments, tended to label the groups according to religion and even viewed the conflict as a religious one. They rejected recognizing such groups as the Bosnians because Bosnians did not claim to be of a single faith but rather of any faith found in the Bosnia-Herzegovina. In doing so, they ignored the fact that many Serbs, Croats, and Muslims fought together to prevent Bosnia-Herzegovina from being carved up by Serb and Croat nationalists.

The fact that many groups of differing faiths have joined together during conflicts, such as the one in Bosnia-Herzegovina, illustrates that conflicts in the East Central Europe are caused by more factors than simple religious differences. Historical, political, and economic geography have played great roles. In Yugoslavia, for example, Slobodan Milosević used ethnic politics to gain power. He used thugs in the region of Kosovo to attack Albanians living there. When Albanians fought back, it aroused the fears of many Serbs in Yugoslavia that this ethnic minority, which was economically poor and had high birth rates, was persecuting Serbs and destroying the Serb heartland. Milosević vowed to protect Serbs and Serb culture by calling for the crackdown on all minorities in Yugoslavia. Serb nationalists enthusiastically supported Milosević. In response to Milosević's policies, however, Yugoslavia's ethnic minorities moved toward secession.

The history of Yugoslavia's political geography made it easy for a politician like Milosević to pit the various ethnic groups against one another. Yugoslavia was a country that was created from territories of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires. Both of these empires had completely differing political and economic traditions and orientations. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, for example, Serbs historically tended to live in the rural areas and Muslims tended to live in the urban areas.

The rural Serbs were comparatively poorer and less educated than the urban Muslims. These rural Serbs resented the urban Muslims, and this resentment expressed itself during the war in the 1990s. Though the two groups each had their own religion, the differing rural and urban traditions played a greater role in the conflict.

Ethnic tensions exist in other countries as well, and the study of geography helps us understand them. Albanians, for example, live beyond the borders of Albania, in the neighboring Yugoslav province of Kosovo, where they account for 95 percent of the population, and in adjacent areas of Macedonia, where they are 23 percent of the population (see Figure 3.54). Hungarians also live in the countries surrounding Hungary. Large numbers of Russians are found in the Baltic countries. The major problem is a disjunction between the distribution of nations and country boundaries. Many nations live in territories that extend beyond the countries designated for them and are seen as minorities in other groups' countries. As a minority, they are a threat to the dominant groups. For example, if Hungarians live in southern Slovakia, the Vojvodina, Transylvania, and other places, should not these territories be given to Hungary? If Albanians live in Kosovo and western Macedonia, should not these territories be awarded to Albania? This solution would certainly bring nations and countries into greater geographical alignment.

The problem with giving minorities their own countries is that it would not end the existence of minorities within countries. As minorities become majorities, new minorities come to the forefront or into being. If Kosovo became an Albanian country, it would have Serb minorities. A similar situation already occurred with the cases of the Hungarians and Russians. When Slovakia, for example, was part of the Hungarian Kingdom, Slovaks were the minority and Hungarians the majority. When Slovakia was detached from Hungary, Slovaks became the majority in a new Slovakia, but the Hungarians living there became a minority. After 1991, Russians found themselves as minorities in new countries (e.g., Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) that once had been part of the Russian-dominated Soviet Union (see Chapter 4). Because it is not completely possible to give every ethnic group its own country without creating new minorities, many international leaders do not support the breaking up of countries.

Some argue that minorities should leave a country to avoid conflicts. Many minorities, however, occupied their land as long or even longer than the majority. In many cases and as shown in the examples already discussed, boundaries were once drawn differently so that minorities actually formed a majority with others of their group. For example, the boundaries of Hungary once included the Hungarians of Slovakia, Transylvania, and other areas in a Hungary that was much bigger than it is today. Tensions between Hungarians and their neighbors are not just over ethnic differences. Conflict arises over the issue of whether Hungary should be able to regain control of its lost territories. Hungarians who want Hungary to reclaim its lost territories are known as irredentists. **Irredentism** is the desire to gain control over lost territories or territories perceived to belong rightfully to one's group. With boundaries having changed so frequently

in East Central European history, irredentism is a major issue and a source of much conflict, more so than conflict arising from simple cultural differences among groups.

Current majority groups, however, rarely want to lose any of their territories, though other groups may live in them. Territories often have great meaning for nations. For example, though Kosovo is more than 90 percent Albanian, Kosovo is the cradle of Serb civilization. It contains the great monasteries and other cultural artifacts of the Serb nation. Many Serbs feel that losing control of Kosovo would result in the loss of much of their culture. A dilemma then emerges. The nation-state ideal implies that a nation may only possess territory occupied by its members. Yet some territories are so important that nations will not give them up, even if their nation is not a majority in them.

To conform to the nation-state ideal, some nations feel that they must eradicate other groups from their territories to justify exercising control over their territories, though the practice certainly violates both the human rights of the victims and international law. Eradicating people from a territory because they are ethnically different is known as **ethnic cleansing**. Serb nationalists coined the term to refer to their own actions during the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1990s. They attempted to legitimize their claim to the republic by making the territory purely Serbian. Ethnic cleansing is now a term used to refer to similar acts perpetuated in other places around the world, not only currently but also in history. The Holocaust, for example, which refers to the Nazis' attempt to exterminate Jews and other groups during World War II, is now referred to as ethnic cleansing, though the term did not exist at the time.

Ethnic cleansing takes three forms: assimilation, expulsion, and extermination. All three forms were employed in the former Yugoslavia. Bosnia-Herzegovina became infamous for not only concentration camps but also rape camps. Rape is certainly used to terrorize, but it frequently had an added purpose in that war. Despite differing political and economic traditions and differences between individuals, Serbs, Croats, and Muslims were racially and linguistically similar, even sharing many cultural characteristics. The only obvious cultural difference between the groups was religious belief. Extremists thus saw religious conversion as a means of assimilation. Because Balkan peoples typically follow the tradition of raising a child in the father's faith, rape was seen as a means of conversion and thus assimilation. After being raped, many women were told that they were then obligated to raise their children in the rapist's faith, making the child a member of the rapist's nation. Many women were held in the camps so that they could not obtain abortions. Genocide is the attempt to exterminate an entire ethnic group. The attempt by Serb nationalists to end Islam in Bosnia-Herzegovina by exterminating Muslim men and impregnating Muslim women with "Serb" children could be considered "**genocidal rape**."

Widespread atrocities, including rape, in Bosnia-Herzegovina led to changes in international law. To deal with the atrocities, the World Court in The Hague set of a special war crimes tribunal, known as the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). The tribunal tried

numerous cases and continues to do so. Previously, international law viewed rape as an unfortunate by-product of war, but the tribunal set the precedent that rape is used as a weapon in war and deserves greater punishment than before. Rape is now officially recognized as a war crime. In one case, the tribunal convicted a man for the crime of not preventing a rape.

Human rights continued to be a major issue after the war as thousands of women were forced into prostitution. The major source countries are Moldova and Ukraine in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS; see Chapter 4), both of which have struggling economies, but many are lured from the other poor areas of East Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. In most cases, young women are offered high-paying jobs in the West. Once they depart their countries, however, their passports are taken from them, and they are sold into prostitution. Many women are taken to brothels in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The practice is so widespread that UN soldiers and members of other international organizations have been implicated in prostitution scandals. Many women are also forced to work as prostitutes in Western European cities such as London.

Economic Development

After the Industrial Revolution began in England in the late 1700s, it took considerable time for it to spread to East Central Europe. In addition, because outside empires dominated most of East Central Europe through the 1800s and up to 1918, industrialization was inhibited in many areas. These empires treated their East Central European domains as colonies, preferring to extract resources and agricultural products rather than invest in industrialization. However, many exceptions existed. The Czech and Polish lands were somewhat exceptional in that a number of cities had factories. Hungary and Slovenia also developed industry. Nevertheless, compared to some of the other subregions of Europe, a large number of people still work in agriculture. Albania, for example, ranks as one of the highest with 60 percent of its labor force working in agriculture.

After World War II, Communist economic policies were imposed on most countries in East Central Europe (see the section on "Changes in the Modern Era" in this chapter). During Soviet times, the Communists tried to improve the standard of living by encouraging industrialization, particularly in areas with coalfields, and by providing jobs for everyone, whether it made good economic sense or not. Communism had many failures but it had many successes, too. During Communist times, farming efficiency improved as industrialization provided tractors to replace horse-drawn plows. Great strides also were made in technology, education, health care, and welfare. Literacy increased dramatically and infant mortality plummeted. One of the difficulties in the transition to capitalism is that people in the former Communist countries are not accustomed to paying for health care and higher education. Unemployment is also a new and shocking experience. For many people, capitalism is a step backward from Communism.

In terms of trade, Soviet Communists preferred not to be ensnared by capitalist practices, which they considered to be corrupting. Therefore, they tried to restrict trade among fellow

Communist countries. Stalin set up the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA or COMECON) to compete with the European Economic Community (EEC) in Western Europe and even prevent East Central European countries from attempting to join the EEC. COMECON linked the subregions' economies with one another and with the Soviet Union. Stalin also insisted on specialization, with the northern countries focusing on industry and the southern ones producing agricultural products. Such specialization forced greater dependency on the Soviet system and prevented any country from realigning itself with the West. Cheap oil and natural gas from the Soviet Union also increased dependency but left a legacy of contaminated soil and water.

After the end of Soviet control in 1991, the countries of East Central Europe experienced economic crises as they reoriented themselves from incorporation in the Soviet economic system to the world economic system (see Chapter 4). Exchanges with one another and the former Soviet states greatly declined. Countries are challenged with breaking up business monopolies owned by the state, providing productive jobs, and cleaning up the environment. The difficulties in moving to capitalism led to an immediate drop in GDP, but growing trade with Germany in particular and new economic policies caused the GDP to rise again (Figure 3.58). Personal income, which was low during Communist times, remained low and resulted in very low consumer goods ownership compared to the rest of Europe (see Figure 3.17).

The Communist system focused on reorienting the agricultural economies of East Central Europe to industrial economies. While the Communists created factory jobs, similar factory jobs in the West were replaced by service jobs as the world economy continued to develop. In 1997, the service sector accounted for 60 to 70 percent—more in a few countries—of GDP in Western Europe. In contrast, the service sector in East Central Europe accounted for only 50 to 60 percent of GDP on average and was well below those levels a few years earlier. Albania at 23 percent and Romania at 36 percent represented the lowest. Their low rankings illustrate that they have had the greatest difficulties changing their economies and improving the standards of living of their people.

Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, and the Baltic countries have had the greatest successes in adopting capitalist practices. These countries were also the most industrialized before and during Communism and have had stronger traditions of democracy. Significantly, they also are closest to countries of the European Union, making them easy beneficiaries of trade and investment from countries in the other subregions of Europe, especially from Germany. For example, 70 percent of Poland's trade was with the EU in 1996.

One of the biggest success stories comes from the Czech Republic. One example is the Czech automotive company Skoda. It was like the automotive companies in the other Communist countries in that it produced poor-quality, two-cylinder vehicles. Volkswagen, however, purchased Skoda, and with German management and huge sums of cash, the company has become the most successful formerly Communist company anywhere. Skoda employs 4 percent of the Czech work force and accounts for 14

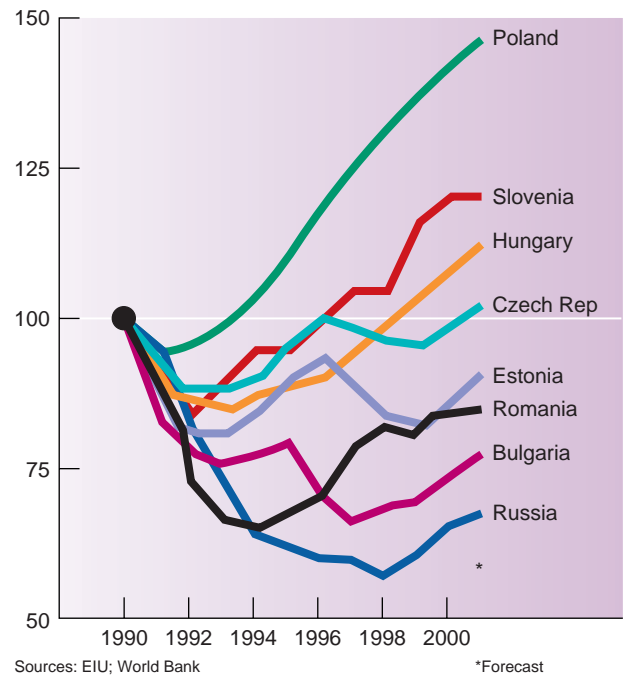


Figure 3.58 GDP growth in East Central Europe after the end of Communism.

percent of Czech exports. Eighty percent of Skoda's vehicles are exported, including to Germany with its competitive auto market.

The Czechs could have great success in earning money through beer exports because they are originators of great beers. For example, Pilsner beers come from the town of Plzeň, and Budweiser traces its roots back to the town of Budweis (now České Budějovice). However, the Czechs have difficulty exporting their beers because the American company Anheuser-Busch uses its financial might, with which it obtained the Budweiser trademark, to keep the Czechs from exporting Czech Budweiser, though the Czech beer was brewed hundreds of years before the American brand existed.

Hungary was able to exert its economic independence during Communist times, probably more than any of the other countries controlled by the Soviet Union. For example, it allowed private businesses that employed fewer than five people. The mixture of large-scale Communist economic policies with small-scale capitalist practices led to the term "goulash Communism," a term derived from the traditional Hungarian stew, which is a mixture of vegetables and meat. Capitalist practices were minimal, but they were greater than in other Soviet Bloc countries and gave Hungary a head start in the transformation process. Though a modest-sized country, Hungary captured over one-third of all 1990s foreign direct investment in the former Communist countries, including the former Soviet Union. In 1989, 65 percent of Hungary's trade was with COMECON. By 1998, 80 percent of Hungary's trade was with the EU.

Before Yugoslavia was engulfed in war beginning in 1991, it had one of the strongest economies and highest standards of living of Communist Europe. Not a Soviet satellite, Yugoslavia pursued its own course. It employed the Communist

idea of centralized planning, but compared to the Communist countries in the Soviet sphere, it also allowed a more genuine practice of the Communist belief that workers should manage their companies. Subsequently, productivity was high in Yugoslavia. Travel to non-Communist countries was not as restricted as in the Soviet sphere. As a result, thousands of Yugoslavs, especially Slovenes and Croats, sought work as guest workers in countries such as Germany. These workers sent millions of dollars back to family members in Yugoslavia.

Slovenia prospered more since independence in 1991 because it further developed its economic contacts with Germany and other EU countries and no longer must send tax money to the other Yugoslav republics. Slovenes now have the highest standard of living and the most modern economy of the former Communist countries. Croatia may have been just as prosperous, but independence in 1991 was followed by the devastation of war and little foreign investment. Now that the wars are over, Croatia is rebuilding and the economy is growing. Serbia and Montenegro's economy faces great difficulties. Economic boycotts during the wars and NATO bombings devastated the country's economy. Though the war is over, the country is receiving little foreign investment. Macedonia escaped most of the ravages of war, but its landlocked position among unfriendly neighbors and its distant location from the wealthier countries of Europe attract little foreign investment to this largely agricultural country.

Test Your Understanding 3F

Summary East Central Europe consists of three small Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), Poland and Hungary with their plains, and the hilly areas of the Czech and Slovak Republics, all with mixtures of farming and manufacturing. Farther to the south in the subregion are former Yugoslavia (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, and Macedonia), Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania, some of which have experienced varying degrees of civil strife from full-scale war in Bosnia and Croatia to ethnic clashes in the other countries, including that in Kosovo.

The countries of East Central Europe struggled through the transition from Communism to democracy and capitalism with many of them desiring to join the European Union. In recent years, many of them experienced economic growth as they established economic trade with the rest of Europe. Others continue to struggle.

Questions to Think About

- 3F.1 Can you explain the greater economic growth in Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovenia in the 1990s compared to that in the other East Central Europe countries?
- 3F.2 What are the causes of, and possible cures for, the strife in Bosnia and Kosovo?
- 3F.3 What happened to urban landscapes in Communist Europe in the decades after World War II?

Key Terms

irredentism
ethnic cleansing

genocidal rape

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