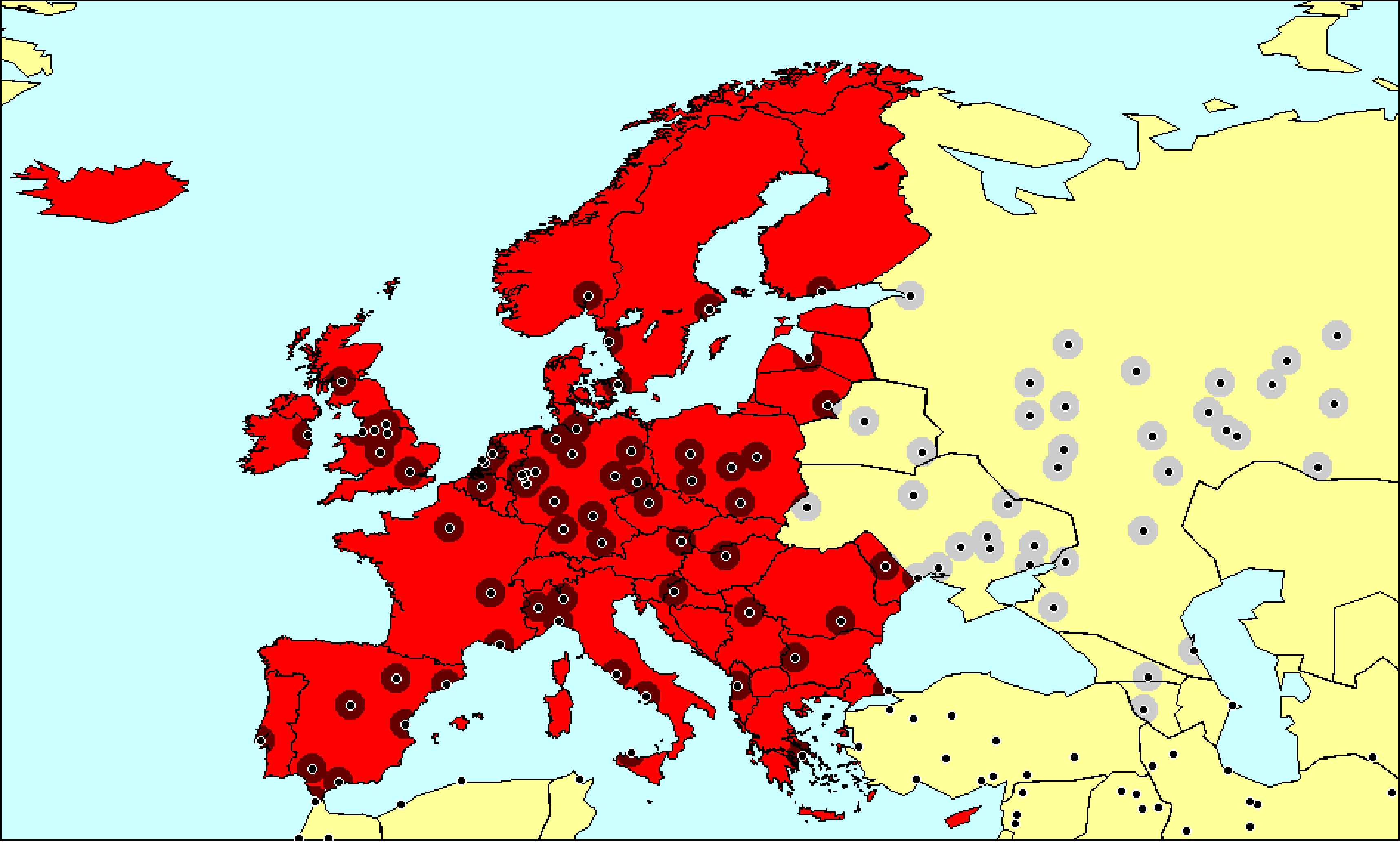


European Economic Core Area: European Integration

Bradshaw, M. – Dymond, J. – White, G. – Chacko, E. 2012: Contemporary World Regional Geography. 4th Edition. – McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc. pp. 80–87.; 90.; 100–101.; 105–125.; 128–133.

3.3 DIVERSITY, CONFLICT, AND TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION

Current 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 Greeks, Romans, and Celts were the first to inhabit Europe, followed by Germanic, Slavic, and other peoples.

Cultural Groups: Greeks, Celts, Romans

Modern **Greeks** inhabit only the southeastern corner of Europe. Their ancestors, however, were firmly established in southern Europe by 1000 BC The Greek city-states had differing forms of government, but some established democracy, later adopted elsewhere in Europe and the world. Early Greeks also contributed to the sciences and humanities. A number of their ideas still influence the way many people view the world.

At the same time that Greek civilization emerged in southeastern Europe, **Celtic** peoples **(Celts)** 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 (Figure 3.10a).

Around the 100s BC, Rome eclipsed the Greek city-states. The **Romans** created a large empire that stretched from the eastern Mediterranean to the British Isles. To hold their empire together, the Romans built an extensive road system, remnants of which are found today. 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 into the distinct languages of French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and Romanian (Figure 3.10a). The Romans adopted Christianity as the empire's official religion in AD 381. In time, Christianity spread well beyond the former borders of the Roman Empire (Figure 3.10b), but the center of the Roman Catholic Church, the branch of Christianity with the most members, is still located in Rome.

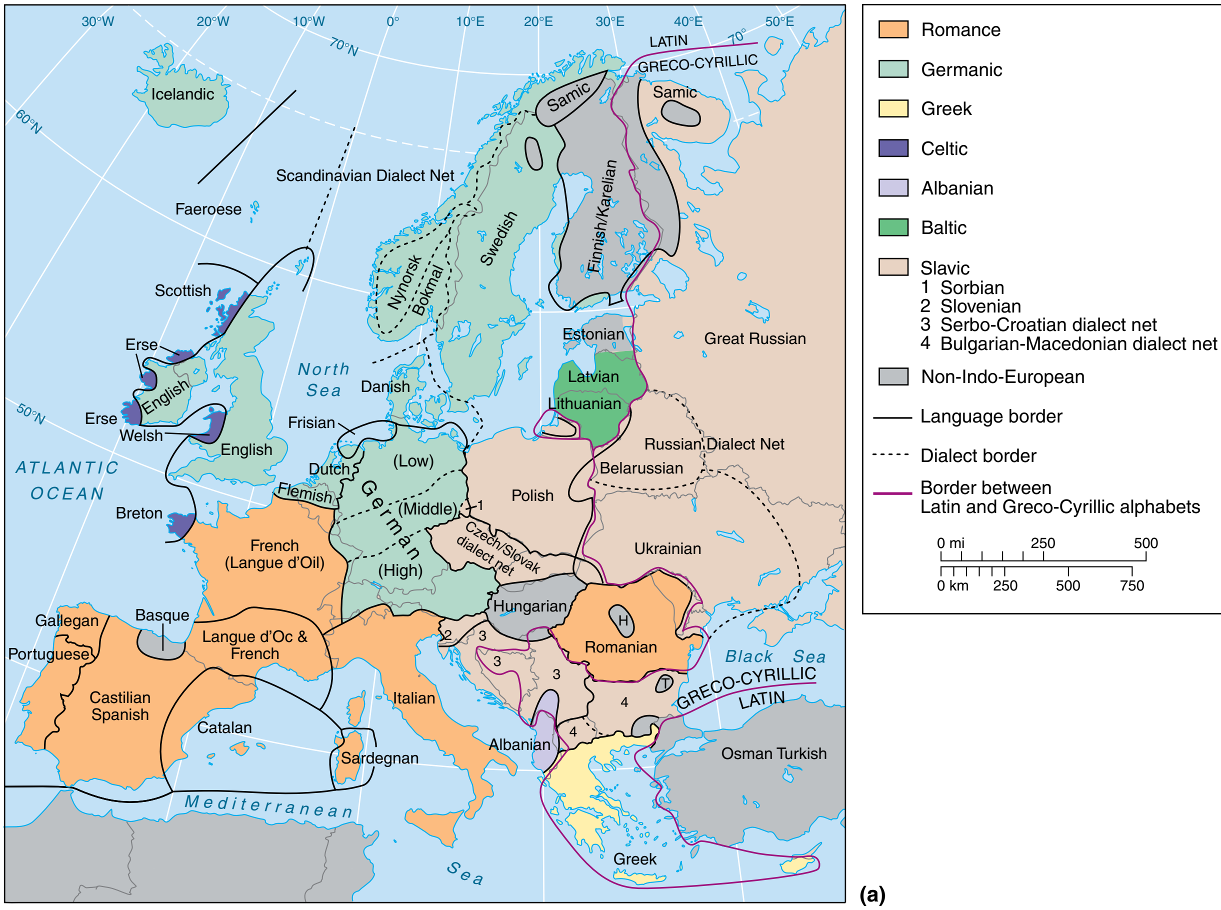
Jews lived in Europe since Roman times, first along the Mediterranean and then in small groups everywhere else, especially East Central Europe. Jews contributed greatly to European culture. Persecution culminated in the Nazi Holocaust in the 1930s and 1940s that sharply reduced their numbers.

Cultural Groups: Germanic and Slavic Peoples

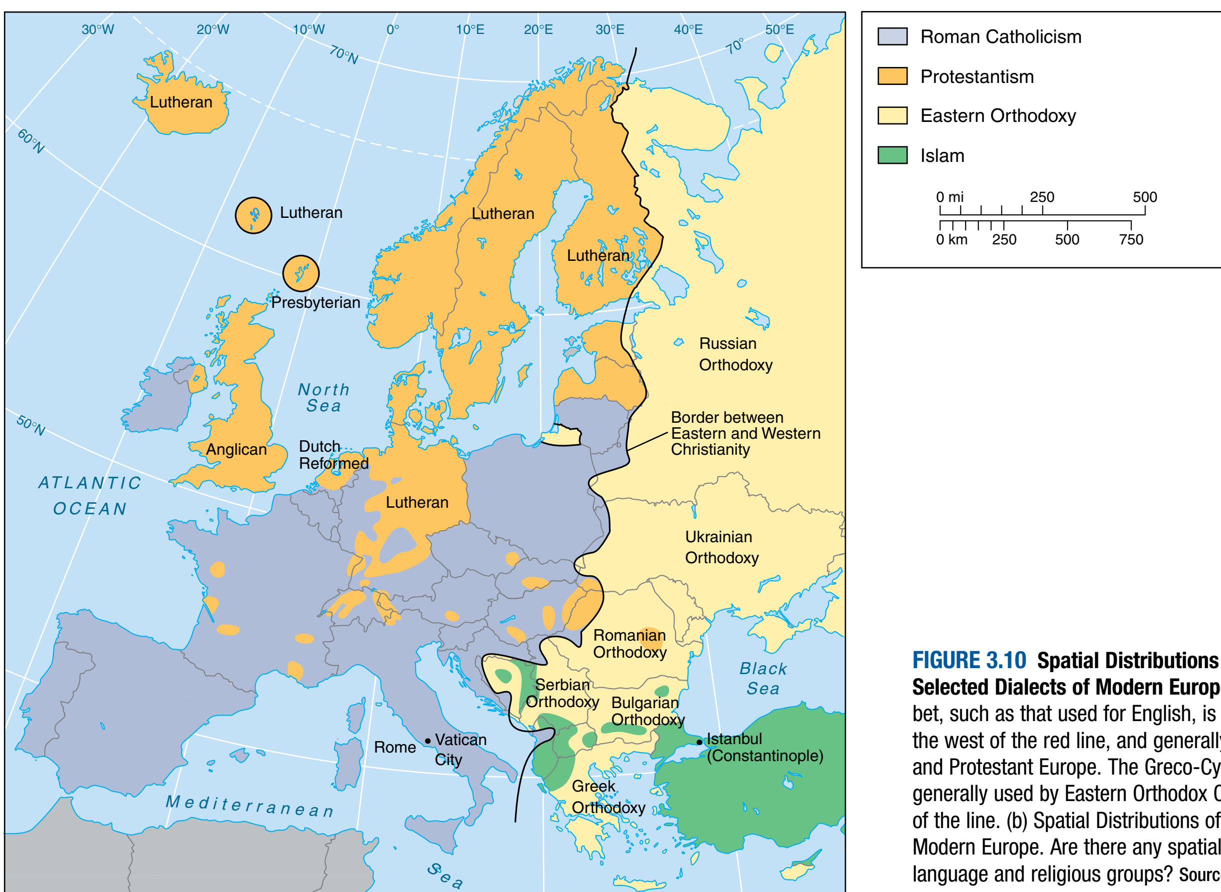
During Roman times, **Germanic peoples** arrived from the east, conquering whatever Celtic lands the Romans had not taken, namely the areas just north of the Danube and east of the Rhine. These tribes continually threatened the Roman Empire, sacking Rome itself for the first time in AD 410. By the end 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 Saxons moved into the British Isles, pushing the Celtic peoples farther into the fringes of Europe. Even today, the English are considered Anglo-Saxons.

Other Germanic tribes moved north into Scandinavia. By the AD 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 Faroe Islands, Iceland, and southwestern Greenland, and probably reached North America by the AD 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 influenced the lands around the Baltic Sea, and 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 (Figure 3.10a). Germans, Austrians, Dutch, and the Scandinavians (such as Danes, Norwegians, and 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 (Figure 3.10b).



(a)



(b)

FIGURE 3.10 Spatial Distributions of Languages and Selected Dialects of Modern Europe. (a) The Latin alphabet, such as that used for English, is used by languages to the west of the red line, and generally in Roman Catholic and Protestant Europe. The Greco-Cyrillic alphabets are generally used by Eastern Orthodox Christians to the east of the line. (b) Spatial Distributions of Religious Groups in Modern Europe. Are there any spatial correlations between language and religious groups? **Source:** *The European Culture Area*, 4th ed. Reprinted by permission of Rowman & Littlefield.

The last of the major groups to migrate into Europe were the **Slavs,** who began arriving in the AD 400s. During the next few centuries, Slavs pushed as far west as the Elbe River in the middle of modern 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 modern European peoples and represent considerable diversity. Yet a few other groups migrated into Europe at this early stage 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. 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, and many new voyages were launched. The Portuguese and Spanish, later followed by other Western Europeans, 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 that 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 rulers 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 a competition with France for supremacy in North America and India, creating the basis for its worldwide empire.

European exploration did not simply result 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 that were grown in Europe 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. From their encounters with the Chinese, they learned about such technologies as the compass, gunpowder, paper, and printing. The Europeans were able to explore rapidly and build trading networks by exploiting Arab, Indian, and Chinese ports and links.

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 3.11) 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, connecting ports and coalfield industries.

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

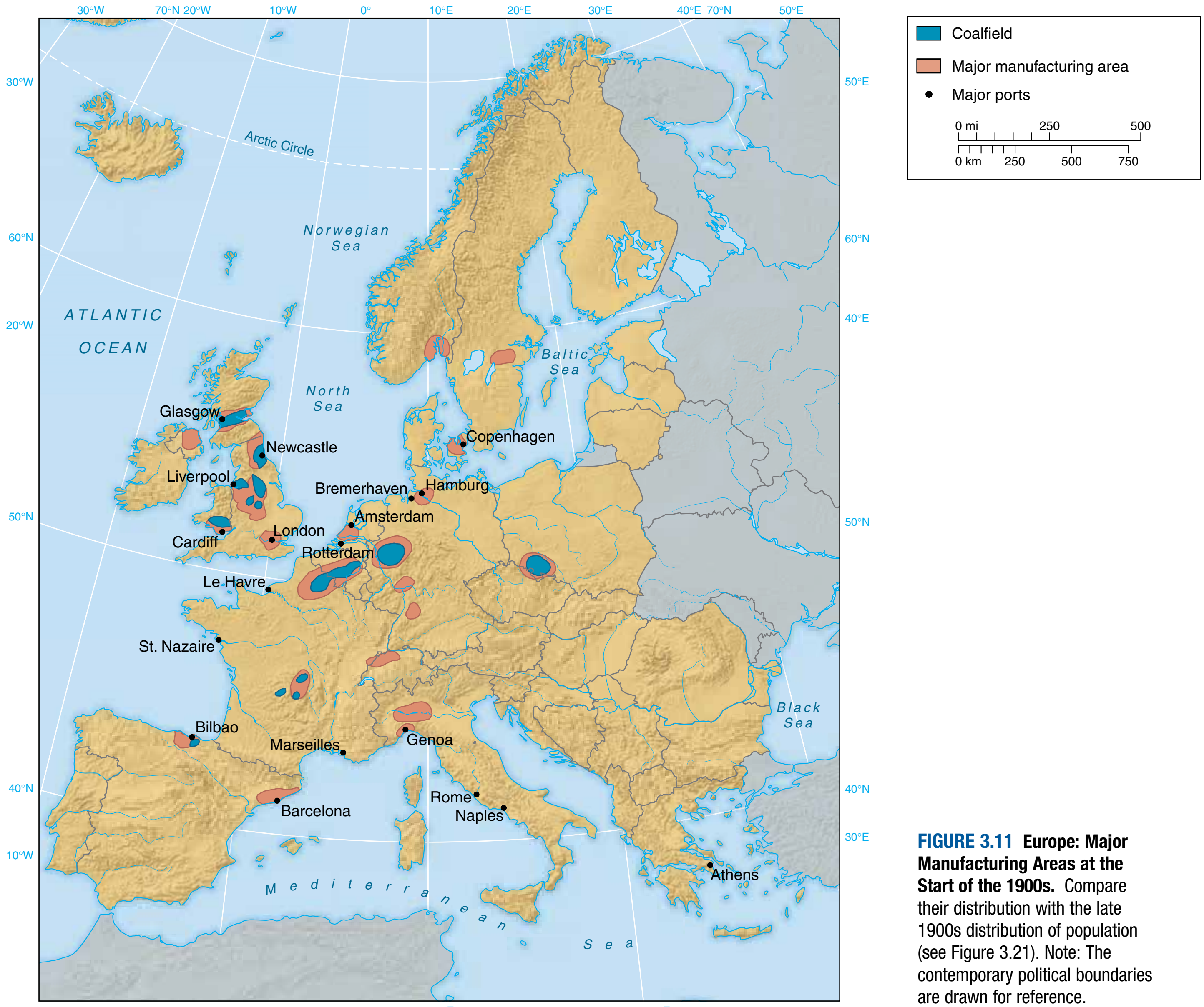


FIGURE 3.11 Europe: Major Manufacturing Areas at the Start of the 1900s. Compare their distribution with the late 1900s distribution of population (see Figure 3.21). Note: The contemporary political boundaries are drawn for reference.

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 dependence. 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 Countries: Nation-States

The current system of international relations and the character of peoples' identities began in Europe. Beginning shortly after AD 1000, the identities of Europeans changed as people began to shift their loyalties from more local feudal leaders to their emerging countries. An important step came with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 that marked the end of the Thirty Years' War, a bitter religious war between Roman Catholic and Protestant leaders. 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 characteristics; **states,** often called "countries," are politically organized territories with independent governments. Europeans developed the idea of the nation and combined it with that of the state to form the **nation-state ideal,** which is the belief that each nation should be free to govern itself and can do so only if it has its own state (country). Thus nations become linked with states. However, the nation-state ideal is just that, an ideal and not reality in most cases. The French nation, for example, believes that the French state should be solely inhabited by the French nation. However, France contains peoples such as the Basques, who regard themselves as a separate nation. Since the age of nationalism beginning in the late 1700s, many dominant European nations imposed their national cultures on other nations living within their borders in an attempt to make the nation-state ideal a reality. In response, many minority peoples resisted, and some—like the Basques—have tried to establish their own nation-states. The nation-building projects of dominant peoples who try to homogenize their states and of minority peoples who try to declare their own nation-states resulted in much violence, even war.

To use the terms nation, state, and nation-state correctly, remember that nations are peoples and states are countries. Thus, for example, the French are a nation and France is a state. Because France is inhabited mainly by the French nation, it is a specific kind of state known as a nation-state—that is, a state inhabited by or intended for a single people. It is incorrect to refer to France as a nation because France is not a people. However, France can be called a country, a synonym for state. Indeed, some prefer the term country instead of nation-state because few nation-states truly fit the definition of the term.

The grouping of peoples into nations was brought about not only 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 obtain books. As literacy rose in conjunction with Enlightenment ideas of individuality, freedom, and rational thought, common people saw 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 conformed 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. In many countries, a Bible translation was the main means of spreading the new language standard.

Gunpowder, too, helped bind people together. It led to the development of rifles and cannons that required soldiers to drill together constantly so that they could work as a team. The individuality of medieval knighthood was replaced by modern armies of soldiers who dressed and acted alike.

Though the new technologies and Enlightenment ideas changed society, people were reluctant to challenge the supposedly divine authority of monarchs. After 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 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 another hundred years before being replaced by nation-states.

Nationalism and World Wars

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. A European war engulfed the rest of the world once again between 1939 and 1945, known as World War II. The intolerant side of nationalism under fascism led to the extermination of millions of people of specific ethnic groups such as Jews and Roma (Gypsies), a phenomenon called **genocide.**

3.4 GLOBAL CHANGES AND LOCAL RESPONSES

Europe after 1945

After World War II (1939–1945), Europeans seriously reevaluated their role in the world and their relationships with one another. The war was so devastating that even the winners suffered destruction and huge financial, political, and cultural losses. In Western Europe, the United Kingdom, France, and the Netherlands were confronted with independence movements in their colonies at a time of weakness. Commonly 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" ended.

At the same time, the politically and economically weak European countries faced the United States and the Soviet Union, which emerged as new world powers. At the end of World War II, the Soviet Union showed its strength when the Red Army moved into most of the East Central European countries 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.** At the same time, the other new superpower, the United States, supported the revival of the countries of Western Europe, where the Marshall Plan injected huge sums to assist economic recovery and where the threat of Soviet expansionism was met by the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The Soviet Union responded in turn with the Warsaw Pact in 1954.

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 the United States. Moreover, the two world wars revealed the ugly sides of nationalist political competition, economic protectionism, and capitalist competition. Competition could lead to failure as well as success. On the other hand, cooperation in a noncommunist form was thought to result in everyone's success.

NATO and the European Union

Immediate cooperation came about in noncommunist (Western, Northern, and Mediterranean) Europe with the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in 1949 (Figure 3.12). 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. Having emerged from more than 40 years of Soviet domination, East Central European countries were eager to join NATO. Russian objections and the cost of expansion delayed NATO expansion. NATO accepted Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary as new members and is currently 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 noncommunist countries created the European Economic Community (EEC), known today as the **European Union (EU)** (Figure 3.13). In 1949, not long after the end of World War II, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg joined together in the Benelux customs union. In 1952 the Benelux countries joined France and West

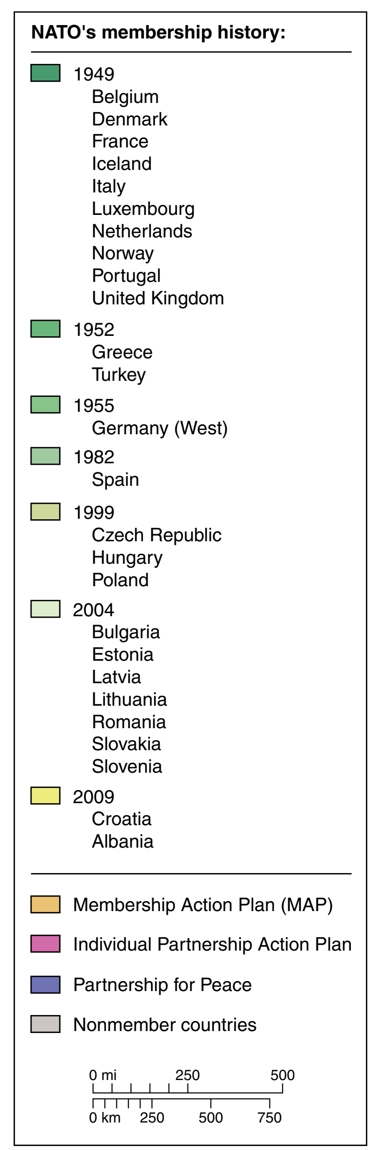


FIGURE 3.12 Europe: NATO. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, showing countries that are members and those that are applying for membership. The United States and Canada are also original members. In 2002, Russia formed a special partnership with NATO.

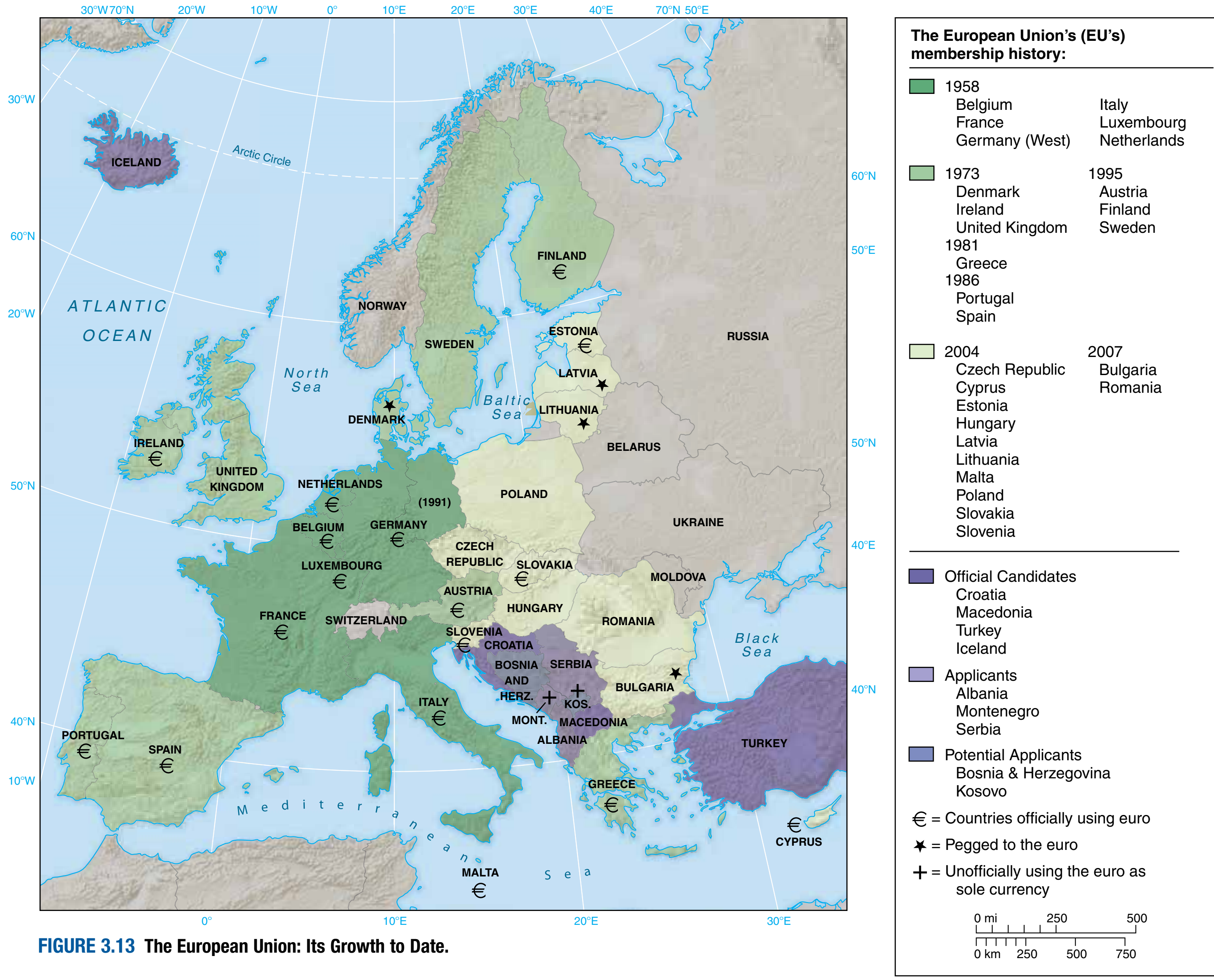


FIGURE 3.13 The European Union: Its Growth to Date.

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. Denmark, the Republic of Ireland, and the United Kingdom 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. It forms the legislative branch of the EU along with the Council of the European Union (often known just as the Council of Ministers). The presidency of the Council rotates every six months among representatives from each of the EU's member countries. Other EU organs are headquartered in countries such as Luxembourg (Figure 3.14).

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 the European Union (EU) 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. The Swiss most likely did not want to give up their tradition of neutrality. It is believed that the Norwegians' desire to protect their fishing grounds and their practice of whaling played a major role in the rejection of EU membership. In 2004, 10 countries of East Central Europe, many formerly part of the Soviet bloc, joined the EU in the organization's

FIGURE 3.14 In Luxembourg, the European Union flag (blue with yellow stars) proudly flies with seemingly equal importance with the national flag. The historic central part of the once strongly fortified Luxembourg City looms in the background. Photo: © David C. Johnson.

largest expansion to date. Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU in 2007. Turkey's application has long been under consideration, and Croatia applied for membership in 2003. Many Europeans see the EU as good, while many others do not (see Point-Counterpoint: The European Union).

The European Union represents yet another idea emanating from Europe: **supranationalism.** Supranationalism is the idea that differing nations can cooperate so closely for their mutual benefit that they can share the same government, economy (including currency), social policies, and military. During the Cold War, Soviet Communists tried to offer a form of supranationalism, but after 1990 most Europeans 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 total political union in Europe.

It remains to be seen if supranationalism will work. The combination of NATO security in the Cold War and linked economic policies enabled Europe, by the later 1900s, to regain a major place within the global economic and political system. For example, European countries have many of the highest GDPs per capita in the world (Figures 3.15 and 3.16).

devolution: local peoples desiring less rule from their national governments and seeking greater authority in governing themselves. The desire for complete independence is known as **separatism.** Devolution occurs in the United Kingdom, for example, where Scots and Welsh seek greater autonomy and recently obtained their own parliaments with limited powers. 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 Catholics in Northern Ireland.

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

Changes in Europe's Economic Geography

Two world wars and intervening economic depressions shattered the economies of European countries and their economic relationships with the rest of the world. After 1945, 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 noncommunist 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 availability of electricity spread, so that new products could be manufactured wherever there was plentiful semi-skilled labor, often in the larger cities that were also large markets for the consumer goods. This process led to greater material wealth in the cities compared to the older industrial and rural areas. The numbers employed in primary and secondary industries gave way to service industries—based in offices rather than factories. This further increased urbanization. The polluted old industrial centers declined, and unemployment in them rose.

In the second half of the 1900s, new industrial areas grew in places more suited to the needs of developing technologies and industries, though 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 suddenly change the locations of existing production facilities. The advantages of producing goods in an area that already has a trained labor force, assembly and distribution systems, transportation, and financial and other services reinforce the original locational advantages, creating **geographic inertia,** even though costs may be higher than those in competing areas. Only when a substantial change in costs occurred, new products emerged, or demand for the original product declined did new areas develop and older manufacturing centers decline.

Furthermore, **deindustrialization** occurred when the numbers of jobs in manufacturing fell rapidly and factories became derelict in older industrial areas. A decline of 20 percent in European manufacturing jobs between 1970 and 1985 was more than balanced by a 40 percent rise in tertiary sector jobs. However, 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. 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.

Planning and Privatization

In noncommunist 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 tried 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 countries. 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. 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 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. Nevertheless, the EU continually modifies its policies for regional development funds to help the economically poorer areas of Europe. For the years 2007 through 2013, the European Commission will spend 336 billion euros on three priority areas: Convergence, Competitiveness, and Cooperation (Figure 3.26). Convergence funds are to stimulate growth and employment in the less developed regions. Competitiveness funds are to deal with anticipated changes in the rest of the EU. Cooperation funds are for harmonious development throughout the EU.

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. However, in Ireland in particular, many multinational corporations were attracted, and the wages they paid increased personal well-being.

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 those industries less able to compete were provided with industrial protection and welfare. Achieving this stability had meant that the countries of Western Europe had begun to price their products too high for world markets, resulting in reduced sales and thus reduced income. Management had laid workers off rather than lowering the prices of their products to boost sales volume. Increasing welfare costs put country budgets into deficit and raised internal demands for more tax revenue. 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. During the 1980s Britain led the way in privatizing state enterprises, many of which suffered financial losses and were a drain on tax income. The privatized concerns, including steelmaking and electricity, gas, and water utilities, commonly made considerable profits after this change, especially by cutting their labor forces, leading initially to more unemployment. However, by the early 2000s, unemployment rates decreased in countries where the most extensive privatization plans initially had caused the high unemployment rates. The United Kingdom, for example, had a low unemployment rate of approximately 5 percent, while countries like France, Germany, and Italy—which had modest privatization programs—had unemployment rates around 10 percent.

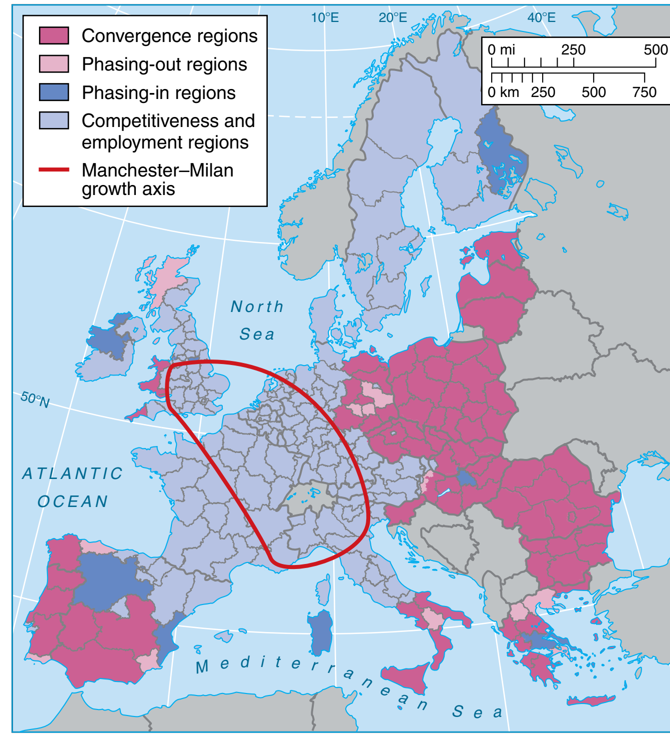


FIGURE 3.26 European Union Structural Funds, 2007–2013. "Convergence regions" are the poorest countries and regions and will receive 82 percent of funds to support regional growth agendas and to stimulate job creation. "Regional Competitiveness and Employment" will receive funds to support innovation, sustainable development, and better accessibility and training projects. Source: © European Communities, 1995–2007.

3.5 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, Montenegro, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

3.6 WESTERN EUROPE

The countries of western Europe include Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom (UK, formed of England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland) (Figure 3.29). This subregion contains three of the four largest populations in Europe (see Table 3.2).

Western European countries have been most significant in creating Europe's image as a global leader. 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

FIGURE 3.29 Western Europe: Countries of the Subregion. The western margins include Scotland, Ireland, Wales, southwest England, and Brittany in northwest France.

many of the global trade flows that are still in effect today. Though Western European countries are no longer major 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 United Kingdom rank, respectively, as the third, fourth, and fifth largest in the world. These three countries are members of the 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 5 of the 6 founding members and 7 of the 27 current members. Beyond the scope of the EU, the political power of Western Europe is underscored by the United Kingdom and France occupying 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 were also the driving forces behind the spread of

Protestant Christianity. The British, French, and Dutch in particular carried Protestantism to North America, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and parts of Asia.

Western Europe is the hearth for international organizations concerned with human rights. 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, Switzerland has helped to set the modern standard for the ethical treatment of wounded soldiers and civilians during wartime. 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. 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 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. Amnesty International began in London in 1961 and works today to free individuals around the world who are imprisoned for expressing their opinions. Belgium's genocide law, which was enacted in the 1990s, is one of the most far-reaching in the world. It allows non-Belgians to file complaints for crimes committed anywhere in the world. When lawsuits were filed against American leaders for the deaths of schoolchildren in the 1991 Gulf War, the United States pressured the Belgian government into amending its genocide law, threatening to move NATO headquarters from Brussels. The Belgian government amended the law to refer cases to the home countries of the accused if such countries are democratic.

Countries

Located primarily along the maritime edges of Europe, Western European countries exerted their independence early in history. Coupled with technological innovation, such independence allowed Western Europe to dominate international relations and the global economy from the 1600s to the early 2000s. Strong local voices within Western Europe led to the development of nationalism and the nation-states seen on the map today.

France and the United Kingdom

France is one of Europe's oldest and most powerful and influential countries (Figure 3.30). 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 bring a strong sense of individuality to their nationalism, and France has a very centralized form of government with most decisions made in Paris. In 1982 the central government created 22 provinces called "regions" and granted them considerable autonomy in raising taxes and spending funds on local projects to satisfy the desire for more local decision making.

The United Kingdom (UK) adopted its name in 1801 and included the whole of Ireland until 1922. England, Wales, and Scotland are district entities that together with Northern Ireland comprise the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The United Kingdom has a political geography that reflects strong local voices within the country. The rise of Scottish and Welsh nationalism over the last few decades resulted in greater autonomy for both.

The Northern Ireland situation is complex. In 1922, independent-minded Irish succeeded in removing all but six counties of Ireland from the United Kingdom. The freed counties became the Irish Free State. Still part of

FIGURE 3.30 Paris, France. The Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile stands on the hill of Chaillot and serves as the center of 12 radiating avenues, one of which is the Champs Elysées. In 1806, Napoleon conceived of a triumphal arch in the spirit of ancient imperial Rome that he could dedicate to the glory of his armies. Designed by Jean François Thérè Chalgrin (1739–1811), it was completed in 1836. Now a symbol of French patriotism, a huge French flag is hung from the ceiling of the arch on national holidays. Photo: © Yann Arthus-Bertrand/Corbis.

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 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 the UK government, seek to unite the six counties of Northern Ireland with the Irish republic to the south. Because most Irish nationalists are Catholic and have the goal of uniting Northern Ireland with a Catholic country and because Unionists/Loyalists tend to be Protestant and want to maintain a union with a Protestant country, the issue is often described as a religious conflict. As the conflict became progressively more violent, even ambivalent Catholics sought the 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. Since the late 1990s, the UK and Irish governments have tried to reduce violence and fashion a combined government for Northern Ireland (like the devolved assemblies in Scotland and Wales). However, long-standing attitudes have slowed the progress of disarmament and trust between the groups.

The global connections that France and the United Kingdom 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 United Kingdom 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 exists and ties their economies closely to France. France also maintains the French Foreign Legion, a military unit of nonFrench citizens that fights for French interests. France and Canada are the main supporters of the Agency for Francophony, an organization that promotes the French language and culture around the world.

The Low Countries

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 3.31a). In the past, windmills helped to pump the land dry (Figure 3.31b), and more than 1,000 are still in working order today, though diesel and electric 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 Holland province, 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 Provinces to the north, but almost two centuries of separation made union impossible. Most of the southern provinces declared their independence from the Netherlands in 1830 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.

From the mid-1600s, the Netherlands became a colonial power in the East and West Indies, and Belgium also later had colonies, including Belgian Congo. 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 as **Benelux** (**Be**lgium, the **Ne**therlands, and **Lux**embourg). 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 many EU agencies.

Alpine Countries

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. Its people felt strongly that they should not be incorporated into any empire, especially the Hapsburg empire. In 1291 three communes in the Alps swore to help defend one another from outside aggression. The Swiss Confederation is now composed of 26 cantons that each have considerable local decision-making powers compared to the federal government. This internal 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 Swiss citizens approved a referendum in 2000 allowing for cooperation with the EU concerning such matters as the free movement of people, agricultural trade, and transportation linkages. The Swiss also maintain a mission to the EU in Brussels, and in 2005 the EU opened an office in Bern, Switzerland.

Germany

Germany is one of the younger nation-states in Western Europe, having come into existence only in 1871. Since then, its boundaries have changed. Following Germany's defeat at the end of World War II, the Allies (the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the Soviet Union) divided Germany into occupation zones (Figure 3.32a). Though it was an ally during the war, the Soviet Union disagreed with the Western Allies over the fate of Germany. In 1949, the Western Allies formed their three occupation zones into the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), a democratic/capitalist country. The Soviet Union then created out of its occupation zone the German Democratic

(a)

(b)

FIGURE 3.31 Land Reclamation in the Netherlands. With one-quarter of the country's land below sea level, the Dutch have been building dikes to keep the seawater from inundating their land for more than a thousand years. The term *polder* is used to describe land enclosed by dikes. (b) This historically preserved windmill in Leiden once pumped water from low-lying areas. Sources: (a) © 1983. Hoffman, *A Geography of Europe: Problems and Prospects*. Reprinted with permission of John Wiley and Sons, Inc. (b) © Mike Camille.

(a)

(b)

FIGURE 3.32 Western Europe: Germany. (a) Divided among the Allied powers. (b) Berlin: The historic Reichstag building is the location of reunited Germany's parliament. The new glass dome symbolizes the transparency of German democracy. **Sources:** (a) Main map: Jones, *Alun.* 1994. *The new Germany: A human geography.* New York: John Wiley & Sons. Page 3; Inset: Heffernan, Michael. 1998. *The meaning of Europe: Geography and geopolitics.* New York: Arnold. Page 194. (b) © Heike Alberts.

Republic (East Germany), a Communist country. With Berlin similarly divided into four occupation zones, the three western zones became West Berlin and were politically associated with West Germany, though Berlin was deep inside East Germany. Likewise, the Soviet zone became East Berlin and part of East Germany.

The Cold War division of Europe between noncommunist West and Soviet Communist East ran through Germany and its capital Berlin. As the Cold War intensified, the division of Germany and Berlin deepened. For example, in 1955, West Germany joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and East Germany the opposing Warsaw Pact. At first, the borders between the two separate German states were not closed. People freely traveled from one country to the other. In Berlin, thousands of people crossed the border every day. However, the differences between West and East Germany grew over time. The American Marshall Plan and Western investment allowed West Germany to experience an economic miracle, and citizens enjoyed political freedom. In contrast, immediately after the war, the Soviets dismantled factories in its occupation zone and shipped them back to the Soviet Union as war reparations, stunting economic growth in East Germany; citizens were also denied their political freedoms. Soon, more and more people from the East moved to the West. In order to stop this exodus, the East German government, backed by the Soviet Union, erected a wall between East and West Germany and around West Berlin in 1961. Transportation routes were cut, the windows of houses facing the Wall were bricked up, and families were separated. The Wall disrupted the lives of Berliners, both East and West.

In the late 1980s, the weakening economies in Communist Europe and the Soviet Union began to undermine the Communist governments. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev urged reform throughout the Communist countries, but East German leader Erich Honecker refused. Rising discontent among citizens led to mass demonstrations and people trying to flee East Germany. Erich Honecker was replaced by the more moderate Egon Krenz with promises of reforms. However, growing crowds in East Berlin pushed their way past the border crossings to enter West Berlin on November 9, 1989, marking the fall of the Berlin Wall. This event began the end of Germany's Cold War division. Less than a year later, on October 3, 1990, the two Germanys once again became one country, and in 1991 Berlin was declared the capital of reunited Germany (Figure 3.32b).

People: Ethnicity and Culture

Immigrant Workforces

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. World War II also weakened the countries with colonies, eventually forcing these countries to relinquish their colonies—a process known as **decolonization.** In short, European countries needed workers, and many were encouraged to come from the former colonies (Figure 3.33). 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 rose, many Western Europeans blamed the migrants for taking their jobs. Though many guest workers lost their jobs, most did not leave. Following the end of Communist regimes in other areas of Europe in 1989, a flood of new people looking for asylum and work came from East Central Europe. Many Western Europeans became hostile toward Eastern Europeans but even more so toward nonEuropeans, especially Muslims who now number 5 to 6 million in France, 3 million in Germany, almost 2 million in the United Kingdom, and 1 million in the Netherlands. 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 (see Figure 3.20). 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.

The United Kingdom, France, and Germany have the largest numbers of immigrants. Yet all three have experienced

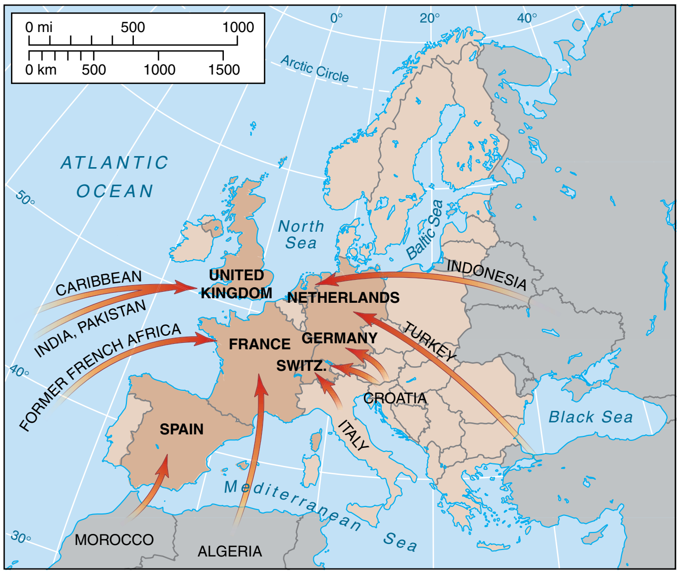


FIGURE 3.33 Europe: Sources of Guest Workers, 1970 to 1990s. The sources vary from the former colonies of the United Kingdom, France, and the Netherlands to the countries around the Mediterranean Sea. What contributions have such workers made to the sending and receiving countries?

and dealt with immigration differently over the decades and now face distinctly different problems. The United Kingdom was the first to accept large numbers of migrants. In 1948, the British Nationality Act gave unrestricted entry to all subjects of the British Empire. The act also gave full political rights, which included the right to vote. Subsequently, waves of migrants began arriving in the United Kingdom in the late 1940s from colonies in the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent (India and Pakistan). Racial Relations Acts were enacted in 1965, 1968, and 1976 to outlaw racial discrimination. Race relations, however, were primarily seen as both a local and an urban issue. Thus emphasis was placed on local governments and urban redevelopment programs, particularly housing. As a result, racial minorities sought positions in local governments, but success in achieving these positions varied from locality to locality across the country. Eventually minorities rose to higher levels of government and now have representatives in the British Parliament. The 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act shifted emphasis from the British Commonwealth to all countries. In 2000, the Immigration Minister stated that migration was a "central feature" of globalization "with potentially huge economic benefits for Britain if it is able to adapt to this new environment." She also stated that the country is "in competition for the brightest and best talents," and emphasized that "Britain has always been a nation of immigrants." The United Kingdom has not been without its ethnic and racial tensions, but its open attempt to build a multicultural society has resulted in far fewer tensions than in France.

France also received huge numbers of immigrants from its colonies: Algeria and other African countries, and those in Southeast Asia, especially Vietnam. However, the migration waves began about a decade after they did in the United Kingdom. *Liberté, égalité, fraternité* (liberty, equality, fraternity), which stems from the French Revolution and was reaffirmed in the 1946 and 1958 constitutions, summarizes the French view of migrants. To the French, all citizens of France are French regardless of gender, language, religion, race, or ethnicity. Thus the French government does not publish any related statistics and generally does not recognize ethnicity. In the name of equality, the idea of multiculturalism and affirmative action programs (which ensure minority access to education, employment, housing, and any other sector) are shunned because they are seen as favoritism and thus as forms of discrimination. In 2004, the French government banned the wearing of headscarves in schools in order to reinforce the separation between church and state. The ban angered many French Muslims, though many young Muslim women supported the ban as a way of helping them break from the traditions of their families so that they could more easily enter into French society. Ironically, though, the French belief in equality has prevented legislation that would stop discrimination and in turn help minorities to integrate into society. Despite French belief, minorities feel highly discriminated against, and high unemployment numbers have led to intense frustration and riots across the country that have resulted in the burning of thousands of automobiles. The French are holding firm to their view of what it is to be French, but that view is increasingly being challenged by France's minorities.

Germany has experienced and dealt with immigrants differently. Germany did not receive waves of immigrants from colonies because it did not have colonies. It initially recruited workers from other European countries like Portugal, Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia, and Greece. When not enough workers were found in these places, workers were recruited from Turkey. Now more than 2 million Turks live in Germany (Figure 3.34). All these workers obtained the legal right to work, but not citizenship and all the legal rights enjoyed by full citizens. The Germans coined a term for these foreign workers, *gastarbeiter,* or **guest worker.** Though allowed to stay as long as work was available,

FIGURE 3.34 Europe: Immigrant Community. Immigrants are changing European societies. This shop in Berlin, Germany, advertises in both Turkish and German. Photo: © Heike Alberts.

decades if necessary, the fundamental principle was that they would always be foreigners and would eventually go back to their respective homelands. The guest worker concept allowed Germans to hold to the idea that one was German according to ancestry, and it allowed Germany to preserve its "blood laws" concerning citizenship. In 1973, the labor shortage was over, and Germany stopped recruiting foreign labor. Soon, guest workers were encouraged to go back to their homelands, but many had been in the country for decades. They considered their original homelands "foreign" and would not leave. By the 1990s, the German population was aging and the German economy then needed younger workers for business and to support the social security system. Yet without the same rights as Germans, guest workers felt like second-class citizens subject to discrimination. Germany's minorities became increasingly frustrated and tensions grew. Germans realized that the new global economy was a multicultural one and that Germany would have to open its arms to immigrants in order to survive. In 1999, the German government changed its citizenship laws and made Germans a "nation of immigrants" with a new law that allowed immigrants to become Germans. Rules are strict. For example, a person is required to have irreproachably good conduct, show loyalty to the German constitution, sustain oneself and one's family without governmental support, and learn the German language. Tensions still exist within Germany because many immigrants have not been able to meet the standards. However, immigrants nevertheless have the ability to finally assimilate and show that Europe is becoming multicultural.

Refugees

The relatively high level of economic health and political freedom found in Western Europe has been attractive to political refugees and asylum seekers from other areas of Europe and the world. With very liberal asylum laws, Germany attracts and receives the largest numbers of refugees, but asylum seekers are also an issue in France and the United Kingdom. The wars in the Balkans in the 1990s increased the number of refugees, particularly from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Germany 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, Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo (Zaire), Cambodia, and Vietnam. Together with guest workers, they contribute to an ethnic diversity in Western Europe that is much greater than usually acknowledged.

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 fourth-largest economy in the world and the largest in Europe. It is often referred to as the "motor" of Europe and is responsible for much of Western Europe's economic strength. Total German exports almost equaled the combined exports of the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and France in 2009. Approximately 18 European countries received their greatest share of imports from Germany, and 10 others had Germany as their secondary source of imports. In contrast, the Netherlands was the main supplier of goods only to Germany and Belgium, the United Kingdom served as the main supplier only for Ireland, and France was the secondary supplier only for Germany and Italy.

Sophisticated Manufacturing Industries

Two of Europe's major industries are automobiles and airplanes. Originally, the automobile industry was nationally based. For example, French companies were Renault and Peugeot-Citroën; Italian producers were Fiat, Alfa Romeo, Ferrari, Maserati, and Lamborghini; Swedish makers were Volvo and Saab; German firms were Volkswagen, Porsche, BMW, Audi, and Daimler-Benz (Mercedes); and British companies were Rolls Royce, Jaguar, Aston Martin, Bentley, and MG Rover. Globalization has radically changed the European automobile industry. Foreign companies have made great inroads in Europe in recent years. For example, the Japanese carmakers Nissan, Toyota, and Honda all built assembly plants in the United Kingdom to gain a foothold in the EU market. However, European carmakers have extended their operations abroad and into one another's countries (see Figure 2.30). As automobile companies are purchasing and investing in one another, it is no longer accurate to associate a company with a single country anymore. For example, Volkswagen now owns Bentley, Lamborghini, Seat (Spain), and Škoda (Czech Republic) and China is a significant market for Volkswagen's brands. Renault purchased 44.4 percent of Nissan and Nissan bought 15 percent of Renault to form the Renault-Nissan Alliance in 1999. Renault also acquired Dacia (Romania) in 1999, Samsung Motors (South Korea) in 2000, and a 25 percent share of AvtoVAZ (Lada) of Russia in 2008. General Motors bought Saab Automobile in 1990 but then sold it in 2010 to Spyker Cars (the Netherlands). In 1998, Daimler-Benz (Mercedes) merged with Chrysler to become DaimlerChrysler, but after the relationship dissolved in 2007, the German part of the company reemerged as Daimler AG. In 2009, Chrysler filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy and announced a partnership with Fiat, which initially received a 20 percent share of Chrysler and the option to later acquire a 35 and then 51 percent share. The partnership allowed Fiat to reintroduce its cars into the United States after a 27-year absence. For a time in the 1990s, BMW owned MG Rover but then sold most of it to Nanjing Automobile Group (China) in 2005.

BMW sold the Rover brand to Ford, which bought Land Rover from BMW in 2000. Ford then sold the Rover brand, along with Jaguar Land Rover, to Tata Motors (India) in 2008. No major British automobile companies exist anymore, though their names live on. Nevertheless, other European automakers are globally active by building automaking plants in Poland, Russia, Turkey, Brazil, India, and China. For example, Fiat's Italian factories are unprofitable compared to its factories in Latin America, Poland, and the ones that it contracts with in Russia. Fiat's new partnership with Chrysler will allow it to either withdraw from Italy or force Italian autoworkers to accept lower wages.

The aerospace industry is another key sector for Western Europe with aeronautical research and manufacturing well developed. Defense was a reason for the national support of this industry, but commercial production receives more attention. The small size of 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 European airplane manufacturers formed the Airbus consortium in the late 1960s to pool the resources of several countries. Companies in France, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Spain all manufacture various components that are then shipped to assembly plants in either Toulouse or Hamburg (Figure 3.35). Toulouse is the bigger assembly plant and headquarters for Airbus. The first airplane rolled off the assembly line in 1972, and Airbus soon captured 10 percent of market share. Growth has been steady and rapid. Today, Airbus employs 44,000 and captured the biggest share of new passenger-jet orders worldwide in the early 2000s.

FIGURE 3.35 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?

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. Therefore, Airbus launched the A380, a plane that has 50 percent more floor space and at least one-third more seats than Boeing's 747. The plane flies greater distances, and versions offer more comforts such as shower facilities, a piano bar, an exercise room, and a barber shop. The plane made its first commercial flight in 2007. 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 responded with the 787 Dreamliner family, airplanes that are 20 percent more fuel efficient with more interior comfort. It is difficult to predict the future, but European cooperation in aeronautics may make Europe the world leader in the commercial airline industry.

Service Industries

While manufacturing in Western Europe ventured into new sectors, it fell behind the world leaders in the United States and Japan. However, the development of the service sector almost rivaled that in the United States. In the 2000s, employment in the service sector made up over 65 percent of the total workforce 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 correlate with 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 workforce.

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, accounting, 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

FIGURE 3.36 Western Europe: Financial Services. Frankfurt, Germany, is one of Europe's financial centers. For example, the European Central Bank (ECB), which oversees the euro, is located here. Photo: © Peter Adams/Image Bank/Getty.

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 are related closely to global commercial developments and are concentrated in the centers of major cities, where **agglomeration economies** are significant. Agglomeration economies 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 3.36), 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. In the early 2000s, many back-office and call center jobs went to cheaper locations in Ireland and overseas to India and the Caribbean.

3.7 NORTHERN EUROPE

Northern Europe is sometimes called "Norden" and extends from the North European Plain to beyond the Arctic Circle. It 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 Faroe Islands, and Iceland (Figure 3.37). The subregion is sparsely populated but rich in natural resources.

From the 800s through the 1200s, the subregion's Viking inhabitants extended their control to the British Isles, northern France, Iceland, Greenland, the Baltic area, and Ukraine. Later, Sweden, as an 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 1800s. At that time, Sweden and Denmark gave up imperial ambitions, and they now often take positions of neutrality in international relations.

Northern European countries are great advocates for human rights. Sweden is home to 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. 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 Figure 3.15 and Table 3.2). See also Geography at Work: Responding to Climate Change.

Countries

Through much of their histories, the peoples of Northern Europe remained mostly free from outside rule 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 100 years.

Sweden has been the largest and politically strongest Northern European country through 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 it 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

FIGURE 3.37 Northern Europe: The Countries, Cities, and Physical Features. Norway and Sweden comprise the Scandinavian Peninsula: the Jutland Peninsula is part of Denmark.

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 rescued thousands of Jews from the Nazis' Holocaust. Not long after the end of the Cold War, Sweden joined the EU in 1995. It decided, along with Denmark and the United Kingdom, however, not to adopt the euro as its currency. Since the end of the Cold War, Sweden has also invested heavily in the Baltic countries.

Denmark is one of the smallest countries in Europe but has had 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 those standards 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 they refused to adopt the euro as their currency.

Denmark retains close ties with Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and Greenland, which were all part of the country at one time. The populations of the latter two are only 46,000 and 52,000, respectively. Iceland gained some autonomy in 1918 but maintained strong connections with Denmark until World War II, when U.S. and UK forces occupied it after Germany conquered Denmark. Iceland declared full independence in 1944. With a high standard of living, Iceland expressed no desire to join the European Union until the world financial crisis that sparked world recession in 2007–2009 seriously weakened its financial sector. The Faroe Islands and Greenland achieved a degree of autonomy in 1948 and 1979, respectively, though both remain 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 Faroe Islands to extend and defend their 200-mile limits against European fishers until international agreement was obtained.

Norway is a mountainous country with limited farmland primarily around Oslo and Trondheim. During the Ice Age, glaciers excavated deep valleys as they cut their way to the sea. When the ice melted, the sea rose and flooded inlets that are known as **fjords.** At the inland end of these fjords, small patches of good agricultural 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 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, and the home market small enough, to make Norway one of the world’s largest crude oil exporters. In the early 2000s Norway built pipelines to carry natural gas to the United Kingdom as the latter’s gas supplies declined.

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 Nazi Germany 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. They agreed not to join any anti-Soviet political organization, including NATO and the EU. 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.

People: Ethnicity and Culture

Culturally, the Scandinavians (Swedes, Danes, Norwegians) are Germanic peoples, specifically the northern branch, and descendants of Vikings. Their languages and histories are closely related (see Figure 3.10a). The inhabitants of the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland are descendants of early Scandinavian settlers and likewise have similar cultures, though Greenland also is inhabited by small numbers of Inuits. In contrast, the Finns and Sami (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. Since the mid-1990s the Sami have cashed in on a “Santa Claus” industry that flies in children and their families during the winter season.

Evangelical Lutheran Christianity is the major religion for Northern Europeans (see Figure 3.10b). Officially, 90 percent or more of the population are Lutherans in the four major countries and in Iceland. This Protestant variant of Christianity influenced 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 the 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 3.27). 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 one of the world’s major iron-mining industries. The Swedish sawmill industry is Europe’s largest and accounts for about 8–10 percent of the world’s exports. Sweden is also among the world’s top exporters of pulp, paper, and sawn timber. 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 beginning in the 1970s (see Figure 3.8a).

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, high-tech medical goods, automatic cooling and heating devices, stereo equipment (Bang & Olufsen), and sensitive measuring instruments. The Finnish company Nokia is world renowned for its mobile phones. 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 gave Sweden a good worldwide reputation in this sector. Volvo and Saab develop and manufacture such products as trucks, construction equipment, boat engines, and components for aircraft and rocket engines. In fact, Saab is short for *Svenska Aeroplan Aktiebolaget* (Swedish Aircraft Company Limited) though it and Volvo are best known worldwide as car companies. However, Volvo sold its car division to Ford in 1999, which then sold Volvo to Geely (China) in 2010. General Motors bought Saab Automobile in 1990 but then sold it in 2010 to Spyker Cars (the Netherlands). 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 (now AstraZeneca) and Pharmacia & Upjohn (later acquired by Pfizer).

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 Nokia 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 3.16).

3.8 MEDITERRANEAN EUROPE

Mediterranean Europe consists of four large countries—Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Greece—and five small ones: Andorra, Monaco, Vatican City, San Marino, and Malta (Figure 3.38 and see Table 3.2). Gibraltar remains a British colony, although the United Kingdom and Spain continue to discuss 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 conveniently included in Western Europe.

From ancient Greek and Roman ideas to those of the Italian Renaissance (Figure 3.39), Mediterranean Europe played a major role in directing the early 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 Roman Catholicism around the world. By the Industrial Revolution of the 1800s, however, Mediterranean Europe had lost much of its political power, and Greece was part of the Ottoman Empire. 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 to the year 1143, but it did not attain its current territory until the 1400s when the Moors from North Africa were finally expelled from the Iberian Peninsula. Portugal's boundaries also have been the most stable in Europe. Spain, too, traces its roots to the 1100s through the Kingdom of Castile, but it did not attain its current control of most of Iberia until the 1500s.

With the riches gained from the sea voyages of the 1400s, Portugal and Spain emerged as the first European imperial powers. Competition between them led the pope to divide the world between them by the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), designating a line of longitude 370 leagues (approximately 1,500 km or 1,000 mi.) west of the Azores as the eastern boundary of Spanish influence and the western boundary of Portuguese influence. While Portugal colonized the coast of what became modern Brazil (see Chapter 11) and parts of Africa and Asia, Spain established its rule in the rest of Latin America and some Pacific Ocean islands.

The subsequent rise of France, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom as colonial powers sharply curbed the global influence of Portugal and Spain. By the early 1800s, both countries had 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 their deaths in

FIGURE 3.38 Mediterranean Europe: The Countries, Cities, and Physical Features. The countries occupy peninsulas extending southward into the Mediterranean Sea.

FIGURE 3.39 Monterchi, Italy. This medieval town is known for the Italian Renaissance fresco painting *Madonna del Parto* by Piero della Francesca. Photo: © Alasdair Drysdale.

the 1970s, Portugal and Spain became more democratic and outward looking, granted their remaining colonies independence, 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 northern Spain around the city of Bilbao and also in southwestern France. Some use violence to pursue their goal. The Catalans on the northeast coast, where Barcelona (Figure 3.40) 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 when Ottoman control ended. Italy is the youngest of the major Mediterranean nation-states, coming into existence in 1861 and experiencing 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 north is very urban, modern, industrialized, and materially wealthy. The Communists of northern Italy, centered in the industrial towns, long gave Italy the distinction of having the largest Communist Party in noncommunist 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 of young entrepreneurs engaged in activities tied to the modern global economy.

FIGURE 3.40 Barcelona, Spain. Barcelona is world renowned for its Temple de la Sagrada Familia, Begun in 1882 and designed by the famous Catalan architect Antoni Gaudi (1852–1926), this church is far from complete. Photo: © Loren W. Linholm.

People: Ethnicity and Culture

The Portuguese, Spanish, and Italians all speak languages in the Romance (also Latinic) branch of the Indo-European language family (see Figure 3.10a) and are Roman Catholic (see Figure 3.10b), 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, as are many people in East Central Europe, Russia, and its neighboring countries. As a language, Greek has its own branch within the Indo-European family.

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.

The cultures of Mediterranean countries are being changed by a great influx of immigrants, both legal and illegal. For example, over the decade of the 2000s, Spain's immigrant population increased from 2 to 12 percent of Spain's total population with the arrival of 5.3 million immigrants. Long coasts that are difficult to patrol, the proximity to Northern Africa, and a need for unskilled labor attracts immigrants to Spain, Italy, and Greece. Italy now has more than 1 million Muslims and Spain more than half a million. By 2007, Spain had negotiated deals with Senegal and Mauritania, and Italy signed an agreement with Libya to slow the flow of immigrants. However, Greece failed to negotiate any similar agreement with Turkey. Consequently, Greece became the entry point for approximately 80 percent of Europe's illegal immigrants by 2010, up from 50 percent in 2007.

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 Catalonian region around Barcelona in northeastern Spain. Most modernization occurred after World War II and the incorporation of the Mediterranean countries into the EU. Industrialization in Greece and Portugal has been very modest. The two countries remain among the poorest of the EU countries and receive large sums of regional development funds (see Figure 3.26).

Italy's GDP is almost twice the total of the other Mediterranean Europe countries and is close to that of the United Kingdom. As one of the world's largest economies, Italy is a member of the Group of Eight (G8). 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 such as 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 3.41). Furthermore, specialization has led to **market gardening,** the commercial production of fresh produce primarily for urban consumers.

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 12–13 million tourists. Italy and Spain typically each receive 40–50 million tourists per year. As a result, English and German are commonly understood in the tourist areas of these countries.

FIGURE 3.41 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.

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, the cities of southern Spain, and especially the beach resorts of the southeast and Balearic Islands account for most tourist visits to Spain. In Italy most tourists go to the historic centers of Rome, Florence, Venice, and Pompeii (near Naples) (Figure 3.42 and Figure 3.4). 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 Natural Environment, page 71).

3.9 EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

Modern East Central Europe is made up of 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, Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania, Romania, and Bulgaria (Figure 3.43 and Table 3.2). These countries are grouped together because Communist forms of government and economies were imposed on them shortly after World War II ended in 1945 (see Global Changes and Local Responses, page 85). Most of these countries were directly controlled by the Soviet Union and were called Soviet satellite states. The Baltic countries were incorporated into the Soviet Union beginning in 1945. Though Soviet domination ended in 1989, these countries share common experiences in moving from Communist regimes to more democratic forms of government and capitalist economies.

Countries

The countries of East Central Europe emerged as nation-states in the late 1900s and early 2000s. From the beginning of the nationalist idea in the late 1700s to the end of World War I

FIGURE 3.42 Mediterranean Europe: Olympia, Greece. Site of the classical Olympic games. Tourists walk through the arch to the stadium. Charred hills in the background are from devastating fires that swept across Greece in summer 2007 and killed more than 60 people. Photo: © Emily A. White.

FIGURE 3.43 East Central Europe: Countries, Cities, and Physical Features. 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.

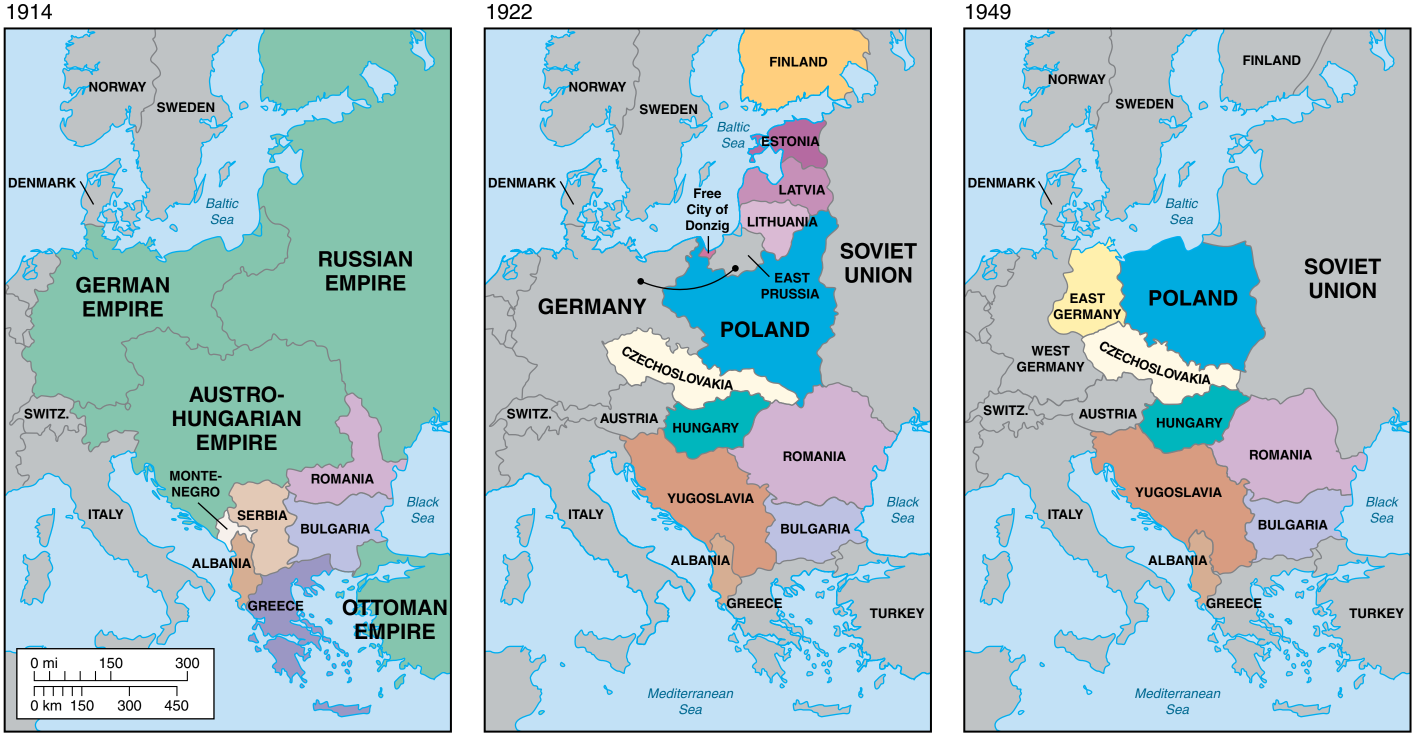
in 1918, most of East Central Europe was dominated by four great empires—the Russian, German, Austro-Hungarian, and Ottoman empires (Figure 3.44a). World War I started in the subregion—specifically in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina—when a Serb nationalist assassinated Archduke Ferdinand of the Austro-Hungarian 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 was created from Finland to Greece (Figure 3.44b). 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, especially affecting Poland (Figure 3.44c), 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 Nazis, who had 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.

With the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, many of the peoples of this subregion resurrected the old concept of 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 anymore, or even "West Central Europeans."

Devolutionary processes occurred in East Central Europe after the end of Soviet domination in 1989. 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

1914 1922 1949



(a) (b) (c)

FIGURE 3.44 The Boundaries of East Central European Countries at Three Different Dates in the 1900s. Compare to the contemporary map of the subregion in Figure 3.43. What are the locations of countries such as Poland, Latvia, and Yugoslavia at each of these times? **Source:** From Demko and Wood, *Reordering the World*, 1st ed.

peacefully. The Czechoslovak situation was referred to as the "Velvet Divorce," coined from the "Velvet Revolution" of 1989 that peacefully ended the Communist regime in that country.

"Yugoslavia"

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. In 2002, Yugoslavia ceased to exist as a country. Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) were republics of Yugoslavia but seceded in 1991 and 1992 (Figure 3.45a). 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 (Table 3.4). Yugoslavia's last two republics abandoned the name to call themselves Serbia and Montenegro.

Prior to World War I and the creation of a Yugoslav state, Serbia and Montenegro were independent countries. Both, however, achieved independence only 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-Hungary. Serb nationalists were upset when Austria-Hungary 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.

Yugoslavia came into being after World War I. At the time, it was called the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, reflecting the fact that the new country incorporated 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 Slavs are close and overlapping; identities are complex and intertwined. The Slovenes and Croats are Roman Catholic, while the Serbs, Macedonians, and Bulgarians—also South Slavs—are Eastern Orthodox Christians. Other South Slavs are Muslims like many Bosnians. Many Bosnians claim that a Bosnian can also be Roman Catholic or Eastern Orthodox. 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.

(a)

(b)

FIGURE 3.45 The Former Yugoslavia. (a) Yugoslavia's administrative boundaries under Tito (1945–1980). The boundaries lasted until 1991. (b) After 1991 Yugoslavia broke into five independent countries, although Serbia and Montenegro continued to call themselves Yugoslavia until 2002; Montenegro declared independence and both abandoned the name Yugoslavia in 2006. The colors show areas where particular ethnic groups comprised over 50 percent of the population in 1991. **Source:** (a) Reprinted with the permission of Cambridge University Press.

TABLE 3.4 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 is renamed "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 re-created 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 the 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.
2006	Serbia and Montenegro become separate countries.
2008	Kosovo declares its independence from Serbia.

Following World War II, the Partisans, who were Communist under the leadership of Josip Tito, gained control of the country. Tito did not believe in nationalism, so he suppressed any expressions of national pride. Instead, Tito promoted the "Yugoslav" idea while not insisting on any one group's characteristics for Yugoslav characteristics. He generally allowed everyone to continue with their differing cultural practices but insisted that they all consider themselves Yugoslavs. Tito also set up the internal political geography of the country by creating the six republics that we see today as independent countries (see Figure 3.45b), with Serbia having the autonomous regions (later called provinces) of the Vojvodina and Kosovo. Each republic was named after and dominated by one national group except for Bosnia-Herzegovina (see Figure 3.45b and Personal View: Bosnia-Herzegovina, page 126).

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. After Tito died in 1980, the politics within Yugoslavia changed. Nationalism and old resentments resurfaced. 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 whom 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. Although Croatia achieved independence, it could not control a significant piece of its territory. Bosnia-Herzegovina also began moving toward secession, but its ethnic complexity made secession a difficult issue. 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 fight to keep 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 nonMuslim 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. In 1995 the United States became involved and brokered the Dayton Peace Accord. 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 rest 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.

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. 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 until a compromise was found for the country's official name: the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). This name prevents the country's government from claiming historic lands in either Greece or Bulgaria.

Though Belgrade allowed Macedonia (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. Twenty percent of its GDP still comes from agriculture, and unemployment is around 30 percent. Moreover, 23 percent of Macedonia's population is Albanian. In 2001 Albanian nationalists began an armed insurgency. NATO forces are helping local peoples to achieve and maintain peace, as they do in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In 2002, the federation of Serbia and Montenegro contained almost half of former Yugoslavia's population with almost 11 million inhabitants. With less than 7 percent of the inhabitants, Montenegro (meaning "black mountains") was by far the smaller of the two republics. Montenegrins are very closely related to the Serbs. Some simply call them "mountain Serbs." However, despite similar identities, many Montenegrins were unhappy with Serb policies and sought independence for their republic, which they achieved in 2006. Serbia's southern province of Kosovo contains approximately 2 million inhabitants, more than 90 percent of whom are Albanian. In 2008, Kosovo's Albanians declared Kosovo independent from Serbia. Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina also contains about 2 million inhabitants, of which 35 percent are ethnic minorities from 26 different groups. Hungarians are the largest minority with more than 14 percent of Vojvodina's population.

Though many of the nations/republics of Yugoslavia seceded from the country because they feared or were 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, many of which were Muslim and did not benefit the Serbs. Additional fears arose from 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 Serbian paramilitary units to "protect" Serbs. After losing these wars and bringing ruin to the Yugoslav economy, Milosević began a war against the Albanians of Kosovo. NATO bombing stopped the persecution, then NATO troops were stationed 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 (ITCY) 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.

People: Ethnicity and Culture

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 3.10a).

As Roman Catholics, the West Slavs, Slovenes, and Croats use the Latin alphabet (see Figure 3.10b). 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 frequently align themselves politically with the Russians, especially the Bulgarians.

Romanian stands out as a language because it is a Romance language. With Italian as its closest related language, Romanian is the only Romance language spoken in the subregion (see Figure 3.10a). 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 3.46).

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

East Central Europe was a thriving center for Jewish and Roma (Gypsy) 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 nonChristian beliefs and practices. Their migratory lifestyles do not fit the settled, land-owning ways of most Europeans. 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 refused to recognize such groups as the Bosnians because Bosnians did not claim to be of a single faith but rather of any faith found in 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 East Central Europe are caused by more factors than simple religious differences. Historical, political, and economic geography have played significant 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.

FIGURE 3.46 Deva, Transylvania, Romania. This statue of a Dacian soldier atop a pedestal with the shewolf 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.

Milosević vowed to protect Serbs and Serb culture by calling for a 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 different 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 Serbia's province of Kosovo, where they are more than 90 percent of the population, and in adjacent areas of Macedonia, where they are 23 percent of the population (see Figure 3.45b). 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 Vojovodina, 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?

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. After Hungary lost territories following World War I and after the Soviet Union disintegrated in 1991, many Hungarians and Russians lost their majority status and became minorities of either newly independent countries or expanded countries.

Some argue that minorities should leave a country to avoid conflicts. Many minorities, however, have occupied their land as long as or even longer than the majority. In many cases, 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 resulted 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 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 considered ethnic cleansing.

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 was an example of **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 up 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 for recognizing 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.

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. The outside empires that dominated most of East Central Europe through the 1800s and up to 1918 treated their East Central European domains as colonies, preferring to extract resources and agricultural products rather than invest in industrialization. The Czech and Polish lands were somewhat exceptional in that a number of cities had factories. Hungary and Slovenia also developed industry. Nevertheless, a large number of people in the subregion still work in agriculture. Albania, for example, has 58 percent of its labor force working in agriculture.

After World War II, Communist economic policies were imposed on most countries in East Central Europe. 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. 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 was that people in the former Communist countries were not accustomed to paying for health care and higher education. Unemployment was also a new and shocking experience. For many people, capitalism was 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), which competed with the Marshall Plan in Western Europe and even prevented East Central European countries from attempting to link with Western Europe. 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 dependence but left a legacy of contaminated soil and water.

After Soviet control began to end in 1989, 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 were 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 3.47). Personal income, which was low during Communist times, remained low and resulted in very low consumer goods ownership compared to the rest of Europe.

Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, and the Baltic countries have had the greatest successes in

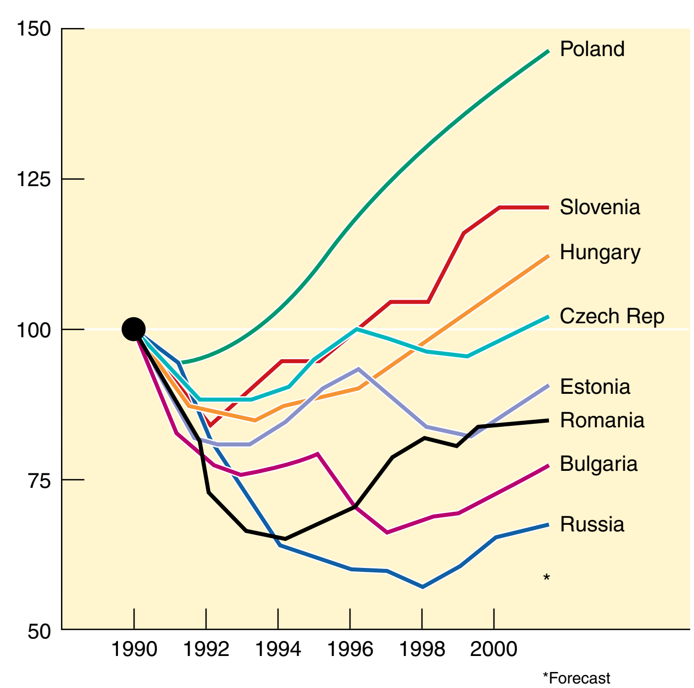


FIGURE 3.47 GDP Growth in East Central Europe after the End of Communism. Notice the initial rapid decline in GDP. Source: © 2000 by the Economist Newspaper Group, Inc. Reproduced with permission of Economist Newspaper Group in the format Textbook via Copyright Clearance Center.

adopting capitalist practices. These countries were also the most industrialized before and during the Communist regime and have had stronger traditions of democracy. Significantly, they also were 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.

Automobile production has been one of East Central Europe's success stories. In 2006, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Poland, Hungary, and Romania produced 2.4 million vehicles, which is greater than the number produced in the United Kingdom (1.6 million) and almost as much as in Spain (2.8 million). Slovakia is poised to be the leading producer in the subregion now that Kia (South Korea) has started producing vehicles in the counry, along with PSA Peugeot Citroën (France) and Volkswagen (Germany).

One of the biggest success stories comes from the Czech Republic. One example is the Czech automotive company Škoda. Škoda was like automotive companies in other former Communist countries in that it produced poor-quality, two-cylinder vehicles. Volkswagen, however, purchased Škoda, and with German management and huge sums of cash, the company has become the most successful formerly Communist company anywhere. Škoda employs over 26,000 people and accounts for 7 percent of Czech exports. Škoda's vehicles are exported to over 100 countries, including to Germany with its competitive auto market.

The Czechs could have great success in earning money through beer exports because they are the 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) (Figure 3.48). However, 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 asserted its economic independence during Communist times. For example, it allowed private businesses to exist if they 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 noncommunist 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. It is the only country in East Central Europe qualified to use the euro. Slovenes now have the highest standard of living and the most modern economy of the former Communist countries. Croatia might 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 is receiving little foreign investment, but Montenegro hopes to receive more now that it is independent of Serbia. 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.

FIGURE 3.48 České Budějovice, Czech Republic. Home to the original Budweiser (Budvar) beer. **Photo:** Budweiser Budvar, n.p.