14 Jigsaw

Micropartitioning in the Enclaves of Baarle-Hertog/ Baarle-Nassau

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Baarle-Hertog and Baarle-Nassau are two towns enmeshed in one another. Baarle-Hertog (in dark gray in figure 14.1), attached administratively to the Belgian province of Antwerp, is located within the Netherlands, five kilometers from the rest of Belgium. It is surrounded—and fractured—by Baarle-Nassau, a town in the Netherlands (shown here in light gray). The situation is further complicated by the presence of seven counterenclaves (marked here N1 to N7): plots of Dutch territory located within the Belgian enclaves.

Reminiscent of the novel *The City and the City* (2009) by British science fiction writer China Miéville—about the two fictitious cities of Beszél and Ul Qoma, which share the same geographical space but whose residents are socialized into navigating only their side and "unseeing" the other—this territorial monster forms a complex jigsaw puzzle where each piece belongs to one of two nation-states. Baarle is literally double:[1] it has two mayors, two churches, two schools, two post offices, and two police forces.[2] Border lines cut seemingly haphazardly across fields, streets, office buildings, and private homes, creating an intricate mosaic of national sovereignties, each with its own specific tax, traffic, and labor laws.

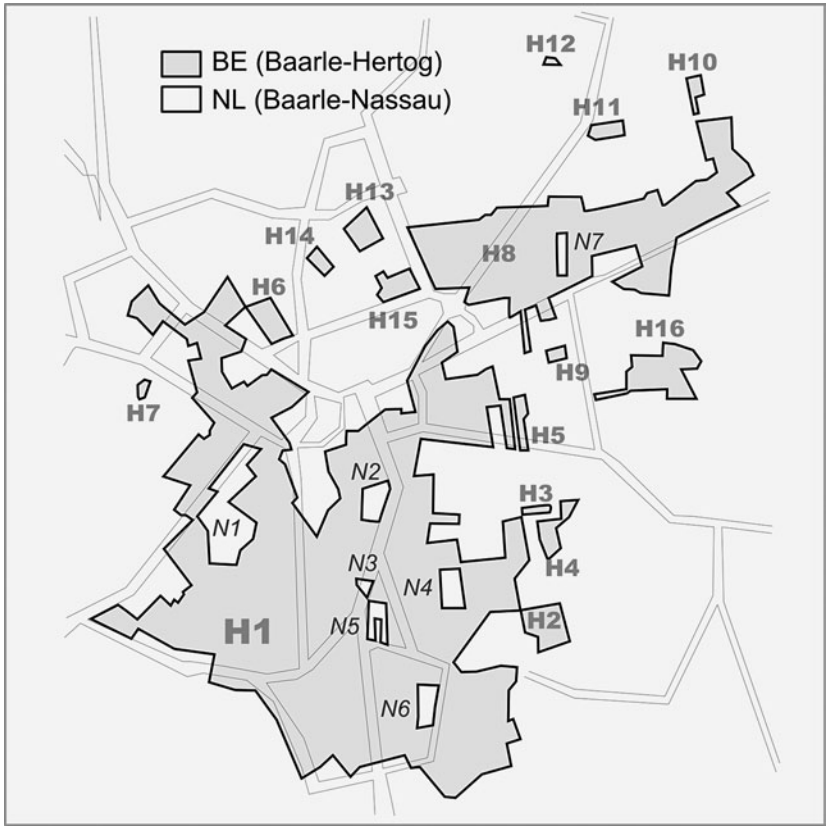

Figure 14.1. Map showing the enclaves of Baarle-Hertog (dark gray) and Baarle-Nassau (light gray). Image via Wikimedia Commons.

Because Belgium and the Netherlands are both members of the European Union, share a language (at least in that part of Belgium), and generally enjoy excellent relations, Baarle has not attracted much scholarly attention. Unlike the complex of enclaves, counterenclaves, and counter-counterenclaves that until recently dotted the India-Bangladesh border and where communities found themselves stranded,[3] Baarle is a place devoid of local and colonial anxieties. As a result, Baarle has often been overlooked by border theorists as irrelevant and gimmicky. Indeed, the two towns have fully embraced kookiness as branding strategy, foregrounding the incongruities of Baarle's spatial partitioning as a tourism resource. Examples such as bedrooms where husbands and wives sleep in diff erent countries, or a pub sliced into Belgian and Dutch sections where diff erent drinking laws apply, are routinely extended as illustrations

of daily life in the enclaves. But if the complex partitioning enacted in Baarle can seem quaint and irrelevant, it of course isn't. The border lines that lattice Baarle have very real and far-reaching legal and economic consequences for its residents in matters of social security, health care, and education, thereby making choices of residence or employment weighty decisions. The absence of any wealth tax, lower real estate prices,[4] and more spacious housing in Belgium (due to different zoning laws and cultural standards) have in fact contributed to making Baarle-Hertog especially attractive to Dutch citizens.[5]

The logic that sustains Baarle is the same that we find at work in all nation-states, namely that every inch of sovereign territory must be controlled, and that borders should be unambiguously marked. But what makes Baarle unique is its miniature scale. Some of the enclaves are truly miniscule, no larger than three thousand square yards. This is compounded by the irregularity of the shapes of the enclaves, which means an individual may cross the border five or six times on her way to the corner store. The shrunk-down nature of bordering in Baarle makes it a truly fascinating place where the logic of sovereign political space chafes against material realities.

This is especially true in realms beyond the two-dimensional. National jurisdiction extends vertically along the lines on the ground, but in Baarle this is unworkable. The reconciliation of established norms of political sovereignty with a recalcitrant topography presents its own challenges at the surface, as the chapter will discuss in the context of home ownership and the provision of municipal services, but the impact of micropartitioning on Baarle's subterranean space is far more dramatic, to a large extent because it involves different materialities. Yet, even there, what we see deployed is an aspiration to apply a similar spatial logic.

The passage between the surface and the underground is, Matthew Gandy writes, nothing less than a "crossing between zones of the rational and irrational, culture and nature, male and female, visible and invisible."[6] As an abjected yet fully constitutive Other, the subterranean is metaphorically loaded.[7] It is a realm of danger but also one of displacement and occasionally utopia.[8] Bringing the subterranean into full view highlights here a productive tension between surface and subsurface in Baarle's deployment of territorial sovereignty, a zone of entanglement between different spatialities.[9] Indeed, in spite of its peaceable and seemingly benign boundary making, the situation in Baarle echoes some of the complex layering of sovereignty explored by architect and urban theorist Eyal Weizman in the fraught context of Israel and Palestine.[10]

But more than an entanglement, the ethnographic material suggests that the relation of the subterranean to the surface is essentially one of imitation

and replication. The model of territorial sovereignty enacted at the surface remains, as an ideal to strive toward, the ultimate frame of reference. In the same way that watery realms are informed by a land bias, or that ground and air reside together in vertical reciprocity, the subterranean, like all "territory beyond terra," can only be imagined in reference to the surface.[11]

Mosaic Sovereignty

Boiled down to its most basic tenet, the contemporary logic of sovereign political space dictates that borders mark the limits of the national territory. This implies, simply, that what is found inside is "domestic," "us," while what lies beyond these lines is "international," "them." If this concept appears self-evident, it is in fact relatively recent, and the very existence of Baarle's enclaves speaks to an earlier, medieval spatial logic wherein sovereignties were frequently noncontiguous and overlapping.

The case of Baarle in fact harks back to the late twelfth century, namely to the creation of two charters, between Godfrey, Lord of Breda, and Henry, Count of Louvain and Duke of Brabant. As Henry granted extra lands and the populations thereon to Godfrey, he explicitly retained certain vassals under his own direct control. Gradually jurisdiction over these vassals translated into jurisdiction over parcels of land—the lands inhabited or cultivated by these retained vassals.[12] Over time, the continual exchange, purchase, and inheritance of land and land rights contributed to the patchwork nature of Baarle. But it is only with the Peace of Münster, in 1648, that the enclaves took on a national character: the portion of Baarle under the Count of Nassau was added to the United Provinces (*Generaliteitslanden*) while the part belonging to the Duke of Brabant remained with the Spanish Netherlands (present-day Belgium).[13] The state-building process, in both Belgium and the Netherlands, then progressively led to the consolidation of the state apparatus, and eventually to the duplication of local administration and services.[14]

Post-Westphalian political order requires the unambiguous marking and policing of boundary lines but in the context of Baarle, crisscrossed by dozens of international borders, this is a difficult endeavor. Boundary lines run their course with little regard for buildings, public squares, or meadows. Seemingly compliant, they follow streets and public paths, but then will bifurcate unexpectedly, only to turn back again a few yards later, making it virtually impossible for visitors to keep track of which country they find themselves in. Initially, Baarle's buildings had been erected in full respect of boundary lines but, partly due to the rapid postwar growth of the village, and partly due to a

new housing subdivision built to the north of the village by both communes, border lines were gradually ignored.[15] As a result, a number of buildings nominally Belgian or Dutch contain shards of foreign territory.

Given the long history of exchange of land parcels and titles, by the twentieth century the actual location of boundary lines had become ambiguous. In 1974 a Boundary Commission was established to map out the enclaves, and specifically to delineate a section of the boundary that had remained as yet undemarcated.[16] In 1995, in order to eliminate all remaining ambiguities, the two sides nominated a new Mixed Boundary Commission tasked with carrying out formal and final delimitation. Working on the basis of historical documents, the demarcation process was meticulous and lengthy. The definitive map gave rise to a few surprises, such as the case of an elderly woman who had been resident of Baarle-Hertog all her life suddenly finding her house was in Baarle-Nassau. "She was very distraught," explained the mayor of Baarle-Hertog. "Not only was she suddenly resident in a different country, but it also meant having to pay local taxes to a different municipality and organize anew services such as trash collection. She was overwhelmed by the administrative repercussions. So the two municipalities sat down together to try to find a solution."

With the international boundary line crossing numerous dwellings, the established tradition in Baarle has been to have the front door of the house determine national affiliation. Over the years this has led to strategic remodelings, with doors moved to a different part of the house whenever it was economically advantageous to do so. A similar strategy was followed in the case of this elderly lady. Her front door was moved a few yards to the side, thereby ensuring her house remained within the Belgian enclave.

The willingness of both communes to share the costs of her house's "relocation" is testament to the excellent relations the two municipalities enjoy, but also to the deep affective investment of the local population in the enclaves. Baarle residents (*Baarlenaars*) speak with fondness about their town's unusual history, and the episode of the "transnational elderly lady" is one of the many anecdotes that are regularly recounted to visitors.[17] Life in the enclaves is what gives Baarle its unique character, something residents are indeed proud of, and, unsurprisingly perhaps, Baarlenaars have consistently opposed any attempt to "regularize" the border through land swaps.[18]

Baarle has also established cooperation initiatives with other enclaves in Europe, such as Llívia, Büsingen, and Campione d'Italia, and has actively mined its fractal nature to boost tourism.[19] In 2000, the two communal councils embarked on a program of marking the location of the boundary lines. They fixed metal disks on roads and footpaths to form dotted lines and also

repaved some streets and sidewalks, adding stones inset with the letters "B" and "NL" to indicate the nationality of each side of the line. This exercise was carried out less to make space legible than as part of a drive to rebrand Baarle for tourism purposes. All the local people I interviewed in fact assured me that these lines were there only for visitors. Nicole, who is in her late sixties and has lived all her life in Baarle, insisted that, like other Baarle "natives," she's always known where the international lines were. As a child, she remembers going through a stop sign on her bike, and, hailed by a policeman, stepping into an enclave—thus making it illegal for the policeman to follow her and give her a ticket. In a neat reversal of Althusserian "interpellation," Nicole was suddenly "unseen" by the police. The politics of unseeing, at the core of socialization of individuals into national citizens—a process powerfully evoked by Miéville[20]—is particularly dramatic in Baarle given the fractal nature of national delimitations.[21]

Practices of evasion are central to life in Baarle and its inhabitants are immensely proud of their ability to navigate the town's tortuous spatiality. "Playing with the border" as it is known locally, had important repercussions during World War I, when Belgium, unlike the Netherlands, was occupied by the German army. With German troops unable to physically occupy Baarle-Hertog without crossing into neutral Dutch territory, the Belgian enclave became a space of resistance and contraband, boasting the erection of a military radio transmitter.[22]

Even in peacetime, the existence of houses having their front door in one country and their back door in another has made the possibilities of smuggling highly seductive. The figure of the smuggler (*smokkelaar*) is in fact celebrated as central symbol of Baarle's culture with a statue on one of the squares. An infamous example is that of Femisbank, founded in 1971 and located astride the border until its closure in 1992. The owner was suspected of conducting illegal operations, but with the bank vault located in Belgium and the rest of the building in the Netherlands, neither tax department was able to access the strong room. It eventually took an international team of investigators and a surveyor's cadastral map to arrest the director.[23]

A further illustration of interlocking sovereignties that individuals and businesses need to navigate is the liquor store De Biergrens, also across national boundaries (figure 14.2). The employees are technically required to unload and store Belgian beer in Belgium and Dutch beer in the Netherlands since not doing so would constitute illegal export/import. As a result, the delivery dock straddles the border and the boundary is painted on the floor, allowing staff to ensure stock is kept on the correct side.

Figure 14.2. The De Biergrens liquor store. Photo by the author © 2015.

What is especially fascinating in such daily practices is the level of cooperation of both sides to maintain spatial separation. The readiness of both municipalities, in the case of the elderly lady discussed above, to bear the costs of moving a door a few yards away is a fitting example of the good-natured relations of the two sides and of their commitment to "make it work." Baarle, I was told on several occasions, is a "European laboratory," an example of how Europeans can live together in a European Union within which sovereign borders are becoming less and less relevant.[24]

But more importantly, Baarle is also a "sovereignty laboratory"—an informative case study of the principles and mechanics of territorial sovereignty. The length to which both sides go to adhere to this political ideal, in spite of the challenges imposed by Baarle's fractal geography, make it a case well

worth studying. And yet, rules are bent, by the very force of the town's topography. Despite extensive surface marking, separation is ultimately illusory. The established practice to have the front door determine national affiliation means that dwellings and other buildings are treated as singular, rather than the spatial hybrids that they actually are. Everyone is aware that a given house is not wholly in Belgium or the Netherlands, but for reasons of convenience it is treated legally as if it were. Similarly, the police station that serves the two communities straddles the international border and accommodates two policemen, each on his own sliver of national territory. But the interrogation room is conveniently left unmarked, creating a liminal space where both Belgians and Dutch citizens may be held and questioned.

So, while Baarle's surface is unambiguously marked—even fetishistically so—the complex of enclaves is in fact an elastic space, a distorted grid where borders are twisted into a workable space in order to make this very partition possible.

Pulling Baarle by Its Roots

> Imagine grabbing Manhattan by the Empire State Building and pulling the entire island up by its roots. Imagine shaking it. Imagine millions of wires and hundreds of thousands of cables freeing themselves from the great hunks of rock and tons of musty and polluted dirt. Imagine a sewer system and a set of water lines three times as long as the Hudson River.
>
> —Robert E. Sullivan, "Introduction," in *Underneath New York*, by Harry Granick

Below the surface, the same tension between unambiguous marking and messy practices is replicated. Inspired by the above quote by Sullivan, I was curious to find out how the subterranean space underneath Baarle was organized. While Baarle's underground space is of course far less densely packed than New York's (which is sustained by layers upon layers of cables, pipes, subways, and other material infrastructure), the question of how Baarle's fractured topography was navigated below the surface was intriguing. What happens underneath a town that is such a patchwork of sovereignties—two towns meshed into one?

Pulling Baarle by its roots, to borrow Sullivan's imaginative phrasing, can help expose and render visi ble the mechanics of spatial sovereignty in ways that are far more opaque in homogeneous nonfractured political spaces. This question is interesting to pose because of the way political sovereignty is deployed spatially, namely that it is presumed to extend seamlessly above and

below, to varying heights and depths. But if at surface level interruptions of sovereignty remain manageable, the very grounded nature of subterranean space makes it virtually impossible—the geography of pipes and cables being eminently rhizomatic. And yet, the same logics of legibility and unambiguous marking of space that define Baarle's surface carry on below, namely the attempt to separate and disentangle. What we find below the town's streets is the same necessity of cooperation in order to maintain the fictitiousness of separation.

Cables and pipes are two pertinent examples of this tension between the surface and the subterranean. Cables such as electricity and telephone cables, docile and pliable, replicate in somewhat topological fashion the fractured space of Baarle's surface. The larger infrastructure of gas, water, and sewerage pipes, by contrast, is a system in which the logic of spatial sovereignty is twisted to breaking point.

From the vantage point of cables, Dutch and Belgian territorial fragments are attached to their respective nations. Dutch Baarle-Nassau, consisting of eight counterenclaves and surrounded by the rest of the Netherlands, is tied seamlessly to its mainland. By contrast, Baarle-Hertog, the Belgian half, is located three miles from Belgium proper. Yet in spite of this territorial discontinuity, the twenty-two Belgian enclaves remain firmly tethered to the mainland through the telephone and electricity grids. In this respect, Baarle-Hertog is no different from the rest of Belgium, and the distant and fractured nature of Baarle-Hertog becomes invisible belowground. In practice, this means that a house within Baarle-Hertog has its electricity supplied by the Belgian national provider and may not be connected to the Dutch provider. It also means that the cost of a phone call will depend on the national origin and destination of the call, not distance.[25] In other words, a call made to the house adjacent to yours might be an international call, while a call to the house further down the street might be a local call. Spaces common to both towns, such as the library, will have two different telephone numbers (as well as two different websites). But these exceptional spaces aside, the twenty-two Belgian enclaves are treated as if they were a single continuous space attached to the mainland, and any interrupting foreign space is treated as if it were absent. Here the organization of the telephone service replicates house numbering at street level. "In both Baarles, houses use odd numbers on one side of the street and even numbers on the other, skipping over any intervening foreign territory," as if those buildings did not exist. In addition, in Baarle-Hertog, "if the street has Belgian houses only on one side, then all numbers are used on that one side." For the Belgian municipality, the other side of the street simply does not exist.[26]

In the case of pipes, which are less amenable than telephone cables to twists and turns, the same spatial logic cannot be applied. Water and gas are supplied to all Baarle residents through a single grid laid out without regard to the borders at the surface. Gas is supplied solely by a Dutch company. It is purchased wholesale by a Belgian company which then retails it to Belgian customers in the enclaves. Water is also provided by a Dutch company, and residents of Baarle-Hertog pay their bills directly to the Dutch provider.

The sewer system similarly treats the entire town as one entity and all sewage is treated at a single plant. The costs of collection and treatment are then shared pro rata by the two municipalities, reflecting the number of residents in the two towns. Where it gets trickier is with repairs and upgrades. Unlike road repairs which are charged to each side on the basis of surface area, sewerage pipe diameters need to allow for expected network capacity. The two towns therefore have to consider not only their own particular needs but also those of their neighbor downstream.[27]

The management of space as far as sewers are concerned thus runs counter to the spatial logic of boundedness and continuity that is seen at the surface and even in the subterranean organization of electricity and telephone cables where attempts are made to replicate that logic. The spatial imagination here is one of flows and streams. And yet even in that scenario we witness the same aspiration to quarter and partition in ways that dovetail with the territorial imagination. In fact, until the 1980s the two Baarles had their own treatment plants. The sewage was collected by a single pipe network but was then divided, pro rata (one third for Belgium and two thirds for the Netherlands), and the two parts treated separately.

The territorial imagination of contemporary political organization—a territoriality relying upon the three core premises of continuity, homogeneity, and isotropy[28]—is an aspiration we see here deployed in Baarle's surface and subterranean spaces. An analysis of Baarle in its full three-dimensional volume makes evident that the vertical dimension of state borders is never simply the extrapolation of lines drawn at the surface. Just as the atmosphere is not an empty space, as Jerry Zee argues in this book, the subterranean is bound by its own material constraints.

In the urban context of Baarle, sovereignty ultimately hinges on infrastructure.[29] It is through the provision of services, the laying out of the telephone and electric grids, the supply of gas and water, and the management of gray water that the concept of sovereignty is truly enacted. The capacity of the Dutch and the Belgian states to extend their presence throughout all territorial fragments and keep them tethered into a singular and uninterrupted

space is essential to their claims to sovereignty—even in the present context of European integration. Yet the fluid nature of gas, water, and human waste resists such totalizing narratives and incorporation into the logic of territorial sovereignty. It calls for a different spatial arrangement, one of cooperative and symbiotic flows, where the upstream and downstream needs of the other have to be taken into consideration.[30]

In the same way that the map precedes, and then molds, the territory, what I have tried to tease out through the example of the two Baarles is the force exerted by the territorial imagination to harness the materiality of urban infrastructure. The tension perceptible here between territorial organization and recalcitrant materialities is exposed through the miniature scale and fractured nature of the towns. Ultimately, this tension indexes the unresolvable gap between, on the one hand, the topographic inscription of unambiguous boundary lines (and their attendant fetishization), and, on the other, the topological realities of networks, rhizomes, and flows that actually sustain these illusory partitions.

NOTES

1 In this chapter, I use "Baarle" whenever I refer to both cities as a single geographic entity.

2 Some exceptions are the library and the cultural center, which are located meaningfully astride the border line. Since 2010 the two towns have also shared a fire brigade as well as a sewerage treatment plant.

3 Jason Cons, *Sensitive Space: Fragmented Territory at the India-Bangladesh Border* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016).

4 Property valuation is conducted separately for each country. As a result, properties split by the boundary require part-valuations from both Belgium and the Netherlands. Similarly, to build a house straddling the border, two sets of planning permissions are required.

5 The population of Baarle-Hertog is 40 percent Dutch and 60 percent Belgian, whereas only 5 percent of the Baarle-Nassau population is Belgian. Dutch citizens can benefit from the legal advantages of living in Belgium while remaining in an environment retaining a "Dutch feel"—same roads, same supermarkets, same urban furniture.

6 Matthew Gandy, *The Fabric of Space: Water, Modernity, and the Urban Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014), 49.

7 See, e.g., Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986).

8 See, respectively, Daphné Richemond-Barak, *Underground Warfare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Ian Klinke, *Cryptic Concrete: A Subterranean Journey into Cold War Germany* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2018); and Rosalind Williams, *Notes on the Underground: An Essay on Technology, Society, and the Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008).

9 Gandy, *Fabric of Space*, 49.

10 Eyal Weizman, *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation* (London: Verso, 2007).

11 On land bias, see Philip Steinberg, "Navigating to Multiple Horizons: Toward a Geography of Ocean-Space," *Professional Geographer* 51, no. 3 (1999): 368. On vertical reciprocity, see Peter Adey, *Aerial Life: Spaces, Mobilities, Affects* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 2. On "territory beyond terra," see Kimberley Peters, Philip Steinberg, and Elaine Stratford, *Territory beyond Terra* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2018).

12 Brendan R. Whyte, "'En Territoire Belge et à Quarante Centimètres de la Frontière': An Historical and Documentary Study of the Belgian and Dutch Enclaves of Baarle-Hertog and Baarle-Nassau" (research paper 19, University of Melbourne, School of Anthropology, Geography and Environmental Studies, 2004).

13 For a more detailed history, see Whyte, "'En Territoire Belge.'"

14 The local parish was similarly split into two: the Dutch one under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Breda and the Belgian one under the control of the Archbishop of Malines. See Jarosław Jańczak, "Baarle-Hertog and Baarle-Nassau: Functional Interdependence of the Nested Territorial and Political Structures," in *European Exclaves in the Process of De-bordering and Re-bordering*, ed. Jarosław Jańczak and Przemysław Osiewicz (Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2012), 64.

15 This section of the town, on which sit enclaves H13, H14, and H15, was built around 1975–80. Whyte, "'En Territoire Belge,'" 52.

16 Whyte, "'En Territoire Belge,'" 43.

17 Another famous example is the one of the so-called border murder, which took place in the 1990s. As a resident explained, "the police didn't know whether the body was lying in Belgium or Holland. In the end, it was established it was just over the border line, on the Dutch side." Incidentally, Miéville's novel opens with the discovery of a body.

18 Similar resistance to ironing out spatial discontinuities has been witnessed in other European enclaves. Like Baarlenaars, the residents of Llívia, Busingen, and Campione take inordinate pride in their local heritage and are generally unwilling to abandon it without good reason. They have managed to evade incorporation by the host states because of their small size and population, and because they are not strategically significant. Honoré M. Catudal. *The Exclave Problem of Western Europe*. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1979), 53.

19 These connections are made overtly in Baarle-Hertog's town hall where meeting rooms are named after these "sister enclaves."

20 Unseeing the other is in fact essential to the us-them differentiation that nationhood relies upon, with television weather maps showing a detached "logomap" a case in point (see Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* [London: Sage, 1995]). In

Miéville's *The City and the City*, inhabitants of the cities of Beszél and Ul Qoma are attuned to minor differences in architecture, vehicles, and styles of dress, and trained to consciously "unsee" the other side (China Miéville, *The City and the City* [London: Pan Books, 2009]).

21 A highly fractured social space such as Baarle, and the inhabitants' affective investment in the enclaves, can contribute to creating a sense of community that reaches beyond national affiliations. Yet, at the same time, socialization tends to accentuate differences. After the age of twelve, when pupils pursue their schooling in Belgium and the Netherlands, cultural and linguistic differences become accentuated. "We feel these differences every day," explains a resident from Baarle-Hertog. "Even our senses of humor are different."

22 Evgeny Vinokurov, *A Theory of Enclaves* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007), 204.

23 For all the details of this fascinating episode, see Whyte, "'En Territoire Belge,'" 44–45.

24 One of the unanticipated effects of the Covid 19 pandemic has been to bring back previous spatial disjunctions to Baarle. Whereas Belgium decided to close all nonessential businesses, the Netherlands didn't. As a result, stores astride the border have had to use warning tape to cordon off sections of the store located in Belgium. See Franck Billé, "Containment," *Somatosphere*, April 1, 2020, http://somatosphere.net/forumpost/containment.

25 Until 2013, a special arrangement was in place allowing phone calls within Baarle to be billed as local calls.

26 This is also the case for the collection of trash. Each side will collect from their side only, ignoring the sections of roads that belong to the other state. The collected trash will then be taken to the Netherlands or to Belgium for processing. An exception to this rule is the recycling, collected together and processed at a single plant in the Netherlands.

27 In terms of street illumination, bordering works in a similar way in that it is diffusive rather than divisive. As Baarle-Hertog's mayor explained: "With street lighting we have to consider not where the lamppost is located, but the surface of road that is being lit. So the whole length of the road is taken into account. For a road of say 250 meters, the two sides together make 500 meters. Then we establish how many of these meters are Belgian, and how many are Dutch. The actual placement of the lamppost is irrelevant." Fieldwork notes, Interview with Baarle-Hertog's mayor, January 23, 2015.

28 See Franco Farinelli, *La crisi della ragione cartografica* (Torino: Einaudi, 2009).

29 See Nikhil Anand, *Hydraulic City: Water and the Infrastructures of Citizenship in Mumbai* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017); and Nikhil Anand, Akhil Gupta, and Hannah Appel, *The Promise of Infrastructure* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018).

30 Subterranean fluidity echoes here the atmospheric fluidity described by Jerry Zee in his chapter in this volume.