

6

Enclave Stories and Case Studies

This chapter contains several case studies on existing enclaves as well as some historical cases. Among them there are the Baarle and Cooch Behar enclave complexes, former enclaves on the Chinese coast, the very interesting case of Schirgiswalde, West Berlin, and East Prussia. Many further cases are treated throughout the book, notably Ceuta and Melilla, while discussing the relations in the MES triangle (chapter 4), Gibraltar in the study of conflicts (chapter 8), and Fergana Valley enclaves as an illustration of how enclaves rise from subnational to international level and what consequences this might have (chapter 8). Furthermore, Buesingen's model is crucial for the discussion of the administration of an enclave (also chapter 8), and West Berlin's transit regulations are treated in the chapter on access and mainland-exclave corridors (chapter 7). Additionally, most of these cases are also examined in the section on economics (chapter 10).

BAARLE, OR PLAYING WITH THE BORDERS

There are 22 Belgian enclaves in the Netherlands, which in turn contain seven Dutch counterenclaves. There is also one Dutch enclave in Belgium (Figure 6.1). These 30 enclaves are described as the Baarle enclave complex. To be precise, the Belgian community is called Baarle-Hertog, while the Dutch community surrounding it (and including the counterenclaves) is called Baarle-Nassau. If you were to go to the village of Baarle, you would not be able to distinguish the Belgian parts from the Dutch one, were it not for the stylized demarcation of the border running across the town and appearing in some most unexpected places.

Baarle is an enclave success story. The enclavity of these small pieces of Belgian land within the Netherlands and even smaller Dutch counterenclaves within the Belgian ones did not impede the enclave dwellers and the whole of Baarle from building a prosperous community. The Dutch and the Belgians live side by side peacefully. Not that there have not been cases in the past when the people of Baarle suffered their fair share from the fact that they live in an enclave. However, over the course of centuries, they have managed to overcome most of the enclave-specific challenges they have faced. A great role was played by integration within the European Union, to which both Belgium and the Netherlands belonged from the very beginning. The Dutch and the Belgian residents of Baarle learned to cooperate in providing public services and to reach compromises. More than that, the Baarlensers have learned to exploit the opportunities stemming from the very fact of their enclavity. Today the village depends on the existence of the enclaves, not only as an incentive for tourism but also for the advantages stemming from the ability to locate an enterprise in either territory exploiting differences in national legislations and tax policies.

In 1998, the community celebrated the 800th anniversary of Baarle. It was suggested on this occasion to make Baarle-Hertog-Nassau a European municipality, that is, to combine two municipalities belonging to Belgium and the Netherlands into a single one. It was argued that Baarle had already been a "test garden" in the field of international cooperation for centuries and that the European community could learn a lot there about the prob-

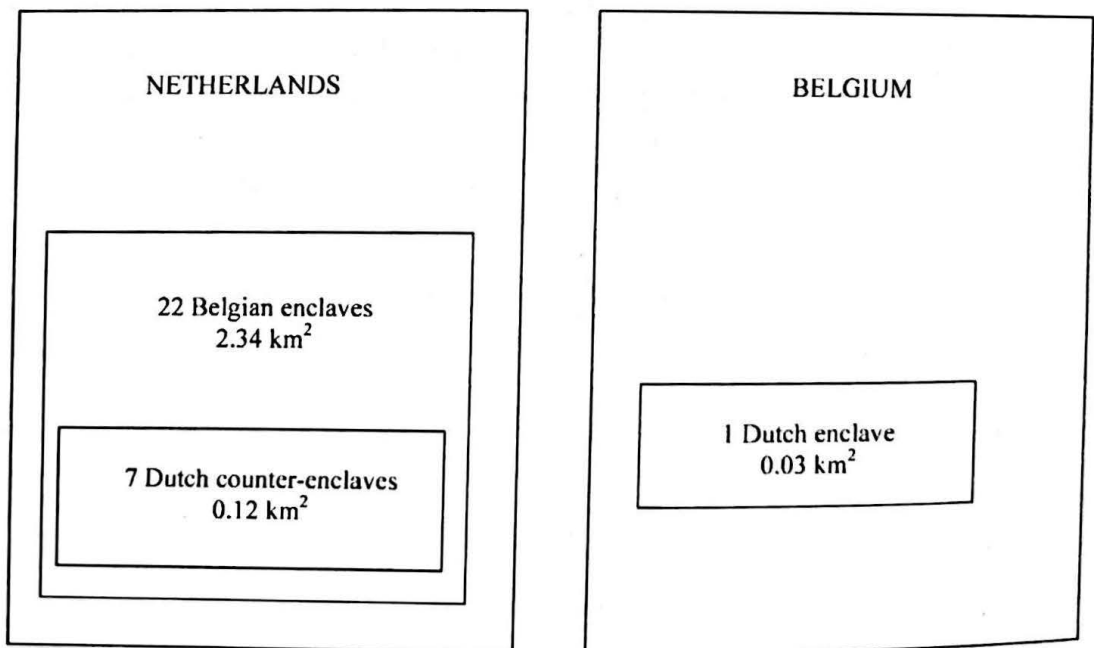


Figure 6.1. Enclaves and counterenclaves of 'Baarle,' 'Whyte'. Source: Adapted from Whyte (2004, 50).

lems that arise due to national differences (Gemeenten Baarle-Hertogen, Baarle-Nassau 1999, 13).

The total population of all twenty-two Belgian enclaves in the Netherlands is 2,340 inhabitants. The population of the Dutch counterenclaves is much smaller. The estimate is that it is close to 150 inhabitants (exact data are not available since they do not form a separate municipality). However, around 40 percent of Baarle-Hertog residents are Dutch nationals! The density of population in Baarle-Hertog was always higher than that of neighboring communes, Belgian or Dutch, the reason being that this is a village, whereas Baarle-Nassau contains a high proportion of rural land. Baarle-Nassau's density is 81 persons/km², while Baarle-Hertog's density is 283 persons/km². It should be noted, however, that this is a total for the whole commune. The total for the enclaves themselves is much higher, with 1,729 persons living on 2.34 km², a density of 739 persons/km².

The borders of the enclave complex are unbelievably intricate and can only be compared with the ones of the Cooch-Bihar enclaves. In the final 1995 demarcation of the border in Baarle, 959 turning points were surveyed over a total perimeter of 35.207 km. That made an average of 32 turning points per enclave and 27.4 turning points per kilometer of boundary, or one turning point every 36.5 meters (Whyte 2004, 46). In 2000, the EU

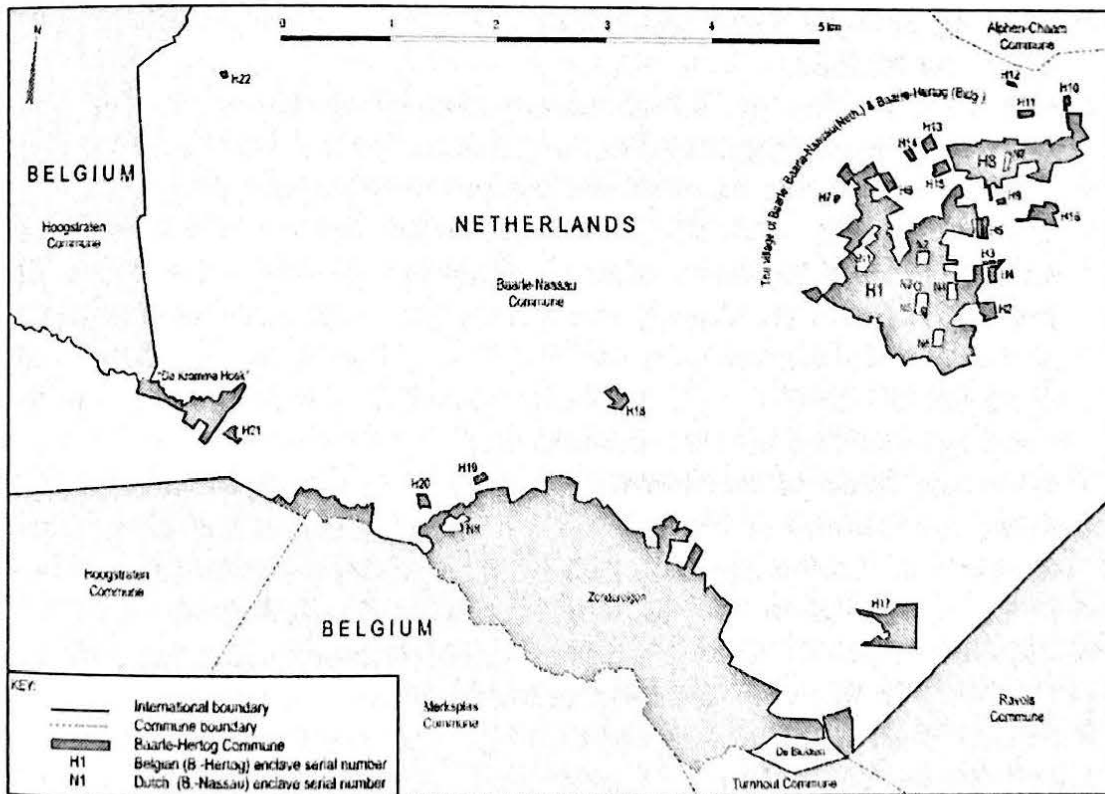


Figure 6.2. Baarle enclave complex. Source: Whyte (2004, 182), reproduced with permission.

financed the stylized "demarcation" of the border in Baarle for tourism purposes.

The enclave history of Baarle dates back to 1198. The enclaves have a feudal origin, typical for Western Europe. They were created by two charters between Godfrey, Lord of Breda, and Henry, Count of Louvain and Duke of Brabant. Henry granted extra lands to Godfrey but explicitly retained certain vassals under his control. The enclaves changed hands several times over the course of history. For instance, they belonged to Austria in the eighteenth century, though this did not change their enclave status. I will not give an account of Baarle's 800-year history here but limit myself only to some points relevant to the most frequently asked questions. There are several well-detailed studies on Baarle, in particular Whyte (2004) in English, Brekelmans (1965), Gemeenten Baarle-Hertogen, Baarle-Nassau (1999) in Dutch, and Malvoz (1986) in French.

There have been numerous attempts and opportune occasions to eliminate the enclaves over the course of their 800-year history. Let us examine some of them:

- During 1327–1339, the Land of Breda belonged directly to the ducal domains. The fiefs held by the Lord of Breda were now held by the duke in Brussels. In 1334 a number of villages, including Baarle-Breda, were pawned to Van Liedekerke. During the short period 1327–1334, it would have been easy to erase the enclaves in all those villages, but it did not happen.
- In 1388, the Duchess of Brabant was in need of money to wage war. She sold or pawned a number of ducal domains to raise the funds. Her jurisdiction over the enclaves in the Land of Breda was pawned to the Lord of Breda in 1388. The pawn was never redeemed. However, since 1356 the jurisdiction over Baarle had belonged to her sister, Maria of Brabant (Land of Turnhout), and was therefore not a part of this transaction. While the enclaves of Zundert, Princenhage, Nispen, and Sprundel, likewise created in 1198, lost their enclave status due to these transactions, Baarle remained an enclave.
- When the Peace of Munster was pronounced in 1648, it was decided that the portion of Baarle under the Count of Nassau should be added to the *Generaliteitslanden* (the United Provinces), because this part belonged to Breda. In contrast, the portion of Baarle belonging to the Land of Turnhout remained with Spanish Netherlands (the present Belgium). In this way, the enclaves survived the Peace of Munster.
- In the Treaty of Fontainebleau of 1785, between the Dutch Republic and Emperor Joseph II of Austria, a committee was ordered to make proposals for the exchange of territories so that the enclaves would disappear. The proposals were tabled but the timing was unfortunate

since the French Revolution began, and the states suddenly had other things to do.

- Twice in its history Baarle lost its enclave status for a total of 35 years, only to reacquire it again. First, from 1795 until 1815 (de facto 1813) both Belgium and the Lowlands were part of the French Empire under Napoleon. Then, until 1830, both countries were parts of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Between 1810 and 1832, the whole of the Netherlands (North and South) was measured and mapped for the land taxes imposed by the French Empire and later the Kingdom of the United Netherlands. Each "village" became a cadastral municipality. It was then thought wise to make one cadastral municipality "Baarle" and the maps and registers were made on that basis. However, Baarle-Hertog was part of the province of Antwerp and Baarle-Nassau was part of Noord-Brabant, so a formal provincial border correction was needed. Everything was prepared and agreed upon informally. The provincial government of Noord-Brabant agreed to the proposals on July 5, 1830, and the Antwerp provincial government planned to do so in the following September. In the summer of 1830, however, the Belgian Revolution began and the unified cadastral municipality had to be split up once again. This was done by coloring the Belgian parcels on the cadastral maps. Some parcels were forgotten in this process, and some could not be dealt with so easily since they were partly Belgian and partly Dutch: these had been thrown together as single parcels because the mapmakers had assumed that the partition of the village would shortly disappear. Finally, the independence of Belgium in 1830 established the Baarle enclaves at an international level again.
- The Treaty of Maastricht of 1843 delimited the boundary between the Netherlands and Belgium, but even then, it was found impossible to compromise on the territory of Baarle. It was decided instead to leave things as they stood.
- A new committee, set up by Belgium, began its exploration of the possibilities for an exchange of territories in 1875. An agreement on disengagement was finally ready in 1892. An almost full equity of exchange was reached, 1,355.3065 ha of Belgian land in exchange for 1,355.0592 ha of Dutch land. The inhabitants of Baarle-Hertog fiercely opposed the agreement. They expressed their discontent and supplied several other arguments, including the will of the people and their historical, national, and religious ties with Belgium. Yet another argument concerned the fact that, though land equity was reached, there was no equity in terms of population. The all-Belgium campaigning of the Baarle *burge-meester* bore fruit. The bill was rejected by the Belgian parliament.
- Debate arose in 1909–1911 over a proposal to give Baarle-Hertog a linking corridor to Belgium. It was no doubt stimulated by the new

border and customs regulations making life harder for the enclave dwellers. From 1906, Belgian goods heading for Baarle-Hertog were subjected to Dutch customs duties for the first time. It was possible to redeem the duties, but this required proof of the final destination and the inspection of Belgian warehouses by Dutch officials. The Dutch controlled the passage of travelers as well. However, the corridor proposal miscarried and it failed to provide adequate compensation for the Netherlands (Malvoz 1986, 24).

So why have the Baarle enclaves escaped all attempts to exchange them, unlike many other enclaves of the same origin in the area? Historical coincidences (the French and the Belgian revolutions, for instance) form a part of the explanation. The difficulties met by the states in finding an adequate compensation for the land exchange have also impeded disenclavement on several occasions. Another explanation is the will of the people emphatically opposing the remaking of the border. The community sentiments tying the enclaves to the mainland were based on national and religious affiliations, the will of the people proving to be an important factor in the attempt to exchange the enclaves in 1875. Not only did they express their opposition to the exchange of lands but they also managed to organize a successful all-Belgium campaign for their cause. An important prerequisite for the feeling of unity between the enclave and the mainland is the coinciding national composition. The increasingly large number of Dutch residents in Baarle-Hertog, now 40 percent, is a recent phenomenon that has to do with European integration. For most of history, despite the strong social and familial ties that existed in the area due to the lack of language barriers, the population of Baarle-Hertog was Belgian by citizenship and nationality. The feeling of unity is mutual, that is, not only that the enclave is attached to the mainland but also that the mainland is emotionally attached to the enclave. Having survived as an enclave complex through the Middle Ages, Baarle-Hertog's enclave status consolidated and became hard to dissolve.

To understand the good relationship between the people of both Baarles, it is important to know that they formed one Catholic parish until 1860. Only then did the Bishop of Breda find it unacceptable that some of "his" souls would go to a church in a foreign country, and so he created a separate parish for Baarle-Nassau. Another important relation between both communities was the common use of the heathlands, as is documented since 1479. In the medieval agricultural system on the sandy soils of this region, the extensive use of the heaths played an important role. The common parish and heath made Baarle a single community for the local people. Only the external governance of the lords, dukes, and kings disjoined the communities due to the differences in legal and tax systems. The tax differ-

ences were continued within the two states of the Netherlands and Belgium. The splitting up of the parish and the efforts to create bigger municipalities are examples thereof.

Whyte (2004, 79–81) believes that the current acceptance of the *status quo* is based on the following factors: first, the relaxed attitude to national sovereignty and integration between Belgium and the Netherlands; second, the economic similarity; third, the cultural unity; fourth, the long history of the enclaves; and fifth, the “minute *morcellement*” at Baarle. While normally enclaves represent a nucleus, a separate town or a village embedded in a foreign state, Baarle is parceled into 22 Belgian enclaves with six Dutch counter-enclaves within them. It is thus difficult for an “us and them” classification to develop in the area.

While not denying the presence of all these factors at play, I would stress the importance of political integration. Despite centuries of peaceful co-existence, only the European Union proved able to remove some of the issues that can and do spoil even the best neighborly relations. One of such issues is the smuggling that persisted through the centuries all the way until the 1990s.

Living in an Enclave: Problems and Opportunities

Living in an extremely fragmented village such as Baarle brings its own problems but also unique opportunities. Here are some examples. A typical minor problem, of which there were and indeed still are hundreds, is traffic laws. There used to be a 60 km/h speed limit in the Netherlands and a 50 km/h speed limit in Belgium. Just cast a look at the map of Baarle and you will understand that drivers there have to cross the border several times a minute. For drivers, it led to problems and tensions with the traffic police. Only when the speed limit in the Netherlands was lowered to 50 km/h did the problem disappear. A minor problem in itself, the difference in speed limits illustrates how full of unpleasant surprises life in the enclave complex can be. The frequent border crossings can unfortunately lead to some nasty consequences. Once, a motorcycle accident happened in front of Baarle’s cultural center. It happened on the territory of Baarle-Hertog but so close to the border running across the street that the man was dragged along to Baarle-Nassau. The ambulance from Baarle-Hertog arrived but did not help the bleeding man.

However, enclavity created not only problems to be solved but also opportunities to be taken advantage of (although I would argue that there are more problems than opportunities). As each house is deemed to pay taxes in the country where its front door is located, it is an old tradition in Baarle to move the front door some meters if that is profitable for tax purposes. Not only many shops but also several households are known to have done

it many times. The final demarcation of the border in 1995 gave rise to some problems of this kind. In at least one case, a house was found to lie in a different country from that which it had been assumed to lie in. So it had to "move" from Belgium to the Netherlands. The inhabitants did not want that to happen, but the solution was simple: they moved the front door of their house.

The village of Baarle attracts a lot of tourist traffic. For many years, the shops in Belgium were open on Sundays, while those in the Netherlands were not—with the exception of those in Baarle. Taxes in Belgium and the Netherlands differed, sometimes a lot, so one could indulge in cross-border shopping, profiting from the differences in tax policies on a single street. The EU integration removed many of these differences, but some of them, for instance, the difference in VAT rates, remain.

One of the many houses straddling the boundaries is "Grensgeval," or "Border Question." Its front door is located in Taxandriastraat (Baarle-Hertog), while its back door is on Meierijstraat (in Baarle-Nassau).

The residents are fond of selectively applying national laws to their advantage even in minor things. This is what Frans van Rooij, the director of the cultural center in Baarle, describes as "playing with the border" (2004). Smoking in public places was prohibited in Belgium around 2000 but still allowed in the Netherlands. The residents of the cultural center chose to "apply" the Dutch law in the whole building, since the building was situated in both states. At last, one did not have to leave the building to move to Dutch territory where smoking was allowed. Also in the past, it was illegal to serve strong alcoholic drinks in public places in Belgium. The same "selective application" of the more liberal Dutch laws was the norm.

There are a considerable number of families with one Belgian and one Dutch parent in Baarle. Children normally possess both passports until the age of eighteen when they are obliged to make a choice, as Belgium and the Netherlands have no agreement on dual citizenship. However, many people simply abstain and possess two passports for the rest of their life. In addition, the Baarlennaars prefer their boys to serve in the Dutch army because the military service is shorter there. In order to do this, boys with dual nationality who live in split houses on the border usually reside on the Dutch side. Photos of Baarle, including *Stylised demarcation of the border* and the *Smuggler monument*, as well as and other supplementary materials, are available as supplementary materials to the book at the website www.vinokurov.info.

Economy: Utilizing the Opportunities Presented by the Border

In 1906, Belgian goods heading for Baarle-Hertog became subject to Dutch customs duties for the first time. It was possible to redeem the du-

ties, but this required proof of the final destination and the inspection of Belgian warehouses by Dutch officials. The Dutch also controlled the passage of travelers. Until that time, Baarle-Hertog had been, in fact, a free customs area, due to the practical impossibility of enforcing customs supervision, since customs controls would not pay off in economic terms, just as was the case with Buesingen and other small enclaves.

Smuggling was an important economic phenomenon and as a source of income an integral part of Baarle's long history. It was fueled not only by the differing national regulations on customs duties and taxes but also by fluctuating currency rates. The enclaved village with the undemarcated border passing through individual houses was the perfect venue for smuggling. The flow of goods was mainly directed from Belgium into the Netherlands. Customs and border officers were on the streets but they could not stop the smuggling activities. For every one they caught, a hundred others got away. The locals used also their superior knowledge of where the borders were to argue with the police and customs officers. The role of smuggling in Baarle's history is well commemorated by the existence of the world's only monument to smuggling, a man with a sack known as "the Smuggler." Smuggling persisted well into the 1990s, despite the thorough integration of the mainland and the surrounding state in the beginning in the Benelux customs union and later in the European Community. The Benelux treaty was signed as early as September 5, 1944, and came into force on January 1, 1948. The remaining differences in national legislation justified smuggling until the creation of the European Single Market in 1995. At the present time, the inhabitants of the village and the neighboring Dutch regions can still profit from various differences in national legislation, including differences in value-added tax, although in a legal manner.

Unsurprisingly, enterprises and shops located in the community have sometimes crossed the line of the law in order to exploit the opportunities presented by the borders. A chicken slaughterhouse was once located in Baarle-Nassau but illegally registered across the road in Baarle-Hertog so that it could pay lower taxes. It managed to escape detection for twenty years and was busted only after its own workers, unsatisfied with their wages, informed the authorities.

The laws on the utilization of land are stricter in the Netherlands, which is why Baarle-Hertog is an advantageous residential and industrial location. The strictness of Dutch legislation has led to some amusing consequences. One of the Dutch counterenclaves, about 0.8 ha in size, represents a meadow fully surrounded by a Belgian residential area. The Dutch law prescribes an exclusive agricultural use for this plot of land since it is located outside the town. Therefore, Belgian cows graze peacefully on the Dutch meadow, lending the quarter an idyllic country look.

THE FEMISBANK CASE: GERRYMANDERING IN THE ENCLAVE

In 1971, Dutchman Hendrik Jacobus Owel founded Femisbank. It was registered in Anguilla but its main premises were located in Baarle, in a building both in Baarle-Hertog's enclave H1 and Baarle-Nassau. The border ran through the main door. Owel, allegedly involved in financing the South Moluccan attempts to secede from Indonesia, used this unique location to prevent the bank from being searched by the authorities of either state. The Belgian tax department was unable to access the safe because the only access was from behind the counters in the Dutch area. The Dutch authorities could go behind the counters but it did not help them much because the safe was in Belgian territory. Finally, officials from both states managed to search the bank in a joint effort. Investigators from both countries searched their respective parts of the bank's premises. In May 1992 Femisbank was declared bankrupt after investigations into the laundering of drug money (Malvoz 1986, 41; Whyte 2004, 44-45).

Later the building was occupied by a theater agency, which in the pre-Internet era could profit nicely from possessing a domestic address in both Belgium and the Netherlands.

Local shops have their own ways of exploiting the border. Some of the shops are located directly on the border, which is often the case in communities with extremely complex border settings. One Baarle bike and motorcycle shop's front door and main showroom are in the Netherlands, whereas the backyard is located in Belgium. Customers enter the shop in the Netherlands and then proceed to the backyard where the sale is completed with a lower VAT rate. The only inconvenience for the shop is that it has to employ two accountants, one for Belgium and another one for the Netherlands. The residents have also learned how to exploit the differences in VAT rates. In order to buy cheaper gasoline the residents actively exploit a similar VAT difference.

One of the main attractions of Baarle is the difference in national legislation. Sunday shopping is not allowed in the Netherlands, while it is legal in Belgium. It initially caused a good deal of tension in the village, as Baarle-Nassau's shops could not compete with Baarle-Hertog's shops in such conditions. As consequences could have been grave for the Dutch community (concentration of all shops in Baarle-Hertog to the detriment of Baarle-Nassau), it was provided with a year-round exemption from the national law by the Dutch government. Only two other Dutch frontier villages managed to get the same exemption; however, unlike Baarle-Nassau's, theirs is restricted to the summer tourist season.

Tourism, combined with cross-border shopping, developed into the major economic asset of the enclave. There is a large flow of tourists to Baarle, attracted by its peculiarities. This is well reflected by its number of shops and restaurants, which is significantly higher than otherwise necessary for Baarle's 5,000 inhabitants. The enclave shopkeepers and restaurateurs have done everything possible to attract and keep customers from both countries. For instance, it was possible to pay in both Belgian francs and in Dutch guilders before the euro was introduced in 2002. However, despite being not completely legal, this approach was tolerated by the authorities who preferred to close their eyes to some of the enclave's peculiarities. Even Baarle-Hertog's municipal council accepted both currencies, despite the dubious legality of it.

Cross-border shopping is not the only incentive for the enclave tourist. An ever-increasing number of people are attracted to Baarle by the mere fact of the complexity of the borders, which make the village a single border monument. The enclave communities recognized this fact and undertook several measures to visualize the border. To make the enclaves visible for the visitor, the little plates with the house numbers are made with different designs: ovals with the Belgian colors and rectangles with the Dutch colors. In 2000, the EU financed the stylized "demarcation" of the border in Baarle for tourist purposes, something quite peculiar for the European Union, which, in fact, usually blurs borders rather than stresses them. Metal disks were fixed to form a dotted line on the roads. On the pavements, gray stones with inset white crosses mark the boundaries. It has made the border completely visible for tourists.

Baarle-Hertog and Baarle-Nassau: Learning to Cooperate

It would be wrong to say that life in such an intermingled village as Baarle is possible without close cooperation between the enclave, the mainland, and the surrounding state. It is possible, of course, but would be a poor way of living. There is no cooperation in Cooch Behar. People still live there but there is no electricity in the enclaves even though power lines run in the immediate vicinity of or even across the enclaves. In a milder case, when the relations between the mainland and the surrounding state are strained and/or cooperation is not sufficiently developed, it is common that electricity, water, or gas is provided into the enclaves from the mainland, despite higher costs of operation. Everyday cooperation on the matters of public utilities and other services is simply economically justified. Cooperation lowers costs down to a normal level and creates a basis for a normal life. It took Baarlennaars many decades, but, at the present time, they set an example to enclaves and other border regions around the world.

A typical enclave issue, which Baarle has learned to handle, is the supply of utilities. As its boundary resembles a jigsaw, a high level of cooperation is necessary between the neighboring communities of Baarle-Nassau and Baarle-Hertog to provide high-quality communal services to the residents of both communes. They are "unable to function without the assistance of the other" (Whyte 2004, 49). Many, although not all, of the communal services represent joint undertakings. There are two separate electricity grids, for example, although gas is supplied solely by a Dutch company. However, the gas is purchased wholesale by a Belgian company, which then retails it to Belgian customers in the enclaves. Water is provided by a Dutch company. There are two separate phone networks. However, there is an arrangement that allows dialing the other Baarle commune to count as a local call.

The enclaves' two police officers operated from separate offices until 1997. Since then, both officers have shared an office in the new Baarle-Hertog town hall. They have desks side by side and alternate office hours, for improved convenience. The national legislation of each state prohibits police forces of another state entering its sovereign territory while armed without advance permission on each occasion. This rule is evidently unworkable in Baarle where the Dutch police officer sits in Belgian territory. A blind eye is turned to the presence of his firearm for the sake of practical and productive working arrangements. The incentives of cooperating and working together brought the necessity to "play" not only with the borders but also to a certain degree with laws.

Each commune maintains its own fire brigade. However, despite this they have managed to cooperate closely when firefighting for the last 80 years. One of the main problems in the past was the use of different hose couplings in each country. A universal coupler was eventually adopted to allow joint firefighting efforts.

Road maintenance costs are shared on a pro rata basis between the two communities, with street lighting costs based on road length.

Each commune has had its own school since 1857. Currently, there are two primary schools, one Belgian and one Dutch, as well as a Dutch secondary school. It is legal for residents of both Baarles to send their children to either school since the national legislations of both states ensure free education for all until the age of sixteen. The Belgian school is considered more strict and formal, whereas the Dutch one is seen as more liberal. Parents can therefore choose either one according to their educational philosophy.

There are two Catholic churches and two parishes in Baarle existing peacefully side by side. The priests arrange their services on Saturday evenings and Sunday mornings to avoid competition. People are able to choose whichever church they prefer for weddings, funerals, and other sacraments without parochial disapproval (Whyte 2004, 73–74).

The Baarle Cultural Center building is symbolically located on the border. The front door is in Baarle-Hertog. The border crosses one of the meeting rooms in the building. Several times a year the police take advantage of the room for an interrogation. A police officer and the person to be interrogated sit in opposite parts of the room so that the police cannot arrest the suspect sitting on the other side. The same room was sometimes used for other purposes. The film *Turkish Fruit* caused some controversy in 1974 due to its mild erotic content. Only its censored version was allowed to be screened in Belgium, while the Netherlands had no such problem. The enclave dwellers creatively used the "divided room" to watch the movie. Normally the screen is located on the Dutch side of the room and the film projector stands on the Belgian side. By twisting both, the film could be shown entirely on Dutch territory. This happened under the supervision of a Belgian field guard, who was positioned on Belgian territory in order to make sure that during the projection of the film nobody trespassed across the borderline.

The budget of the cultural center is composed of payments from both communities. The same financial scheme is applied to finance the communal library. This library—quite a good one for a small town—is financed jointly, with one-quarter paid by Baarle-Hertog and three-quarters by Baarle-Nassau, which corresponds to the population size. The library subscribes both to Dutch and Belgian periodicals. Both communes finance jointly the tourist information office in the same manner. Baarle-Hertog contributes a third of promotional costs.

Thus, although some of the communal services and supplies are still run separately, the communal services in the Baarle communes tend toward cooperation. The Baarlennaars have made great progress in the arts of cooperation and finding compromises. Of course, it is based on economic and political cooperation on the mainland and the surrounding states. The absence of integration renders even the best attempts to cooperate difficult and often virtually impossible. In addition, other factors simplify the positive art of coexistence in the village of Baarle. These are 800 years of common history, common language, and close familial and social links.

THE BAHENA PIRATE RADIO STATION, OR 22 YEARS OF HIDE-AND-SEEK WITH THE POLICE OF THE TWO STATES

It is easy to decipher the name of the radio station BaHeNa—it is nothing but an acronym of Baarle-Hertog-Nassau. The pirate radio station managed to exist for 22 years, from 1981 until November 2003. The antenna was fixed in Baarle Nassau, just several meters from the border with one of the Belgian enclaves. It broadcast music and some local news aimed at the residents of the

village. "Borderhunter," the owner and manager (himself being a Belgian from Baarle-Hertog), claims that it was the longest-lasting pirate radio station, at least in the Netherlands, and it is not hard to believe him. There were several police raids by either state, all of them unsuccessful. The news of an imminent raid spread quickly in the small village, so Borderhunter was able to move the transmitter swiftly from one side of the border into another, depending on which country's officials were coming. Finally, the radio station was busted in a raid organized by both states together.

The Belgian authorities confiscated the transmitter, and Borderhunter was fined 1,100 Euro by the Dutch. He refused to pay and eventually applied to the Belgian authorities, requesting them to fine him because they confiscated the transmitter. The authorities gladly agreed and imposed a lighter fine of 500 Euro. Having paid the fine, Borderhunter argued successfully in the Dutch court that he had already paid the fine once and could not be fined again for the same violation.

Baarle is one village. Its residents may describe themselves as Dutch or Belgian but above all as "Baarlenaars" (Gemeenten Baarle-Hertogen Baarle-Nassau 1999, 21). The field research conducted by Whyte (2004) in 2000 confirms this assertion. Local identity seems to be more important to them than their national—or European—one. The strength of this local identity is rooted in their history but also in the peculiar circumstances of the enclaves' existence, which have molded a sense of "otherness."

Enclivity and borders are highly important for both the identity and the way of life of Baarle's residents. "Playing with the border" became an inherent part of it. The Baarlenaars live on the border and try to avoid its disadvantages and to exploit the opportunities it offers. As one of the residents put it, the enclave dwellers prefer to drink beer the Belgian way since the Dutch glasses are smaller, but to work and to get paid in the Dutch way.

Even now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, some think the situation in Baarle is something to be regretted. The inhabitants of Baarle think otherwise. They do not want to lose their special ambiance and they want to keep Baarle as it is now: Baarle-Nassau and -Hertog, a historically, geographically, and politically peculiar village. They are quite content with their enclivity after it took centuries to develop their peaceful, cooperative, and prosperous way of life. Three key factors make Baarle an exemplary enclave complex. First, both the mainland and the surrounding state are EU member states. Second, the Baarlenaars on both the Belgian and the Dutch side have learned to cooperate for the sake of normality of life. Third, they have learned to avoid most of the enclave-specific deficiencies seen elsewhere and to exploit the most important enclave-specific opportunities.