Helga Schultz
assisted by Katarzyna Stok○osa
and Dagmara Jaje Ọeniak-Quast

Twin Towns on the Border as Laboritories of European Integration

Frankfurter
Institut für Transformationsstudien
1. Preface

This study is based on our research of Eastern Central European frontier regions, especially the divided towns on the German-Polish border. Furthermore, we used widespread literature, which was published during the last decade. Information was added from sources in the Internet. With regard to the common development of West European Twin Towns, the Internet provided a very interesting and at times important source of information.

To complete our research we designed a questionnaire, which was sent to around 50 Twin Towns on European borders. The very complex structure of the questionnaire probably was the reason for its rather scanty return. Lastly, only 20 towns responded. We thank all respondents very much for their kind support. All data and information in this study, which is not quoted and marked from another source, is given after the responded questionnaires.

2. Introduction

Definition

Subject of this report are Twin Towns on the border. The Metropolitan Area of Minneapolis and Saint Paul in Minnesota was mainly and firstly named Twin City. Later on, the meaning was widened to all kind of city partnership. Often the definition of Twin Towns includes town partnerships over large distances, but that understanding is not applicable here. The term Twin Town is used in the following only in the original close sense: for such towns, which are immediately neighboured. Because of the special task and interest of this commission of the Council of Europe, the term “Twin Town” refers here to European towns separated by an international state border. The idea was, that the public services of those towns are closely integrated over the border. Therefore, those towns should give examples for cross-border integration in enlarged Europe.

The term Twin Towns in this sense is related to the Double Towns, described by Buursink (1994). These towns are characterised by relations of completion and supplementation. In the opposite, neighboured towns can function as competitors or rivals. In such cases, Buursink is speaking only about Town couples. Obviously, Twin Towns on the border, who belong to different nation states, have to overcome more obstacles to advance from the status of Town Couple to the status of Double Town. Because of the general advantages of such closer co-operation, this should be the goal.

Inequality seems the normal relation between Twin Towns. One got the industry, the other the residential areas and the town centre; one got the station, the other the historic market; one is larger, the other smaller. In 10 of the 18 cases of the sample, one Twin Town got more than twice as many
citizens as the opposite. Obviously, such inequalities should influence the relationship. Not only problems are rising, but also possibilities for completion and co-operation. The Internet portal Rheinfelden.net informs about an interesting poll: Users expressed their opinion about the advantages and disadvantages of both Twin Towns. The result was, that nearly every weak point of one Rheinfelden had its opposite advantage of the other Rheinfelden. Therefore, the author concludes, the co-operation of both Twin Towns should improve the attractiveness for inhabitants and tourists. Rheinfelden should become an “International Town” using this compensation effects. The term International Town marks here the Double Town after Buursink in the special case of towns on the border.

Figure 1: Types of Neighbour towns (after Buursink, 1994 and Waack, 1998)

Obviously, not all Twin Towns on the border under discussion became already Double Towns in this narrow sense. Therefore, the terminus is used here synonymous to Neighboured Towns. Both types of neighboured towns are only the poles of possible relations. The real cases are moving from one to the other pole, step by step. The report shall investigate progresses and obstacles on this way.

Twin Towns on the border often are named Divided Towns. In the past, frontiers really divided people, economy and urban life, and often a newly drawn boundary departed an old city into isolated communities. Literally,
divided Towns became only these cities, which had existed as administrative unit once in the past, before a national border them separated. However, lines between literally divided or simply neighboured towns are open and fluently. Could we define the Italian Gorizia and the Slovenian Nova Gorica a divided town, where the Yugoslavs built up a new town as replacement for the lost Gorica? Divided Towns are often marked by the same name, which is recognisable in the neighbouring language. This is the case of the Twin Towns in the old Land of Rode, Kerkrade, and Herzogenrath, as well as in Řeký Tíšín and the Polish Cieszyn, which is a divided town in the old Teschen Silesia, in the Estonian Valga and the Latvian Valka, or in Görlitz and Zgorzelec on the German-Polish border. These Divided Towns appeared mostly in the East as result of border drawing in the 20th century. This rule knows many exemptions: never divided twin Towns got the same name; and in the opposite, after partition, one twin could change his name. An instance for the first case are the both Rheinfelden: the German Rheinfelden developed as an industrial opposite of the Swiss town; both never belonged to the same country or had existed as a common community. Different names for literally divided towns demonstrate Šubic and Frankfurt (Oder). Šubic is a former suburb of Frankfurt (Oder). It was renamed during the polonisation campaign.

In the following, the term Twin Town is used also in the case of really divided towns. That shall express that borders lost the dividing impact by European integration and by the enlargement of the European Union.

3. Sample

All towns in table 1 are in close proximity to each other: the distances are given as zero kilometres. These can be considered real Twin Towns. Looking closer at a map of Europe, one will find at least about 50 such towns; 48 are listed in the annex. As to observe in the Balkans, every new border shapes new ones. Since the sample covers less than the half of these places, it may be hard to judge whether it is representative.

From the statistical point of view, the sample builds only a small spot check. Moreover, the responses do not represent a strong random selection. We can assume that the responses to the questionnaire most likely came from towns, which are more interested in cross-border co-operation than the others. Therefore, the level of cross-border co-operation could be rather overestimated than misjudged. For instance, no responses came from Italy, Spain, the Scandinavian countries beyond Finland, and from Great Britain and Ireland. Unfortunately, the response to the questionnaire was extremely poor from the most Eastern European countries; despite the numerous cases of divided Twin towns there. Only Estonia for Valga and lastly Narva, as Poland for Šubic, and Zgorzelec and the Czech Republic for Řeký Tíšín responded. Therefore, it became necessary to include the East European Twin Towns based on publications.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town A</th>
<th>Town B</th>
<th>People A</th>
<th>People B</th>
<th>State A</th>
<th>State B</th>
<th>Border River</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Laufenburg</td>
<td>Laufenburg</td>
<td>2,006</td>
<td>8,300</td>
<td>CH</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Rhine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Baarle-Hertog</td>
<td>Baarle-Nassau</td>
<td>2,128</td>
<td>6,100</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>NL</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Oberndorf</td>
<td>Laufen</td>
<td>5,435</td>
<td>6,439</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Salzach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Valka</td>
<td>Valga</td>
<td>6,699</td>
<td>15,500</td>
<td>LV</td>
<td>EE</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Valença</td>
<td>Tui</td>
<td>13,769</td>
<td>15,827</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Minho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Tornio</td>
<td>Haparanda</td>
<td>22,617</td>
<td>10,412</td>
<td>FIN</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Torne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ėeský Tišín</td>
<td>Cieszyn</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td>36,000</td>
<td>CZ</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Olza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Guben</td>
<td>Gubin</td>
<td>27,000</td>
<td>19,000</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Neisse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Rheinfelden</td>
<td>Rheinfelden</td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>10,600</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>CH</td>
<td>Rhine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Buchs</td>
<td>Schaan/ Vaduz</td>
<td>32,551</td>
<td>32,426</td>
<td>CH</td>
<td>FL</td>
<td>Rhine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Komárno</td>
<td>Komárom</td>
<td>38,000</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>SK</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Danube</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Gorizia</td>
<td>Nova Gorica</td>
<td>38,500</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>SL</td>
<td>Isonzo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Herzogenrath</td>
<td>Kerkrade</td>
<td>46,500</td>
<td>51,500</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>NL</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Irún/ Hondarribia</td>
<td>Hendaye</td>
<td>57,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Görlitz</td>
<td>Zgorzelec</td>
<td>62,421</td>
<td>35,600</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Neisse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Frankfurt (Oder)</td>
<td>Suubice</td>
<td>72,000</td>
<td>16,907</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Oder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Narva</td>
<td>Iwangorod</td>
<td>73,295</td>
<td>11,892</td>
<td>EE</td>
<td>RUS</td>
<td>Narva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Rousse</td>
<td>Giurgiu</td>
<td>186,737</td>
<td>74,190</td>
<td>BG</td>
<td>RO</td>
<td>Danube</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Included Twin Towns
However, the included towns in this study are scattered throughout Europe; they are situated in northern Scandinavia as well as in the Iberian Peninsula; there are examples in Eastern Central and Western Europe and in South Eastern Europe, as on the Russian border. The concerned frontiers are of all types: internal, external and beyond the European Union. In this sample, we find very old and newly drawn borders in an equal mixture. Therefore, and despite all doubts, the sample seems satisfying for a comparative study.
As marked in the table, they are mostly situated on both banks of a river. Since earliest times rivers functioned more as a link than as a barrier for people. Therefore, banks of navigable rivers were the preferred location of settlement. Not surprisingly, even in our times bridges are signs of co-operation. Twin towns are often called *bridge towns* and present themselves with the bridge as a marketing label. The symbolic bridge building over the Torne River gives a good example. In today's Europe, border towns can be regarded as laboratories of European integration. Twin towns could be laboratories of intercultural relations, even multiculturalism, because they are situated where people cross each other’s paths. As Gasparini (2000) has remarked, this can be attributed to their stronger interest in the neighbouring region beyond the border than in farer regions of their own country, and due to the fact they are complex communities of multiculturalism. They practice cross-border neighbourliness in every day life.

As the sample shows, most towns are small or medium sized. Only one, the Bulgarian town of Rousse, has more than 80,000 people. A majority of 21 from 36 towns contain between 10,000 and 40,000 inhabitants, whereas seven are smaller and only seven towns are larger. This may be considered as a typical distribution of towns in Europe, particularly of marginalized towns on the borders and in the European peripheries. Especially the towns in East Central and Eastern Europe lost inhabitants by the de-industrialisation during the ongoing transformation to market economy. The relative small size means that Twin Towns could only function together as medium sized centre for a cross-border region.

Conclusion:

Inequality of resources, marginal location, and small size are strong objectives for closer co-operation between Twin Towns on the border.
Hypotheses

As these frontier communities come face to face with the limits of European law and institutions on a daily basis. Many respondents expressed the idea of Twin Towns as laboratories for European integration as a daily living experience. Progress, problems, and hindrances of close co-operation are the issues investigated according to the following hypotheses:

**History** affects cross-border co-operation. Long tradition of a common border favours connections, whereas traumatic border drawing during the recent past have left deeper divisions.

**Minorities** build bridges. An important minority of neighbouring people as well as widespread knowledge of their language should promote cultural contacts and co-operation.

**Border regime** shapes the basic condition. Common activities could only develop, if the border does not function as a barrier for people, goods, and information. Therefore, the border type influences cross-border activities.

**Institutionalisation** affects extent and stability of cross-border co-operation and common projects. Co-operation between municipalities leads to progressive levels of institutionalisation.

**Linkage of public service** is the main result of institutionalisation. Successes are money saving, environmental protection and improvement of urban life.

**Common urban planning** develops at higher levels of institutionalisation and leads to integration of Twin Towns into Double Towns.

Lasting mutuality within twin towns grows from the commitment of citizens. Without such grass roots networking, the co-operation from the top will not become successfully. Participation in cultural life of the neighboured town and the engagement in clubs and associations shall indicate this process.

The image of the neighbour is influenced but not dominated by the regional media which not only provides information about local life and culture from one side to the other, but which can also work to improve the neighbour's image.

4. **Conditions**

**History: Long Tradition and Open Wounds**

Could Twin Towns have a common history? They were subjected to the same events at the same time and at the same place; indeed, they experienced these from opposite riverbanks. It is possible that the fall of the one was once the advantage to the other. In every case, their history is mirrored or doubled. If things went wrong, history is divided; if the things are going right, it will be shared.
There are crucial imbalances. Mostly, the towns are not of the same age. In many cases, one is the site of medieval past whereas the other developed as suburb at the opposite site of the river, already or not yet belonging to the neighbouring country. Usually this happened during the period of industrialisation, as for instance with Rheinfelden (D), Haparanda, Iwangorod, Komárom, Nova Gorica, Guben, S³ubice. Does this mean that the distant past is only belonging to the Twin Town founded in the medieval times whereas the other part is limited to the last decade or century?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Twin Town</th>
<th>Border since</th>
<th>Border Type</th>
<th>Historic Town Centre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valença - Tui</td>
<td>&lt;1500</td>
<td>EU-internal border</td>
<td>Valença</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buchs - Schaan/Vaduz</td>
<td>&lt;1500</td>
<td>Non EU frontier West</td>
<td>Vaduz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irún/Hondarribia - Hendaye</td>
<td>&lt;1500</td>
<td>EU-internal border</td>
<td>Hendaye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laufenburg - Laufenburg</td>
<td>1801</td>
<td>EU frontier West</td>
<td>Laufenburg (CH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oberndorf - Laufen</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>EU-internal border</td>
<td>Laufen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herzogenrath - Kerkrade</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>EU-internal border</td>
<td>Herzogenrath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tornio - Haparanda</td>
<td>1809</td>
<td>EU-internal border</td>
<td>Tornio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baarle-Hertog - Baarle-Nassau</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>EU-internal border</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rheinfelden - Rheinfelden</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>EU- frontier West</td>
<td>Rheinfelden (CH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rousse - Giurgiu</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Non EU Border East</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komárnok - Komárom</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Non EU Border East</td>
<td>Komárnok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valka - Valga</td>
<td>1920/1991</td>
<td>Non EU Border East</td>
<td>Valga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Řeseří Tisín - Cieszyn</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Non EU Border East</td>
<td>Cieszyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guben - Gubin</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>EU frontier East</td>
<td>Gubin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Görlitz - Zgorzelec</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>EU frontier East</td>
<td>Görlitz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frankfurt (Oder) - S³ubice</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>EU frontier East</td>
<td>Frankfurt (Oder)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorizia - Nova Gorica</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>EU frontier East</td>
<td>Gorizia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narva - Iwangorod</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Non EU Border East</td>
<td>Narva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Age and Type of the Borders

An important fact, which influences the attitude to history, is the period when the border between the Twin Towns was established. State borders are results of history. They were drawn particularly during the process of nation building in Europe, mostly after wars. Therefore, the division of towns by borders was traumatic. The younger the border is the trauma is usually more lasting.
Only three borders dividing towns in the discussion exist from the medieval times. The others particularly emerged from the three waves of the origin of European nation states: after the Napoleonic wars, the First World War, and the Second World War. Remarkably, all Twin Towns divided by borders in the 20th century are located in the eastern part of Europe. There are also Twin Towns on the borders of the Baltic States, which were only divided in the 1990s during the collapse of the Soviet Union. That indicates especially traumatic impact of history and an understanding of the past that describes essential points in opposite manner. This is one reason to spend special attention to the development of cross-border relations in this part of Europe.

Twin towns on the oldest borders share a long common history. There exist no prejudices of the people toward one another, and they are closely connected by kinship through many generations. That is not only expressed by the Twin Towns with medieval borders, as Valença and Tui, but also by towns on borders from the 19th century. In the questionnaire from Oberndorf, it is written: *The image of each other is generally positive because of the neighbourhood and the common history and culture.*

![Tui Cathedral From The 12th Century](http://www.riasbaixas.org/img/all/17/4/1/074-1.jpg).

In 1998, both towns at the Salzach celebrated their 1250 anniversary together. The people of Laufen and Oberndorf share a common past, one in which their ancestors were salt barges and one, in the Oberndorf church, where the Christmas song *Holy Night* was born. These towns share a common regional identity, as Irún and Hondarribia in Spain with Hendaye in France to the Basque lands; like Herzogenrath and Kerkrade to the land of Rode. Deeply bounded together are Valença and Tui in the Minho valley, which were connected since the Roman times. Therefore, both towns prepare a common
application for recognition in the UNESCO list of World cultural heritage sites. Both Laufenburg at the Upper Rhine, where a main road of European trade crossed since medieval times, remember their common heritage in November by celebrating the annual *Week of Habsburgians* (Habsburgerwochen).

Baarle-Hertog and Baarle-Nassau observe a crucial legacy from their feudal history. The Twin Towns are an international geographic puzzle of 30 enclaves. There are 22 Belgian enclaves, surrounded by the Dutch municipality, seven Dutch enclaves, which lie within the Belgian ones, and a Dutch enclave in the Belgian mainland. Despite all attempts at land exchange and an appellation to the international court in The Hague, the border question could not be more satisfactorily solved. This uniqueness protected Baarle during the First World War against the German occupation.

The history of Tornio and Haparanda was also signed by the locality at the mouth of the Torne River, where Haparanda was founded as an equivalent for the Swedish side after Tornio became part of the Russian Finland in 1809. The border was never really closed and divided the towns only through the wetland in the river mouth. On both sides of the river, the “Lapland” remains a unity of landscape, culture, population, and language like the land of Basques in the South. Haparanda developed as an industrial town, attracting many Finns at the same time. Obviously, these Twin Towns could develop their present cooperation so successfully, because they have deeper roots in common history:

It is this “past” which gives a studier grip to the process, since from the localities’ point of view there is something old and concrete on which to build. (Jussila, 58.)

![Picture 3: Air View on Baarle-Hertog and Baarle-Nassau (at left); Enclaves in Baarle-Centre.](http://user.online.be/ragas/baarlehist_eng.html)

Obviously, the common history was bounding and connecting Twin Towns, despite the mighty power of national states, which shaped their identity and sovereignty by strengthening their borders. As the municipality of Kerkrade expressed:
Firstly, with the increase in legislation and laws formulated by the state in the early 20th century there came the differences. The influence of the law-making state became stronger.

The wars of the 20th century affected the Twin Towns on nearly all European frontiers. A material barrier interrupted even the neighbourhood of Herzogenrath and Kerkrade since 1914. At first an iron fence was erected; later on the so-called Little Wall from Leicon, a barrier of 60 centimetres marked the border in the mid of the New Street. It was removed no earlier than 1995 in an official festival. More than the First, the Second World War destroyed the relations between Twin Towns. The Germans occupied Finland and in their retreat burned down Tornio. Whole Baarle were occupied. Especially in the towns along the German border, hostile feelings to the German neighbour grew. After the war, it took one decade to restore relations.

During the sixties, co-operation started in some fields of public service. Integration processes inside the European Community, especially the Benelux and Scandinavian countries supported the revival. The first agreements between Twin Towns were signed between Tornio and Haparanda in the 1960s and between Baarle-Hertog and Baarle-Nassau in 1976. However, the co-operation could not be explained only as a top down process; it started equally at the grass roots level. The consciousness of kinship, common history, and culture was essential.

The situation in the younger Twin Towns in the east seems to be very different where the nation state appears later. Here was the success of long struggles and powerful nationalist movements. Nationalism increased more than in Western Europe and the hostility of co-resident nationalities, even in divided towns, grew with it. The partition of towns regularly resulted from wars not only at the German-Polish border but also at the Polish-Czech, the Czechoslovak-Hungarian, the Yugoslav-Italian, and the Baltic States borders. The national status of border towns changed more than once. The Czech part of Teschen and the Slovak part of Komárom were taken over by Poland or Hungary in the eve of the Second World War and were later returned, not without new troubles that heated national feelings. The border between Valga and Valka became meaningless after the Soviet occupation in 1940 and was re-established in 1991. Under these circumstances, history is more a dividing than an integrating factor in the Twin Towns.

Conclusion:

The legacy of history divides the more the shorter the border exists. Therefore, the Twin Towns on the younger borders in the East have less common identity and more problems with history.

Minorities

There are unexpected large differences between the discussed Twin Towns in this respect. The Twin Towns, whose citizens have the same mother tongue or nationality, are excluded here, like Narva and Iwangorod, Komárno and
Komárom or the Twin Towns along the German-Switzerland and the German-Austrian Border.

Differences appear as result of history. The original status of citizenship in border Twin Towns should be mixed, including remarkable minorities on both sides and indigenous people, who are rooted in both cultures. It is obvious that such a situation offers great advantages for cross-border co-operation. The troublesome history of the 20th century removed this ideal composition mainly in the East. Minorities were forced to assimilation or even expelled, like the Estonians from Narva after the soviet occupation or the Germans behind the Oder-Neisse-Line. Literally, no neighbouring minorities live on the Romanian-Bulgarian frontier in Giurgiu and Rousse or in the towns on the German-Polish border, while Narva became a Russian populated town like the neighboured Iwangorod. Remarkably, we find minorities also in the East. Around 5,000 Poles live in Êeský Tìšín, mostly of Czech citizenship, which shapes nearly a fifth of the population. That is less than in the eve of the First World War, when Poles and Polish speaking Silesians formed the majority of Teschen Silesia. (Hannan, 50-54.)

![Minorities from the Neighbour Country](image)

Figure 3: Minorities from the Neighbour Country

Increasing numbers of mixed marriages are the only way to shape new minorities, which shape a bridge between the Twin Towns. The number of mixed marriages is low indeed: Even in Êeský Tìšín with its not so small Polish minority, only five mixed marriages happened in 1999 and eight in 2000. Does this indicate that the state border is not pervious until now or that the Polish minority remains endogamous? Nevertheless, the Polish minority works as agent for cross-border linkage between the Twin Towns.
Remarkably, a new Polish minority is grown up at the German-Polish border. The five percent Polish inhabitants of Guben appear mostly as success of mixed marriages during the last thirty years or during only one generation. The figures of the larger Frankfurt (Oder) give the same trend. The mixed marriages started with commuting during the seventies, declined behind the closed border in the eighties, and increased with the open border and the many Polish students of the university at Frankfurt (Oder). (Frölich, 2001.) That is a sign of hope; people are healing the wounds of history even on this traumatic border.

![Figure 4: German-Polish Marriages in Frankfurt (Oder)](image)

In Twin Towns at the western frontiers, the population generally contains a higher percent of local minorities. Mixed marriages are usual and traditional, like in Tornio and Haparanda. There, a traditional summertime festival marks the remaining kinship between the towns, when usually one Swedish man and one Finnish woman are wed. It happens always in this way, that the Swede gets the role of the husband, what means traditionally, the dominant part. (Jussila, 57.) Mixed marriages seem the hardship of common culture, and tradition in border regions, and especially in Twin Towns.

Like in the Lapland wedding, the relations between Twin Towns seem always not equally, but balanced. Minorities play an important role usually in one of the Twin Towns. Around 2,500 Spanish people are living in the small Hendaye, but scarcely Frenchmen in the fourfold larger Irún. In the Spanish Tui are 18.6 percent of inhabitants of Portuguese nationality, but nearly no Spanish live in Valença. Many Germans move to Kerkrade because of cheaper house prices in the Netherlands. The Swedish Haparanda has traditionally a large minority of Finns, whereas the percentage of Swedes in Tornio counts only one percent. The reasons lay in historic traditions in the labour market and in different conditions of life. Obviously, inequality characterises Twin
Towns on all fields. Preferring the one or the other side of the border, people use the resources of completion in Twin Towns.

Language

The free movement of people to the neighbouring town depends partly from the command of language. In all Twin Towns with important local minorities, a common language exists. This could be the common mother tongue, a local or regional language or a third language as it is Russian in the Baltic countries still. Two third of the Twin Towns in discussion are linked by a common language.

The towns on the German-Austrian and the German-Swiss border share the mother tongue like the local colloquial language. In the same way do so the Flames and Dutchmen from Baarle. For the Russian population of Narva-Iwangorod or the Hungarians at Komárno-Komárom they also speak the same mother tongue. Often, common regional dialects remain from the past, despite the domination of different national languages pursued by national states since the 19th century. One can observe this in the Twin Towns on the Spanish borders as well as in Baarle on the Belgian-Dutch border or in Herzogenrath-Kerkrade on the German-Dutch border.

![Picture 4: Three Languages in Komárno (SK)](http://members.tripod.lycos.nl/grenze/kom11.jpg)
Even in Ėeský Tiśín-Cieszyn remnants of the old Slavic Silesian dialect are still alive. However, a colloquial language of different mixture of Polish, Czech and Slovak elements as well as elements of the local dialect dominated during the last century. (Hannan, 1996.) In the case of Tornio and Haparanda, until today the local language plays an important role. This Meänkieli (our language) is spoken by the native people, the Tornedalens, but understood by many more inhabitants of both towns. The Swedish government declared Meänkieli in 2000 as an official minority language, in this way supporting its use and preservation. Irún, Hondarribia, and Hendaye have the Basque idiom as a common language officially recognised by the Spanish and French authorities.

Not surprisingly, the Twin Towns with shared traditional local languages have the highest part of neighbouring minorities and widespread bilingualism. They are the closest to the ideal status of borderland population, announced above. In general, they are the places with most mixed marriages. As an old proverb says, commercium et connubium are linking the people. Therefore, the Twin Towns with common languages should have the best conditions for integration. Unfortunately, the level of connubium cannot be accounted exactly enough. The very important indicator of mixed marriages was often not responded in the questionnaires.

In general, the command of the neighbour language is an important mean for commercial and cultural relations as well as for co-operation. It is an indicator as well. After the questionnaires, bilingualism is more widespread as to expect. In average, one fourth of the population in Twin Towns have more or less knowledge and practice in this field. The result seems not satisfying but hopeful. Not only the relatively small minorities speak the neighbour language.

Figure 5: Command of Neighbour Language
The figure shows the command of the neighbouring official language, the only indicator given by in the questionnaires. Obviously, it is the highest in Twin Towns with the highest percentage of minorities, as in Irún/Hondarribia – Hendaye, Tornio – Haparanda, Herzogenrath – Kerkrade and in Valença – Tui. Where only small or no minorities live, the command of neighbouring language seems weak, as in Rousse-Giurgiu or in the towns at the Oder-Neisse-Border. Closeness is reproducing distance and therefore more closeness, like openness induces contacts and therefore wider openness.

In many Twin Towns, other minorities inhabited substantial parts of the community. In West European towns, immigrant populations exist since decades. In the small town of Laufenburg (CH) immigrants from Italy and the former Yugoslavia make up 13 percent of the population; whereas nearly one tenth of the inhabitants in Herzogenrath have their origin in Turkey, former Yugoslavia, and other countries. Figures from other towns are significantly lower. In the Twin Towns of the Baltic States, the Russian minority plays an important role. Under Soviet rule, russification of these republics were pushed. From these times, numerous Russians settled also in Valga and Valka, mostly as industrial workers and as employees in trade and administration. They make up a third of the population in Valga and 28.3 percent in Valka. For the Russians the new state borders are particular troublesome, because they were not adapted to the old Latvian-Estonian border, which were meaningless for them before. They have many problems to get full citizenship, if they have no command of the official state language. (Waack, 2000, 86-87, 140.) However, in Estonia is one of the few states in Europe, where the non-citizens have the right to take part in the elections of local governments. Therefore, the ethnic Russians are broadly represented in the self-governments of Narva and Valga. With support by the PHARE program, Estonia started an integration program “Integration in the Estonian society in 2000-2007” to improve firstly the command of language.

An In Ėeský Tíšín, the Slovaks form a national minority of five percent since the partition of Czechoslovakia. Here like in Komárno, the Roma people play a role as the most discriminated minority of Eastern Europe. In the Bulgarian Rousse, only 1.2 percent of the population are Roma, but indigenous Turks make up 7.2 percent of the population. (Waack, 1998, 144.) Once, the town hosted a vast variety of ethnic groups. The Nobel price winner Elias Canetti, born in a Jewish family in Rousse, experienced the city as a microcosm of two-dozen nationalities. French, German, Italian, Jewish, Armenian, Turkish, and other schools, boarding houses and churches, reading clubs, theatres and music halls, museums and bookshops, opened their doors to help diversify the cultural life of the city in its steady march towards enlightenment. These times are over. In this completed picture of social life, today the town is still rediscovering its true face, spanning a bridge across cultures in the new context of integrated Europe. (http://www.ru.acad.bg/Rousse.html).

Conclusion:

Opposite minorities and command of neighboured language are the stabile ground of cross-border co-operation and of special competencies in multiculturalism. Therefore, minority rights should be improved; obstacles for
mixed marriages should be lowered; the use of common local languages should be promoted.

5. Open Borders and Dividing Frontiers

Border Crossing and Border Regime

The frequency of border crossing is one of the most important indicators for the impact of the border in every day life. Obviously, high frequencies indicate open borders, which not function as barriers. Unfortunately, there are data problems. Like most internal boundaries of the EU where no border control exists, there is a lack of data. Where local traffic and transit traffic have to share the same checkpoint, the data make often no difference. That is not the case of the towns on the Oder and Neisse, where the data covers the checkpoints inside the towns, not concerning the separate highway and railway crosses.

![Figure 6: Border Crossing](image)

Cross-border traffic has increased very fast in all European Twin Towns during the nineties, particularly in the East. That is not surprising, because the fall of the Iron Curtain opened all internal borders in the Eastern bloc and suddenly intensified all West-East-West traffic. However, the number of checkpoints, listed in the table, seem to have low effect on the efficiency of border procedures, particularly with regard to the time it takes.

The border regime is deciding. The border regime depends from the type of border, as the table shows. On the EU-internal borders, no hindrances generally exist. There is no or at times a very short waiting time. Since the Schengen agreement, border crossing does not differ from the normal traffic between towns. On the western EU-frontier and the western boundaries beyond the EU, limitations and controls exist but do not function as barriers.
Waiting time is similarly short. The high amount of cross-border traffic struggling with the small streets of the old town centres or near valleys is the only hindrances. As said for Buchs-Schaan-Vaduz, there is no problem to get a permit for commuting. This Non-EU border functions like the Schengen boundaries since the tariff agreement from 1924 between Liechtenstein and Switzerland. At this time, the state border between the towns was removed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Twin towns</th>
<th>Border type</th>
<th>Joint border control</th>
<th>Obstacles in fields</th>
<th>Check Points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baarle-Hertog-Baarle-Nassau</td>
<td>EU-internal</td>
<td>No control</td>
<td>&gt;3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irún/Hondarribia-Hendaye</td>
<td>EU-internal</td>
<td>No control</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oberndorf-Laufen</td>
<td>EU-internal</td>
<td>No control</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tornio-Haparanda</td>
<td>EU-internal</td>
<td>No control</td>
<td>&gt;3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valença-Tui</td>
<td>EU-internal</td>
<td>No control</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herzogenrath-Kerkrade</td>
<td>EU-internal</td>
<td>No control</td>
<td>&gt;3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laufenburg-Laufenburg</td>
<td>EU-frontier West</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rheinfelden-Rheinfelden</td>
<td>EU-frontier West</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buchs-Schaan/Vaduz</td>
<td>Non-EU-border West</td>
<td>No control</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorizia-Nova Gorica</td>
<td>EU-frontier East</td>
<td>n. D.</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4</td>
<td>n. D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frankfurt (Oder)-S³ubice</td>
<td>EU-frontier East</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Görlitz-Zgorzelec</td>
<td>EU-frontier East</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guben-Gubin</td>
<td>EU-frontier East</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ëeský Tišín -Cieszyn</td>
<td>Non-EU-border East</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2, 3, 4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komárno-Komárom</td>
<td>Non-EU-border East</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>2, 3, 4</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Narva-Iwangorod</td>
<td>Non-EU-border East</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4</td>
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<td>Rousse-Giurgiu</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valka-Valga</td>
<td>Non-EU-border East</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Border Regime

The figure shows, that even the Twin Towns on the Eastern Schengen border reached the same level of cross-border traffic than the EU-internal Twin Towns in the North and in the South. That means the Schengen agreement did not function as barrier for border crossing in these Twin Towns. The same

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1 Fields: 1=Passport/Visa control; 2= work permit; 3=customs examination; 4=property market restrictions.
high frequent traffic exists between Ėeský Tišín and Cieszyn on the Czech-Polish border.

Why can the border regime function so well at these frontiers, despite they are beyond the Schengen zone? Obviously, special conditions in local border traffic release border crossing for the neighboured towns on all these frontiers. Additionally, joint border controls by guards from both countries are introduced in all these cases. Therefore, despite the Schengen Agreement, the inhabitants of the Twin Towns can cross only with the identity card, and the customs examination takes only a random sample.

Nevertheless, the border crossing at the EU-external border in the East reached not the same level as inside the Schengen zone. The borders are not open in the same way; they could be characterised as conditionally open. We have to keep in mind, that the data of Tornio and Haparanda concern a very low populated region and one of the smallest Twin Towns in our sample. Meanwhile, the inhabitants from the Twin Towns on the German-Polish border have crossed it 200 times per year in average, the people in the far North went 560 times per year over the bridge. However, on the eastern EU-frontier controls and limitations are not yet removed. Even on these frontiers, waiting time could extend from modest to long. For this reason the students of the European University Viadrina at Frankfurt (Oder) received special permits for bypassing the long lines. The Polish Twin Towns complain that border controls work too slowly because of a lack of officers. These frontiers can be characterised as conditionally open.
The situation on most frontiers in East Central and East Europe seems less favourable. Some non-EU boundaries in the Twin Towns further east function really as barriers. Therefore, these frontiers cannot be characterised as open borders. The border regime there meets both desires: the need for strengthened sovereignty of the new states at the one side, and the pressure by the European Union for security on her future frontier at the other side. That affects negatively the co-operation of Twin Towns on all fields. For instance, Komárno-Komárom, Rousse-Giurgiu, and Narva-Iwangorod show very low frequencies of border crossing. The traffic crossing the Danube Bridge between Giurgiu and Rousse concerns mainly transit transport, because it is the only land connection over the river. The heavy traffic extended highly during the Yugoslavian War of the nineties. According to the information of the custom offices in 1993, the inhabitants of Giurgiu and Rousse took part in this traffic with only five percent, with around 175,000 crosses yearly. (Waack 1998, 145.)

![Danube Bridge between Giurgiu and Rousse](http://www.iriscenter.ro/images/city%20publicity/Giurgiu/pod1.jpg)

In this case, every inhabitant of these both towns crossed the bridge less then once a year. Although inhabitants of Giurgiu and Rousse are not obliged to obtain a visa, border control remains spiteful, and time consuming. After the official explanation, it happens due to the drug smuggling. (Waack, 1998, 145/146.) In order to solve this problem both sides plan to establish joint custom administration aiming to decrease the procedures of border control. The situation between Komárno and Komárom does not seem so different, as one may believe, considering the much closer kinship between people. Despite the mayor guess the high frequency of border crossing, it is not so in relation to western European measures. Every inhabitant of the Twin Towns is
crossing the border bridge 20 times a year in average. As given in the same response from Komárno, after the Schengen agreement, border controls have tightened up remarkably there, like on other frontiers in the East.

Similarly, the border regimes of the Baltic States tend to harder restrictions. Since the Schengen Agreement, the EU-policy for the future frontier east is disastrous for the Twin Towns there. These towns, which were literally divided during the younger past, experience another traumatic division. Even the connection between Valga and Valka is concerned, as the respondents wrote. The time of stay is limited, the procedure for passports is difficult, and especially the price for work permits in the neighbouring town is too high, as the respondent of the questionnaire from Valka noticed. Border crossing diminished during the last years. Otherwise, it seems a hopeful sign, that common border control was established, which not existed until 1998. (Waack, 2000, 129.) Despite there exist a local traffic regulation, from the Latvian Valka came complaints that the custom officers were bureaucratic, and the facilities (computers) were old fashioned. EU-programs support the modernisation of border control. On the other side, became stronger and the people are afraid for more restrictions, if Latvia could not join the EU in the first wave of the enlargement. However, the border regime works as a barrier not only against the commuters but also against all deeper personal linkages and family relations. It destroys the base at the grass root level and life in these towns, which were fruitful in the case of Tornio and Haparanda.

The situation seems worse between Narva and Iwangorod, because there is a EU-border in future. After a passport agreement for the local traffic from 1992, which was similar to the Valka-Valga regularities, 9,942 persons from Narva and 2,500 inhabitants from Iwangorod received a permit in 1995. The restrictions became stricter in 1996. Since then, only persons with relatives of the first degree can pass the border for visits or maintenance of tombs and gardens. However, on a summer day in 1998, the researcher counted around 200 crosses per hour. One could sum this up to around 500,000 crosses yearly. (Waack, 2000, 138.) That would be threefold of the crossings by the people of Giurgiu and Rousse, but only 2.5 percent related to the crossings at the town bridge between Frankfurt (Oder) and Ústí. In both latter cases, no broader family relations exist.

Since September 2000, the border-crossing at Estonian Russian border is in full conformity with the Schengen requirements, that means, all crossing is based on visas. For relief of the barriers, the municipalities of Narva and Iwangorod opened a list with persons, whose close relatives or burial places are situated in the neighbour town. In Narva, 5,000 persons got the inscription, and 2,000 of them receive visa free of charge. (Information by the Estonian government).

Conclusion:

Open borders are the basic condition of Twin Towns co-operation. The Twin Towns inside the Schengen zone mark the goal. The Twin Towns on the eastern EU external border made important advances during the nineties, meanwhile the border crossing on the east European frontiers decreased due to
the Schengen agreement. The well-proofed instruments of local border traffic, and joint border controls should be used for closing the gap.

**Border traffic**

On the western frontiers, difficulties rise from the high frequency of traffic, as it is said in the response by the Oberndorf municipality. Therefore, people in Laufen and Oberndorf complain about the burden of cross-border shopping tourism towards Salzburg, Austria. Similar problems rose at all borders after 1990. For instance, in the Austrian Gmünd, which is the Twin Town of Ėeska Velenice, 60,000 people crossed the border before 1990. Nowadays, that figure increased to 3.5 millions! Moreover, all these cars and people are going through the town, because no bypass exists. (Gelebte Nachbarschaft, p. 5).

Because the traffic will further increase with the European integration process, the problem gains a new dimension and should be taken seriously. The Twin Towns co-operation cannot develop fruitfully, when the citizens experience their border situation as a burden. Bypass roads should separate the streams of traffic. Similar problems had Görlitz and Guben, when in the early nineties the traffic to the East had overrun the town centres. Meanwhile, new border checkpoints are built especially for the transit.


Special bridges and highways have to separate the long-distance traffic from the local border crossing. The opposite situation exists between Rousse and Giurgiu, where the only bridge crosses the Danube near the Rousse harbour relatively far of the city. It serves more the long-distance traffic and railway transport than the local border crossing of pedestrians and cars, as one can see at the picture. The construction of a more suitable and comfortable bridge could support the improvement of Twin Town connections.
The reconstruction or new construction of bridges is on the top of the agenda of many Twin Towns. Nevertheless, the government and state authorities often feel it not so urgent. For instance, the municipalities of Görlitz and Zgorzelec developed common plans for the construction of the old town bridge. The bridge was destroyed at the end of the last war, like most bridges over the Oder and Neisse rivers. Immediately after the reopening of the border in 1992, both municipalities thought about the reconstruction of this historic connection, not only for the comfort of pedestrians and cyclists, but also for the renewal of the old town centre of Görlitz. Shops and museums inside this unique historic area from the renaissance and the art nouveau times could attract more tourists, also from Poland. Financial support by the State of Saxony and the EU were appropriated. However, not only the Woiwod of the Polish county, but also the German government did not agree with this project. The Woiwod objected to the financial support, despite the urged Polish contribution was small. The German government refused the support respecting to the relative low frequency of the local cross-border traffic. Nevertheless, the communities of Görlitz and Zgorzelec still hope for realisation of this project in the near future, because this cross-border connection in the historic town centre would be important for common urban development. (Waack, 2000, 186.)

For similar reasons, Valença and Tui are looking forward to the reconstruction of the old bridge of Valença, built by Gustave Eiffel 1876-1878, despite the new railway bridge, constructed in 1992, brought the solution of urgent traffic problems. The both Rheinfelden took the new bridge over the Rhine into their local Agenda 21, whose construction started in 2001. (http://www.tages-anzeiger.ch/archiv/96august/960805/19914.htm) After 2004, 13,000 trucks and cars shall drive over the new highway bridge instead now 10,000 through the old town centre. Like in Valença, the old bridge will connect the Twin Towns on the local level.

Conclusion:
The connection and border traffic between Twin Towns can improve by separating the local border traffic from the long-distance transport. Therefore,
local border crossing needs special checkpoints, bridges, and roads in the centre of the towns.

**Motivation**

Did motivation differ depending from border type? As we can see in the figure, this is generally not the case. Motivation structure seems similar in the Twin Towns on the EU-internal borders as on the western EU-frontier and at the non-EU frontiers in Eastern Europe.

![Figure 7: Motivation of Border Crossing](image)

The figure shows motivations of border crossings according to ranking by the respondents. Additional information comes from the literature. (Waack, 2000, 172-175, 190/191.) It is put on a scale from 1 to 7. In the west, the non-EU-border contains only the case of Buchs-Schaan/Vaduz; therefore, it could not serve for conclusions of general evidence. For the discussion, four fields are chosen. The mean of all ranks in the field is given.

Shopping got the highest rank of all borders, excluding the eastern Non-EU-Border. The Twin Towns of the poorer transformation regions have not so many goods to exchange with any advantage; indeed, on the lower level of border traffic intensity, shopping has the same importance. As described for Giurgiu-Rousse, the direction of shopping swept with the floating differences of inflation, prizes and proliferation of goods. Each improvement on the one side attracts the shoppers from the other. (Waack, 1998, 148/149.) Petrol is a preferred good not only on the German-Polish border, but also at the western EU-frontier, as reported from Laufenburg (CH). Legal and tariff restrictions play a role. From Szczawnica-Lečenica is reported that the border traffic declined since the transfer of alcohol from the Slovak side was forbidden. Nevertheless, cheap alcoholic drinks in Slovakia still attract the Hungarians from Komárom to the restaurants and bars in their Twin Town. The form of shopping differs between East and West Europe. In the East, the trade on so-
called bazaars are still operating until now. In the Twin Towns at the Polish-German border this transformation phenomena is declining because of the reduction of price differences. The ordinary trade in shops and storehouses will gradually replace the bazaars. (Kaczmarek, 2001.)

However, shopping tourism does not mean interrelations of lower value. Shopping is an important part of everyday life; it connects people. Shopping is a first ranking economic factor for the development of border towns. It improves the role of the Twin Towns for their hinterlands, and it is an essential supplement of tourism. Even in the Eastern Twin Towns, the role of
shopping will grow, when economic reconstruction and welfare develops. The situation between Narva and Iwangorod could get worse when the border becomes the EU-frontier after the integration of Estonia. Development between Ëeský Tìšín-Cieszyn and Komárom-Komár is expected to develop in the opposite direction, because the character will change to a EU-internal border following the enlargement. The border regime between the latter relaxed incessantly since the sixties. This happened despite the minority situation comparable with the case of Narva-Iwangorod.

Visiting family and friends has a medium rank for border crossings, without substantial differences between the border types. Only in the eastern EU-frontier, it is remarkably lower, because of the smaller minority population there. The increase of this motivation indicates the improvement of grass root linkages by kinship and personal contact. The relief of limitations in border crossing in such eastern Twin Towns, where opposite minorities exist and family links are still intact, should be an urgent task. If the restrictions would remain for longer time, this factor of bottom up relations could be interrupted. That would be dangerous for the further integration process.

The relative high rank of cultural and leisure interests in border crossing could be astonishing. Here we have included sports and leisure activities such as entertainment and visiting restaurants. The ranking of both fields was very close in the responses of the questionnaire. Although generally ranking at the medium level, culture/sports and leisure seems most important at the eastern frontier of the EU. Regardless of small command of neighbouring languages, cultural relations are particularly well established. Culture was a focal point of cross-border co-operation in the socialist period, naturally with ideological aims; cultural contacts were institutionally backed and well financed. (Jajeœniak-Quast/Stok³osa, 2000, 199-220.) Institutional and financial conditions became harder with the changing times, indeed, it seems that over decades culture in a wide sense became a need from the grass root level in cross-border relations. We will look closer at this field in a special part. With respect to all, we have to be conscious, that other interests, such as family relations, are underdeveloped in comparison to the west.

At the western frontiers, commuting get a higher rank than culture and leisure. People commute mainly for work from the Swiss mountain valleys to the Liechtenstein capital Vaduz just as in the opposite direction. From the German border region, Rheinfelden ranks on the top with daily 2,000 commuters to Switzerland. In relation to the 32,000 inhabitants of the town, that seems a very high number. The most of them works at Basel, the centre of the Trinationale Agglomeration. (Zukunft à trois, 2: Wirtschaft, p. 10.) Commuting also ranks firstly between Tui and Valença. It remains the second position for the citizens of Tornio and Haparanda, where Finns have worked in the Haparanda industry since the time when the latter was founded. The information, which has a high significance in the figure, concerns the eastern frontier of the EU. At the German-Polish border, commuting is nearly absent. It is definitely the last reason for people at the Oder-Neisse frontier going to the Twin Town. Especially in this area, as already mentioned above, the situation changed radically during the transformation process. During socialist
times, large industrial complexes were built at the German-Polish and the Czech-Polish border that employed Polish workers, mostly in the frame of bilateral agreements. (Gayko, 2000.) For instance, women from Ślubice daily went to the semiconductor plant in Frankfurt (Oder), as the Polish women from Gubin to the synthetic fibre plant in Guben. The collapse came with the closure of large state owned companies after 1990.

However, de-industrialisation and high unemployment rates are only one reason for the decline of commuting. In this respect, there is no difference to the towns on the non-EU-border further east, where commuting remains an essential issue for border crossing. Mainly legal barriers block the access to the EU labour market, especially erected on its eastern frontier. At the non-EU frontiers in the East, commuting has still the second role for border crossing. Commuting declined reasonably during the transformation process, even between Český Těšín and Cieszyn, Komárno and Komárom, Rousse and Giurgiu and between Narva and Iwangorod. As in other fields, the latter is the worst case. People in Iwangorod get no work permit for Narva; therefore, commuting is only possible in the opposite direction. An official from the municipality in Iwangorod complained, in 1996, shortly before new restrictions related to the Schengen agreement were established:

*In the past, we had both, family relations and work relations; today, there are only family relations. However, these connections to relatives get worse increasingly, because there will be visa requirements.* (Waack, 2000, 179.)

Obviously, the decline of commuting in the eastern Twin Towns cannot be seen isolated from other areas of study. Whether in the short or long term, the contacts will generally suffer.

Conclusion:

The motivation structure of border crossing is the same in Twin Towns on the Eastern frontiers like inside the Schengen zone. Only commuting is missing because of the closed European labour market. Doubtless, when the eastern frontiers will become open borders in future, the cross-border connections will follow the same pattern as in the western Twin Towns now.

**Illegal Crossing and Border Criminality**

The restrictive border regime in the East rooted in the fear of uncontrolled immigration and crime. The relation between fear and danger should be balanced. The questionnaire asked for the level of border crimes, expressed in a scale from low to high, not in exact data. The local authorities delegate this request often to the border guard or police offices. That means, the following analyse is dealing with the felt and experienced pressure of crime. The figure shows the data for the different border types. The non-EU border in the west is not considered, because we have the single case of Buchs-Schaan-Vaduz; nevertheless, there is smuggling and illegal work at a modest level with increasing tendency.
At all, border criminality appears not high in the eyes of authorities in Twin Towns. If we look at the 16 categories, shown in the figure as four kinds of criminality on 4 types of European borders, we find out not less than ten in the level missing to low. Between low and modest move the next five columns, and only one column is tending to the level high: smuggling on the EU-frontier East. These results are astonishing. Obviously, the Twin Towns on the border generally experience themselves not as cities of crime. That could be interpreted as success of the border regime and border guards. Possibly, it means an overestimation of criminal pressure on the EU frontiers. Border criminality appears as a marginal feature of urban life in border towns. That is to keep in mind discussing the columns especially.

![Figure 8: Border criminality (degree: 0=non; 1=low; 2=modest; 3=high).](image)

Not surprisingly, Twin Towns on the EU internal borders reported non or low border criminality, and that decreased remarkably after the Schengen agreement. Removal of border controls and custom barriers pulled away the basis for crimes. Should border criminality simply appear as a function of legislation and justice? High degrees of smuggling and illegal migration are only noticed from Kerkrade, where drugs tourism plays an additional role. Therefore, common security management has priority between the police in Kerkrade, Herzogenrath and Aachen. The Twin Towns decided a special agreement in 2001. Low degrees are observed in Tornio-Haparanda and in the Belgian-Dutch Baarle.

The highest degree of border criminality is observed at the eastern frontier of the EU. After the evidence of the responses, all kind of illegality reaches the highest or second level there. However, the so-called ants are incessantly smuggling goods in small portions; asylum seeking persons from the poor edges of Europe and from the developing countries try to get access; and the pimps of the metropolis find their victims behind this border. (Bort, 2000.) Nevertheless, even here, only smuggling and illegal work extend the modest level. With the ongoing enlargement of the EU, all these phenomena will move east. When a new border control building at Valga was opened, meant
for detention of illegal border crossers, the Estonian officer stressed proudly that the detention cells would have EU standard: *We did a further step into the direction of Europe.* (Waack, 2000, 129.) Nevertheless, the Twin Towns further eastward responded only low degrees of crime on all fields beyond smuggling.

Smuggling seems to be the only widespread illegal activity. From the Romanian Giurgiu, it is reported that 26,000 boxes of cigarettes were illegally introduced yearly, which are valued at $5.1 million. (http://www.romanian-daily.ro/ARHIVA/RED71.html.) Often smuggling is not really recognised as a crime by the people at the border. Border guards get no support from the inhabitants, because they are the malefactors themselves, as reported from Řešky Tišín and Cieszyn. However, smuggling is a special form of local economic activity. It is not only the job of the mafia, but also the gain, which ordinary people can take from the border, as the economist knows. Currently, it compensates the high unemployment in the East Central European peripheries. Border guards persecute strongly this activity at all Eastern European borders. Nevertheless, related to these high efforts and concerning the lower level of border crossing beyond the EU frontier in the East, smuggling has no high extension. Obviously, the fear seems larger than the danger.
On the next rank appears illegal work; it is extending the modest level on both external frontiers of the EU, even in the West as in the East. In the average of all Twin Towns, illegal workers rank secondly after smuggling. The remaining commuters at the eastern EU frontiers are mostly illegal and therefore not ordinary full-time employees. Commuters cross the border as tourists or as visitors, entering the hidden black labour market. (Waack, 2000, 167/168; Zamárdi, 2001, 44/45.) That means the phenomena could be underestimated. However, we have to keep in mind, that unemployment rates are exceptional in all Twin Towns at the eastern frontiers. Preferring, illegal commuters look for jobs in the agglomerations inside the countries like Berlin, Milan, or even Bratislava, where salaries reached the EU average and unemployment is low or not existing. (Szabó, 106-109.)

Conclusion:

Border crimes like smuggling and illegal work will vanish, when the border barriers become lower. That means decriminalisation of the local population. Furthermore, that means higher cross-border activity between the Twin Towns. Especially legalisation of commuting is necessary, when deeper and stabile connections from the bottom shall grow.

6. Co-operation of Municipalities

Institutionalisation with support by the EU

Cross-border co-operation develops not simply as a self-organisation process; even if there are best conditions and circumstances such as common history, shared interest, bilingualism, kinship, and open border. It cannot only grow from the grass roots level. The improvement needs institutionalisation. The number of agreements, closed between the Twin Towns is a simple and strong indicator. The meetings between mayors and councils also indicate this process. Probably, the connection exists between the density of meetings and the deepening of co-operation. Therefore, these simple quantitative indicators seem plausibly. Institutionalisation made substantial advancements during the last ten years, as the figure shows. The number of agreements between municipalities has more than tripled compared with the preceding decade. Obviously, correlation with the enhancement of European integration exists. Progressive institutionalisation includes all Twin Towns on the EU internal borders.

In the same way, Twin Towns at the eastern EU-frontier made steps in this direction; the German-Polish Twin Towns are in no respect staying behind. A network of Euroregions, founded in the early nineties along Oder and Neisse, supported the process. The municipalities on the eastern frontier clearly underline the positive influence of membership, as compared to the municipalities in the west, which did respond to the questionnaire.
Even the Twin Towns on the non-EU borders in the east came to agreements between municipalities. European institutions immediately backed this when the financial support in the frame of PHARE programs was linked with cross-border agreements as a condition. Before the PHARE-CBC program (cross-border co-operation program), there were little possibilities to support particular programs of the border Twin Towns.
Valga and Valka signed such Treaty of co-operation in the end of 1995. Therefore, they could use the PHARE-CBC program CREDO and the ECOS-Ouverture program for common projects in environmental protection and other fields such as social care and cultural co-operation. Both towns were supported and supervised by Tornio and Haparanda. Since then, a Twin Town partnership linked the Nordic pioneer with the Twin Towns at the newest border of the region. (Waack, 2000, 185.) Similarly, the agreement between Řeský Tíšín and Cieszyn in 1996 led to closer partnership; both can also use the PHARE-CBC program. Gorizia and Nova Gorica also signed their cross-border agreement in 1998 to pursue co-operation at a higher level supported by the PHARE CBC-program. After the signature of agreements for cross-border co-operation between Bulgaria and Romania in the frame of Credo and PHARE-CBC initiatives, a joint program has been developed for cross-border co-operation: an Euroregion Rousse-Giurgiu has been established in April 2001; common meetings between local authorities take place regularly. This program is aimed at promoting cross-border co-operation mainly in the field of environment.

Beyond the Euroregions and the institutions of the European Union, other cross-border regional unions play a role. The Trinational Agglomeration Basel that included communities from Germany, France, and Switzerland, seems the most important and long lasting. The German and the Switzerland Rheinfelden are fruitfully included. This union gains EU support for projects and institutions; indeed, the Euroregions lost their role in this environment. (Cahiers thématiques; Schlögel, 378-387; 393.) The last interesting example is the Eurociudad Vasca, a union of the communities in the Basque Atlantic Arch, which included Irún/Hondarribia-Hendaye. These unions will not substitute but complete the closer institutionalisation of Twin Towns.

**Progressive Levels**

Institutionalisation meant not simply broadening but deepening of cross-border relations. We can recognise three levels of institutionalisation: the first means implementing common single projects; the second contents systematic co-operation in the whole area of town policy; on the third Twin Towns create joint bodies with the aim of unified town. Within the last decade, the progressive tendency to both the higher stages became obviously.

**The first stage:** In the beginning were projects such as the common use of the swimming pool, which was already decided on in the sixties by Tornio and Haparanda. (Jussila, 1997, 58.) Already in 1975, the both Rheinfelden came to an agreement about the common investment of an ice-skating ring. (Schlögel, 1982, 348.) The foundation of a Joint International Library by both Baarle in 1976 had similar meaning. In the cases of Oberndorf-Laufen and Guben-Gubin, sewage plants were the initial common project; the latter got high financial support by the INTERREG-program. The towns at the Oder-Neisse frontier had to start co-operation soon after partition, because of urgent problems. For instance, Guben supplied gas to Gubin since 1957, whereas Frankfurt (Oder) is supplying gas to S³ubice since 1960. (Jajeœniak-Quast/Stok³osa, 2000, 118-122.) Since the border opening of 1972, all Twin
Towns here started institutionalisation of partnerships based on yearly or two-year agreements. Supply of drinking water from Gorizia to Nova Gorica started also in the sixties, where the first agreement was signed in 1963. (Zago, 2000, 22.)

**Figure 11: Meetings of Municipalities**

**The second stage:** Although municipalities institutionalised co-operation more or less everywhere since the sixties, a new stage was generally reached during the nineties. Typical agreements of the nineties were not limited to subjects and time. We can see this as a step to joint local policy. As a sign, these agreements led to regularly planned joint meetings. The number of yearly meetings between mayors and town councils, taken by the responded questionnaires and shown in the figure, gives a strong indicator of progress. The case of Tornio-Haparanda is not shown, because the outstanding number of weekly mayor meetings would press the other data to the bottom.

There are two types of co-operation: one, where only the mayors meet regularly, assisted by their staffs; and the other, where town councils also have joint meetings. We find the first in some Twin Towns in the East and at the borders of Spain. Did this indicate different national traditions, or means it only a different understanding of the questionnaire? Obviously, town parliamentarism is an essential part of local policy in the Western, Nordic, and Central European communities; no important decision or even agreement could be made without it. The case of the Switzerland-Liechtenstein Twin Towns of Buchs-Schaan-Vaduz is special, because only the town councils held a yearly meeting; did this result from the Swiss political culture of direct democracy?

Obviously, there are two levels of co-operation, one where municipalities meet very often, and another where close and frequent meetings of staff and joint commissions assist them. Different to the former stage of institutionalisation, these commissions are not only set up for single projects and problems, but are
also permanently established for special areas of local policy. Such permanent staff meetings and commission exist even between Rousse and Giurgiu in the fields of medical care and environmental protection. Both towns already installed the cross-border commission in 1987, because of the high air pollution caused by chemical industry in Giurgiu. (Waack, 1998, 147.)

The third stage: Some Twin Towns reached the stage of joint bodies or even public corporations. After a longer period of co-operation on the second stage, this step seems to follow consequently. This progressive ongoing institutionalisation is pushed by an internal dynamic, not by impact from outside, even not by the EU. There is no example, that Twin Towns after a period of co-operation left their common way and cut any connections. Twin Towns follow the way to closer unions despite all obstacles in national laws, limited resources, dividing national tradition and cultures, or interests of state governance. Since the process became so dynamic during the nineties, we can wonder, what fruits it will bring during the next decade.

Euro Cities - Joint Bodies

This last stage of institutionalisation passed from common policy to common institutions. Obviously, the nineties brought only the first steps of this development, as the table shows.

The respondents from Haparanda-Tornio described the difference to the former stage as from the viewpoint of aims:

The main difference from earlier periods was that the towns uplifted their common goal from money saving to beneficial development on several levels. The money saving goal is still one of the corner stones of the collaboration, but more important is the wider, positive view of co-operation.

This description could be right in any respect, especially from the viewpoint of the municipalities. Nevertheless, there is no doubt, that even this decision for a close and unlimited unification of both Twin Towns has more than one reason and was not only a question of rationality. Firstly, the European integration process backed the decision. The citizens of the Twin Towns looked in a different way at the border, before seen only as an obstacle. In the European light, they recognised, that all their unexcited co-operation in everyday life, public service, school and culture could summarise under the new meaningful label. Secondly, the decision grounded in common culture, kinship, and tradition. Thirdly, it rooted in the positive experiences with the long lasting co-operation between the Twin Towns in different fields. (Jussila, 58-61.)

The following scheme describes the structure of the joined institution, the Provincia Bothniensis, which we can understand as a common name of the future unified town. Doubtless, Provincia Bothniensis on the mouth of Torne River was the first Eurotown in Europe. After it, Herzogenrath-Kerkrade presented their Eurode project at the Maastricht conference in 1991. Then came in 1998 a little wave of Eurotown foundations. Not surprisingly, the both Baarle, who are mixed from so many enclaves, built up their joint body as soon as possible. The judicial institutionalisation of Baarle was possibly after
the Benelux treaty of 1986/91, as the Provincia Bothniensis in the frame of Nordic community treaties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Twin Town</th>
<th>Joint Body</th>
<th>Agreement Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tornio-Haparanda</td>
<td>Provincia Bothniensis</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Görlitz-Zgorzelec</td>
<td>Eurotown Görlitz-Zgorzelec</td>
<td>1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herzogenrath-Kerkrade</td>
<td>Eurode</td>
<td>1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irún/Hondarribia-Hendaye</td>
<td>Consorcium Bidasoa-Txingudi</td>
<td>1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guben-Gubin</td>
<td>Eurotown Guben-Gubin</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Joint Body Agreements

Amazingly, under these pioneers of Twin Town co-operation we find one from the EU-frontier East. Görlitz and Zgorzelec started a fruitful co-operation after the ceremony in May 1998. That is a good sign for the well ongoing cross-border co-operation in this region. Even Frankfurt (Oder) and S³ubice are thinking about further institutionalisation under the common name S³ubfurt; an association has been founded and is paving the way to achieve this goal. Nevertheless, the problems of double town building become obviously on the EU frontier East. A newly finished study found a wide gap between the European euphoric visions of the elite and the every day life of the community. Whereas the local politicians and partly the economic actors too are narrowing the public life of the Twin Towns, the social milieus of citizens become closer and more isolated one to each other. Conflicts and violence are increasing obviously. (Matthiessen).

Joint bodies or corporations overtook cross-border competencies of the communities. Not only, they have their own responsibilities in project development and crisis management, but also they have competencies in decision-making and local policy. Following the Benelux Treaty, there is a difference. Only public corporations are legal entities and can employ their own staff. Eurode forms a public corporate body and therefore a legal entity, as the Provincia Bothniensis does. That is the main sign of enhanced institutionalisation, compared with the former stage. With exception of the Consorcium Bidasoa-Txingudi, all include executive and representative elements. Bidasoa-Txingudi established under Spanish law, is a consortium, which has no executive functions, but competencies in decision-making and cross-border agreements.

The joint bodies or corporations follow the same pattern that was introduced with Provincia Bothniensis in 1987. An executive council holds monthly sessions; it is built by representatives of both communities and headed by the
The mayors of the towns alternate yearly in this function. The council sets up commissions and working groups. Staff, if existing, seems rather small. Provincia Bothniensis, for example, employs three persons who work in an office with post address and telephone from Sweden as well as from Finland. Decision-making respects strongly the equality and autonomy of each community without respect to size or number of inhabitants.

![Diagram of the administrative structure of Provincia Bothniensis (Jussila, 60.)](image)

Otherwise, substantial inequality of size, competencies, like those existing between the smaller Baarle Hertog and her Dutch counterpart, or inequalities in access to resources and welfare like those, which exist between the German-Polish twins, would destroy mutual trust. That means for the joint body of the Baarles, that every conclusion needs the majority of representatives from each town themselves. As the respondent from Baarle wrote:

*However, co-operation is a process. It must grow in practice but also in the minds of those involved. From this angle, we are convinced that a Common Organ, based on equality of both and autonomy of each, is the best approach for the necessary mutual trust and consensus building.*

Enough problems remain. The process of decision-making is very long and complicated; because both municipalities and often both state authorities have to be involved. The respondent from the Baarles illustrated this by the example of the reconstruction of a road. Naturally, in these towns all roads are international. Finances and resources have to be provided from the communities from both states. Different political cultures could influence the municipalities and create difficulties and misunderstandings, as in the more centralised countries of Belgium or Poland in exchange with the more grass root democratic Netherlands or the federal Germany. Competencies and
attitudes were influenced, as reported from Baarle. These are more or less normal problems of cross-border co-operation.

Other problems rise only at the forefront where these Twin Towns act. Even these pioneers of cross-border co-operation complain about the insufficiency of legal environment. Moreover, the joint bodies have no legislation power. That is one main point. Therefore, the decisions get the character of recommendations that town parliaments have to legislate. The other point is the insufficient equalisation of laws inside the European Union. Eurode for example bears the different national laws and legislation as a millstone around the neck. Common bodies must often work around national legislation. By the Eurode municipalities, this is named a little anarchy necessary for this new form of cross-border co-operation.

![Picture 12: Mayors of Irún, Hondarribia, and Hendaye sign the agreement about the Consorcium Bidosa-Txingudi, 23rd of December 1998.](http://www.bidosa-txingudi.com/images/fotos/pe2-003.jpg)


Obviously, these Twin Towns with joint bodies, named in anticipation of a common future, are really at the forefront of the current level of European integration. Therefore, when respondents feel themselves as pioneers, they describe the situation. More importantly, they all see their own Twin Town as success story. Despite all troubles, all these Twin Towns declare that their
objectives is to become a single town. The real possibility exists, that institutionalisation of Twin Town co-operation is going further into this direction. Probably, many Twin Towns will follow their example.

Conclusion:
Institutionalisation of cross-border co-operation develops very fast. The European integration, programs, and institutions back the process, but it roots in the Twin Towns own needs. Institutionalisation grows from the needs of Twin Towns for closer and long-term co-operation. Twin town municipalities act on the forefront of the European institutionalisation and juridical equalisation; they often strike the limits. Therefore, institutionalisation of Twin Towns needs special support and attention by governments and European institutions.

7. Linkage of Public Services

Aims and Advances

Networked public service is the main subject of co-operation, which formulated by the Provincia Bothniensis as the *level where goal is saving money*. However, the connection of public services offers more advantages than only money saving. It improves the life conditions of the citizens and it is closely connected with environmental protection.

Figure 13: Co-operation levels in public services. (9 sectors: public transport, fire fighting, water supply, sewage, health service, gasworks, refuse collection, street cleaning, power station).

The figure shows the number of Twin Towns in different stages of service connection. The measure is the number of fields, where Twin Towns their public service have connected or such project have started at least. There are three levels: the first stage of only one or two linked sector of the nine; the
second level with three to four linked sectors, and the highest level, where five to seven branches are connected. All Twin Towns in discussion have started the co-operation, and ten of them advanced remarkably up to the linkage of three or more sectors.

The number of sectors, where linkage has started or is in planning, gives an indicator of co-operation in practice. The figure below shows the branches, which are linked. Public transport takes the top, followed by assistance in fire fighting. Nearly the half of all Twin Towns came to agreements and common arrangements in these fields. Possibly, there exist low legal and tax hindrances, no higher investment is necessary, and the advantages are especially obvious. Therefore, these fields could be the best start for closer connections. Remarkably, the following sectors are waterworks and sewage plants. Both request very high investment and are restricted by national standards. The current costs and taxes are also high. The reached level in these branches indicates the urgency of common solutions in these fields. Common use of gasworks and power stations seems rather seldom, like linked refuse collection or street cleaning. Arrangements in the sector of public health care are tried, but not widespread. In the following, the main branches shall be observed more detailed, to show the fruitful examples and general experiences.

![Figure 14: Twin Towns with connected public services by branches (N=18).](image)

The differentiation between the Twin Towns in the former East Bloc and these on the western frontiers seems obviously. Mainly the towns of the eastern frontiers remain in the first stage of this process, with only one or two linked sectors, mostly a sort of public transportation. Therefore in figure 13 is introduced a very simple division in eastern and western towns. All Twin Towns on the EU frontier East, and all on the borders of the candidates for the EU enlargement are summarised to the East, all other Twin Towns in the West, North, and South of Europe are taken to the West. Even this simple arrangement makes clear, that there exist a time lag. The fast ongoing
institutionalisation between the Twin Towns in the East was not backed enough by grown long-lasting co-operation. Not surprisingly, towns with joint corporate bodies like Tornio-Haparanda and the Baarles are the first with five or seven networked facilities, together with both Laufenburg. The three towns of the Consorcium Bidasoa-Txingudi appear not on the top of this ranking, because the response gave the general information, that some services were already delegated to the common companies: SIVU for the French and “Mancommunidad” for the Spanish side. That means these intensively connected towns have also reached the highest level of linkage in public services. Due to their many enclaves, the Baarles could not avoid networked public services; the joint body therefore is working together with both staffs like a common administration. Not self-evident but similarly, Tornio and Haparanda networked public transport, fire-fighting and hospital laboratories; they connected district heating that delivers both sides and agreed to build a new common sewage plant in 1992. This example illustrates the possible degree, which all Twin Towns could attain for the good reason of saving money, if hindrances would be removed.

Concerning the types of neighbour towns by Buursink mentioned in the introduction, the Twin Towns in the top group advanced to Double Towns, whereas those, which have linked only one branch, are staying at the town couple level. Most twin towns at the border are on the way. As the figure shows, most Twin Towns organised the common use of three or four sectors. Probably, even there are still unused possibilities for saving money. In every case, not a lack of good will or right conscious has limited further advances, but the dividing national borders. As the figure 13 shows, nearly all Twin Towns, which have only linked one or two branches, are located in the East of Europe, behind the former Iron Curtain. The most advanced of them are the Euro Towns Guben-Gubin and Görlitz-Zgorzelec on the German-Polish border. They reached the medium stage of co-operation. However, no one in the East entered the top group. Where are the hindrances? One can conclude that perhaps the main hindrance for closer connection of public services along the eastern borders is the lack of financial support. However, there are other problems too. Different national law is hindrance like on the EU internal borders. Therefore, EU-programs are so necessary to improve the co-operation in public services in the eastern border towns. Remarkably, there is nearly no project, which is not supported by EU-programs. For instance, even some communities along the Romanian and Bulgarian frontier are included in projects for improvement of public services by the PHARE CBC program with useful results for the local communities, as the ministry reported. The municipalities of Rousse and Giurgiu developed some common projects for butane fuel pipeline and look for investors and in the frame of ECOLONKS, for “Joint management of natural resources and environment”, supported with US$ 50,000. Hindrances of local competencies and different national laws play the second role. By the Ministry of Public Administration of Romania was stressed, that there are no obstacles in general:

_The local and county councils in the territorial–administrative units, existing in the border areas, may conclude transborder co-operation agreements with_
similar authorities in the neighbouring countries, in accordance with Romanian law.

However, the limited competencies of the municipalities cannot always be neglected. Because of difficult restrictions in competencies, Komárno and Komárom did not link any of the core branches of public service, but the Twin Towns maintain together the border bridge over the Danube. As the mayor responded, both municipalities feel the urgent need for closer co-operation in broader fields. As explained by Ëeský Tïšín:

Although both towns live in their entirety and there are everyday contacts between municipalities, the public services (only with some exceptions) cannot be united because of differences of legal, administrative, and financial (taxes) systems of both countries. In addition, the sources for building any new infrastructure are limited on both sides, which is another factor, which limits joint activities in the field of services.

Conclusion:

Despite remarkable advances, linkage of public services is only in the first or second stage. The majority of Twin Towns linked less than a third of possible branches; only 17 percent used the advantages of connection in the most possible fields. Hindrances are shaped by the separated national systems. The further progress needs equalisation of legal, administrative, and financial regulations. The time lag of the Twin Towns on the Eastern borders is remarkable.

Public Traffic

Public transport is the preferred and urgent sector of co-operation, as the figure shows. Every second Twin Town got some kind of linked public transportation. Most of them installed common bus connections, like Kerkrade and Herzogenrath, Tornio and Haparanda, Valga and Valka, the both Rheinfelden and both Laufenburg, Irún/Hondarribia and Hendaye. The latter maintain also a common ferryboat. The bus connections are managed in different ownership; often the communities themselves own them, often there are private companies.

Other traffic like taxi or railway has lower importance. The railway connection was improved in the case of Ëeský Tïšín and Cieszyn, and an improvement is in progress for Valença and Tui. The whole networks of public traffic are linked between the Baarles, between the Princedom of Liechtenstein and the surrounding Switzerland with Buchs and Schaan, and in the agglomeration of Basel, where the both Rheinfelden are located. The improvement of cross-border public transport can partly relieve the pressure of very high individual traffic. Therefore, the Twin Towns promote common public transport to promote the old town centres and to avoid air pollution.
Common cross-border traffic obviously seems the best solution for Twin Towns, but it is not so easy to overcome the different interests, as the case of Frankfurt (Oder) and Śibice shows. The German municipality discussed for years the re-building of the tram connection and the Polish municipality agreed on the advantages it may have for the citizens of both towns. For the same solution, the municipalities of Görlitz and Zgorzelec hope. However, the lobby of taxi-drivers in Śibice protested. Taxi service is an essential source of employment there, due to a lack of public transport from Frankfurt (Oder) to the bazaar in Śibice. However, with the planning and reconstruction of the town bridge, authorities have not considered the future of tram tracks. Did the taxi-drivers overcome with their objections? Meanwhile, an INTERTAXI agreement works successfully in Görlitz-Zgorzelec, demonstrating how public interest became priority. Even there, soon after the opening of the border in 1991, a common bus line was installed. That requested not only an agreement about prices and tickets, but also relieved border control for the passengers. All these problems were managed and could deliver experiences for other Twin Towns beyond the frontiers of the EU. Otherwise, Frankfurt (Oder) and Śibice gained good experiences with linked network of telecommunication. Between both towns, one can phone for local charge.

**Conclusion:**

Linked public transport between Twin Towns needs firstly improvement of infrastructure, like railway and tramway bridges. It needs roads and highways, which take the high cross-border transport out of the town centres. It needs relieved or removed border controls. Lastly, it requests special regulations for common public or private investment and maintenance of traffic and for common local charge and tickets.
Fire Fighting and Emergency Assistance

Assistance in fire fighting is the most natural kind of solidarity under neighbours. In more than one case, that stood at the start of linked public service. Already during the seventies, agreements were closed between German and Switzerland border communities. The both Laufenburg and both Rheinfelden held common manoeuvres and gave assistance in emergency cases. There was the classic case of complementation, when for example, the Switzerland fire brigades got the ladder, and the Germans got the radio. However, also in these cases things are not simple. Many problems should be observed: the insurance of fire brigades abroad; the liability against damages of concerned people; and lastly, the requested charges and costs. (Schlögel, 357-359.)

Different national laws and regularities did not promote the assistance also in the case of emergence. From Guben is responded, that the national authorities “are tolerating” mutual assistance of fire brigades. That could be a basic for the future. Beyond the legal disparities, there are different technical standards. The fire brigades of Kerkrade and Herzogenrath developed a special linkage for the Dutch and German water hose, to couple the different systems. That is placed as a symbol now into an exposition about the German-Netherlands neighbourhood, firstly at the House of History at Bonn, then at Amsterdam. (See: PP Presentation Kerkrade & Herzogenrath).

![Hose Coupling](http://www.herbogenrat.de/images/Schlauchkupplung3.jpg)

Picture 15: Hose Coupling, developed by the fire brigades of Kerkrade and Herzogenrath for their common fire fighting. (http://www.herbogenrat.de/images/Schlauchkupplung3.jpg).

Mostly, the Twin Towns find regularities, where the assistance works without fees and charges on the basic of mutual services. Similar agreements were signed between Haparanda and Tornio in 1994, between Kerkrade and Herzogenrath in 1996, and between Frankfurt (Oder) and S³ubice in 1997. In every case, formal agreements followed the informal help in practice over years, as it is functioning in Irún/Hondarribia and Hendaye until now.

All these agreements are extended on other emergency cases than fire. Kerkrade and Herzogenrath expressively included the danger of gale; Haparanda/Tornio and Frankfurt (Oder)/S³ubice included the rescue service;
and the latter agreed especially about the common fight against high tides. This assistance agreement was signed immediately after a large high tide of the Oder River, and the experiences of this great disaster affected negotiations and very soon signing. The respondent from Guben underlined the extreme solidarity of the citizens, which collected help goods and money for their Polish neighbours. Otherwise, he remarked, the close regularities of the Polish custom control did not encourage the transports of help.

Conclusion:

Mutual assistance in fire fighting and other emergency cases should be the first step to linked public services. Even this field needs the support by governments to overcome the different national regularities and bureaucratic obstacles.

**Sewage and Water Supply**

Sewage and water supply has a high rank of common public service, but common facilities are rather seldom yet. Although nearly all these Twin Towns located along rivers should have common problems in this field, the majority has not connected one or both of these plants. The very different examples of Haparanda-Tornio, Guben-Gubin, Görlitz-Zgorzelec, and Narva-Iwangorod demonstrate, that it is a sensible problem of dependence and of high investment. Apart from these towns, only the Baarles, and Oberndorf and Laufen have common sewage plants and waterworks.

Common sewage plants and waterworks are not only high investments and current costs; they are also subject of state regulations. That means the linkage of public service is not only in the competency of the Twin Towns themselves. Always state agreements on the governmental level are necessary. (Schlögel, 154-286.) However, the advantages are obvious, and therefore the Twin Towns have a very strong interest in such agreements. When Laufen/Germany and Oberndorf/Austria agreed about an integrated water network in 1977, they did so only for the case of shortage of water by dryness and contamination. (Schlögel, 284.) Nowadays, the Austrian-German Twin Town got a common sewage plant, financed by governments and communities. Both Laufenburg maintain a common water work still, which they have financed themselves. In the case of Tornio and Haparanda, the planning of a common sewage plant stood – after school questions – at the beginning of closer co-operation. The decision was made in 1971, and it was built in 1972. It became a full success and led to further common investment into a garbage collection dump two years later. (Jussila, 58.) Since 1996, the common investment is shaped into a joint company, shared by Tornio (65 %), Haparanda (25 %), and by the neighbour communities Oyj Hartwall, and Lapin Kulta with together 10 %. The communities and a private company finance the company in public-private partnership. Regional networks, like between the towns in Bidasoa Txingudi, plays an important role in this field of high investment. Kerkrade, therefore, receives her water not from the Twin Town, but from the Eiffel in Germany.
There is literally no Twin Town, where connected services in this field are not in discussion. Even in Rousse-Giurgiu, propositions for the building of a joint water treatment plant exist. Nevertheless, the gap between propositions and realisation is especially high in this field.

Therefore, the joint sewage plant of Guben-Gubin, located in Gubin, supported by the INTERREG II program, and presented at the EXPO 2000 as a common project, has found widespread resonance and is an important example for other Twin Towns in the region. (Jajcenia-Quast, 2001.) Differently, the new plant at Görlitz does not take the sewage of Zgorzelec, although it has the capacity to do so. The Polish town could not pay the current costs. Therefore, the German Federal Republic gave financial support for the modernisation and construction of sewage plants on the Polish side within the program Clean Neisse. Both municipalities commonly urged for such a program because of the high water pollution by sewage. (Waack, 2000.)

In the case of Narva-Iwangorod, things are going into an opposite direction. Public service of both towns was highly connected during Soviet times; Iwangorod supplied heating for Narva where the sewage plant and water work was sited. Problems arose after the partition, because Iwangorod could not pay for those services in a foreign currency, as it should since 1992. In the end of 1998, the debt ran up to $1.4 million. The Estonian side, where the water work were in private ownership meanwhile, stopped the water supply for the first time; supply was reduced to one third, after the Russian state paid the debt partly. Because Narva stopped cleaning sewage for the neighbour for the same reason in summertime 1998, Iwangorod led the sewage directly into the Narva River. The problems were negotiated by the governments and could partly be solved at this level. (Waack, 2000, 187.)
Conclusion:

Sewage plants and water supply needs high investment and financial support, which cannot come from the towns themselves. Water networks are essential fields of pollution and environmental problems. Therefore, investments in common facilities and plants shall be put on the top of the agenda of government support for Twin Towns co-operation.

Refuse Collection

Despite Haparanda and Tornio started the planning of a common garbage collection dump already in 1973, as Jussila reported, it seems to play not the same role today; at least, there is nothing noticed in the response on the questionnaire.

Refuse collection and street cleaning is often not possible, because it is prohibited to export refuse or waste, as responded from Kerkrade. Nevertheless, the incinerating plant of Buchs is burning all refuse of the Principedom Liechtenstein. This happens behind the EU; perhaps Buchs and Vaduz could encourage regulations in this field, which were better adapted to the special needs of Twin Towns. Irún/Hondarribia and Hendaye are discussing the project of common refuse collection, and the both Baarle are planning a common plant. It seems self evident, that these Twin Towns cannot separate street cleaning and therefore, they have linked this service.

Linked service has a longer tradition between Frankfurt (Oder) and S³ubice. Once per week a German cleaning car is driving over the river for cleaning the streets of the Polish neighbour town, as it happened already in the seventies. Therefore, the Polish side delivers rubbish bins. (Jajeœniak-Quast/Stok³osza, 2000, 129/130.)

Probably, all towns have their own facilities for cleaning and garbage dumping. Investment in this field seems not so urgent than in water and sewage plants. Obviously, space for closer connections exists also in this field.

Power and Gas Supply

The connection of gas and power supply seems a similar complicated field; despite it could function only as clear buy and sale relationship as it happens with electricity by Switzerland to the French part of the Trinationale Agglomeration. The Belgium Baarle supplies all needed gas to the Dutch sister town, as did the Switzerland Laufenburg with power supply to the Laufenburg in German Baden. A joint company of both municipalities owns the common district heating system of Tornio and Haparanda. Remarkably, Tui and Valença got a common gas plant financed by the European Union.

On the eastern frontiers of the EU, there seem to exist no successful examples. Obviously, investment is a problem and obstacle for improved linkage in this branch. Perhaps elder plants and facilities shape the hindrance for closer cross-border co-operation. Modernisation of plants and facilities can offer good opportunities to start common companies of Twin Towns. That saves money,
protects the environment, and improves the co-operation. Otherwise, national power networks could occupy this field. However, it would be useful to encourage no new investment without respect on cross-border co-operation.

**Environmental Protection**

All described branches of public service have eminent importance for environmental protection. Antiquated, ineffective facilities and plants cause air and water pollution. Neglected infrastructure and public traffic, highways, and bridges led to overcrowded town centres and congested roads. Improvement needs high investments. Therefore, co-operation and common planning and use of facilities are the best way also for the environmental protection.

Rousse-Giurgiu installed common commissions for environmental and health problems already in 1987. The chemistry plant in Giurgiu caused dangerous air pollution until the chlorine production was stopped. During the nineties, PHARE-supported filters and monitoring system improved the situation and the trust between the towns. (Waack, 1998, 147.) Meanwhile in order to decrease pollution, Electro-filter has been installed in the Thermal Power Plant of Rousse also. Joint work has been leading an additional draft project in this sphere.

**Conclusion:**

Although the linkage of public services shapes the core of Twin Town cooperation, it reached only the first or medium stage. Common investments and linked services offer advantages for money saving, environmental protection and improved supply for citizens. Further advances need investments and legal adjustment; EU programs and exchange of positive experiences could toughen it. EU programs should support conditionally, that means especially for common investments in linked public services.

8. **Urban Development**

The improvement of public service remains an important part of urban planning in most Twin Towns. Plans focus the vision of one common town centre for the citizens of both towns in some cases. So, in Tornio-Haparanda increasing voices argue for a real united town, as responded from Provincia Bothniensis:

*The physical planning authorities on both sides, within the frame of the PB, recently presented an interesting project, ‘At the boundary’, where the two towns would be physically united by several new buildings. Some of these buildings, situated on the boundary itself, would be used by juridical authorities, police, fire brigade etc, while others would be used for commerce and housing.*
Doubtless, the physically united town is generally a vision of the current stage of Twin Town co-operation. Nevertheless, the vision shows evidently, how deeply the idea infiltrated at least parts of the functional elite of Twin Towns for the simple objective of saving money. The best expressions are common slogans like: *Two countries – one city*. It stems originally from the Twin Town of El Paso-Juárez along the American Rio Grande. It has been adapted by both Laufenburgs and is now used by the Europatown Görlitz-Zgorzelec.

![PROJEKT DONAUHANZA](image.png)

*Picture 17: Project for common urban development of Komárno (SK) in the North and Komárom (HU) in the South. (Mácsa Mihály, Vice Mayor of Komárno).*

Particular projects could be realised sooner or are in progress. The Baarles are planning the construction of one common city hall in the near future. This Twin Town is one where the staffs are working together and where citizens and visitors are often confused about the right address of the city hall and knocking at the wrong door. Eurode reconstructed the Neustraße/ Nieuwstraat, belonging to both towns and countries, as the common place of urban life.

However, urban planning for a common future is not only the dream of the most advanced joint bodies. Even Komárno-Komárom developed urban planning in this sense. Keeping in mind the current stage of possible co-operation between municipalities, it seems not very realistic for the nearer future. The Euroregion Donauhanza, where the project is included, cannot function under the present conditions, because the Slovakian government did not allow the communities, to take full part in it. Responding to the active Hungarian policy to her minorities abroad, the status of the members on the
Nevertheless, urban planning is a business that needs long breath. There are bypasses to reach the same goal on another way. With support of European institutions, even in Komárno remarkable advances were reached. The Europe Place at Komárno, a central place with marvellous old and new buildings, was reconstructed with financial support of the European Union and ceremoniously opened for the public on the 16th of December 2000. The presidents of both countries and high representatives of the European Union took part in the celebration. (http://www.europeplace.komarno.com/). Here the label of Europe helped to overcome the long maintained distrust of Slovak authorities against the linkages between the Hungarian settled frontier region and the mother country.

In Guben and Gubin, who are looking forward to a future as a joint Euro town, common urban planning has already a longer history. A competition in 1977 has drawn plans and projects for a linked town centre. The Polish bank of the Neisse River, where the old town centre was situated, should be linked with a new centre of the German Guben, which was originally only the industrial suburb with the station. These projects were not realised. (Jajeœniak-Quast, 2001.) The idea has been revived in the frame of the International Construction Exposition in 2000. Perhaps now, the Neisse Island, where the theatre was formerly located, could be jointly restored. (Witt, 65-74.) Guben and Gubin got support for common urban planning by the German government in the frame of the program City 2030. The ministry concluded, that the general situation of Guben were so disastrous due to the de-industrialisation, the vanishing population and the growing right wing
movement, that the unification with the Polish sister to a real double town would bring the only solution. (http://www.stadt2030.de/staedte/guben.htm). Therefore, the reconstruction of a common urban centre is seen as a chance to more quality of life for the citizens.

![Picture 19](http://www.iba-fuerst-pueckler-land.de/main_f.html; http://members.tripod.lycos.nl/grenze/gub03.JPG)

Picture 19: Neisse Island in Gubin before the War and at Present. Only the Stairs of the Theatre remained. (http://www.iba-fuerst-pueckler-land.de/main_f.html; http://members.tripod.lycos.nl/grenze/gub03.JPG).

Otherwise, urban planning is dividing, as in Valga-Valka. There, an urban development concept was drawn up during last Soviet period. After the independence in 1991, the drawing was cut and the parts pinned separately in both municipal offices. At the new frontier, common urban development did not become an urgent task. Firstly, the Twin Towns are occupied with the division of their past and with the founding of a separated future, each for her own. (Waack, 2000, 185.)
Common urban planning means to overcome the traumatic history. It needs the deciding step from the shared but contrary concerned history to the common history, partly celebrated together. That means, common urban planning got an element of utopia in these Twin Towns, where the division happened during the last century, and therefore, the border still has traumatic character. Even Frankfurt (Oder) and S³ubice developed a concept of urban planning for both towns, looking toward the vision of S³ubfurt. Frankfurt (Oder) and S³ubice are preparing a common project called Europe Garden Exposition 2003. With the first impression, the project seems very similarly to the drawings of the Consorcium Bidasoia-Txingudi, where Irún/Hondarribia and Hendaye plan a joint investment of a shoreline promenade. However, the similarities end, where the Euro Garden Project of Frankfurt and S³ubice is linked with plannings for the 750\textsuperscript{th} town anniversary of Frankfurt (Oder) that same year. Could both Twin Towns celebrate this event together? Although S³ubice chooses the rooster from the Frankfurt’s flag as a heraldic figure, it wanted never to share the urban history of Frankfurt. S³ubice as border guard of the Polish “Regained Territories” built up her own history, rooted in the pioneer period after the last World War. During the fifties, the Polish authorities had strong objectives against the reconstruction of the city of Frankfurt so close to the riverbank. (Jajeœniak-Quast/Stok³osa, 2000, 70.) Therefore, it seems a great step into a normality of neighbourhood, if this common celebration could be realised.
Europe Garden with promenades and parks along the River in Frankfurt (Oder) and S'ubice, planned for 2003. ([http://www.frankfurt-oder.de/europa/garten/karte3.jpg](http://www.frankfurt-oder.de/europa/garten/karte3.jpg)).

Conclusion:

Common urban planning expresses the idea of a common future of Twin Towns, not only some elements of dreaming. The Twin Towns with joint bodies started to realise it. In the Twin Towns on the eastern frontiers, the dream is striking with traumatic history and with present problems. EU support can help to set convincing signs for a common future.

9. School, Culture and Media

Schools

These fields of Twin Town co-operation concern the every day life of citizens, their intercultural competency, and their attendance to the neighboured culture. Although the main issue in culture is content, quantitative indicators can be used even in this part; the indicators are gained from the questionnaires. They will help to compare language teaching, common projects, and the attendance to cultural institutions.

Everybody will agree, that schools have an important function for education of the young generation in the sense of co-operation and European integration.
Schools are the best place to learn the neighbour's language and to gain knowledge of their culture and traditions. Schools can improve the abilities of pupils in intercultural contacts by training and experience. That should be very easy in Twin Towns, where small distances make it possible to attend the school in the other town; where the neighbouring culture and language is normally present as a minority in the own town; where kinship and tradition force the need for command of language.

![Cross-border School Attendance](image)

**Figure 15: Cross-border School Attendance (N=16)**

Haparanda and Tornio successfully obtained this right due to longer efforts in discussion with the state authorities. Despite the common use of the Finnish minority in Haparanda, different education systems stood against the possibility to let their children go to school in Tornio. In the framework of Provincia Bothniensis, the towns could legalise this anarchic use and reach an agreement on the common comprehensive school in 1989. In the same way, Herzogenrath and Kerkrade reached important progresses. Such special regulations mark the Twin Towns as zones of special rights, exceptional progress on the way of a united Europe. Mostly, the free or conditional right for cross-border school attendance is connected with projects. A language school was founded in Provincia Bothniensis followed in 1998 by the Eurocollege, an international upper secondary school. In Kerkrade-Herzogenrath, it is the Euro Babel project, ironically remembering the tower project of the bible. It is based on the exchange of teachers, who teach language and culture in Dutch and German primary schools. The project will extend with the growing pupils into secondary schools. The project seems constructed in such way that it could be extended to the related interest of pupils.

In practice, legal and financial barriers often limit realisation. The education system is a high-ranking national task in every country, strongly regulated by law and government. Not surprisingly, parents and pupils in Twin Towns cannot freely choose the school on one or the other side of the border. As the figure shows, attendance of school in the neighbouring town is not possible in
nearly half of the cases. More astonishingly, free choice of school in both Twin Towns is possible in more than a third of the investigated cases. Those are mostly the towns with joint bodies, like Provincia Bothniensis, Eurode, and Consorcium Bidasoa-Txingudi. That is possible in Oberndorf-Laufen, favoured by the same mother tongue. In Valga and Valka was attendance of schools at the other town common in the past. Not only the pupils of the Russian minority used this. That possibility is offered until now.

![Figure 16: Bilateral School Projects (N=19)](image)

Similarly, at the German-Polish border, possibilities of conditional attendance to schools in the neighbouring town are connected with bilateral projects, which perforate regularities in national school systems. As in all these projects, mutual recognition of certificates is the first problem that is regulated by exceptions. Especially in the German towns along the Oder-Neisse border, Europe schools were already established in the early nineties, where Polish and German pupils learn together with bilingual instruction. These projects function only on the secondary level. Obviously, the number of pupils is limited and the interest is increasing, especially on the Polish side. The extension is more difficult than in the Euro Babel project, because the foundation of special schools is more expensive and complicated than to involve more teacher and pupils.

Differently from these projects are the minority schools, which work in Twin Towns with substantial minorities from the area, like Ėeský Tíšín-Cieszyn, Komárno-Komárom, or Gorizia-Nova Gorica. Additionally, these schools could be opened for other pupils too. There are not the same legal problems like for bilateral projects, because they are working within only one national educational system. Nevertheless, the Hungarian mayor of Komárno reported proudly the successful struggle for the attendance of Slovak pupils to Hungarian schools.

At the tertiary level, the Intergovernmental Technical University and an Intergovernmental Professional Education Centre at Buchs, commonly established with the Principedom Liechtenstein has a successful tradition.
European University Viadrina at Frankfurt (Oder) is founded in 1991 as a common German-Polish project. Each third of the students is a Pole. The Viadrina maintains the Collegium Polonicum at S³ubice together with the Adam Mickiewicz University at Poznañ (Poland) as a dependence of both universities. For the peripheral Twin Towns in the East, such institutions of higher education have a special importance for the urban life. Cross-border universities become factors of regional development and European integration. Even in Rousse, a Common Rousse-Giurgiu University is in the phase of project. The decision has been taken on municipality council’s session but its registration has not been completed until the end of the year 2001.

Looking at the situation in language teaching, as it is shown in figure 17, the situation is hopeful, if not satisfying. The pupils in most Twin Towns receive or could receive instruction in the neighbouring language at school. Not considering the cases, where the mother tongue is the same, three quarter of the Twin Towns use this practise. Included are all offers, whether they are obligation or only facultative. Of course, one quarter of all towns are without such instruction. Obviously, this is too much. There is a real urgent task to improve the abilities of the young generation to live together in an open Europe. Therefore, it is very important, that pupils in the eastern border towns learn English as the common lingua franca of Europe. One can observe, that the younger generation in Valga-Valka is communicating in English already, more often then in the Estonian or Latvian language of the neighbour. Otherwise, could it be seen as an advantage, that the official language of the former Soviet empire is no longer instructed in school beyond the schools of
the Russian minority? Because Russian is the language of the neighboured Russia and Belarus, which is spoken by an important minority and understood by the elder generation, this language could function as a second important medium of communication. Therefore, one should hope, that the Baltic people would overcome the hostility against the language of the former oppressor in the near future.

![Figure 17: Teaching of the Neighbouring Language (N=17)](image)

**Linkage of Cultural Institutions**

Without improving the command of neighbouring languages, progress in cultural co-operation remains limited. Culture is an essential part of common urban life in Twin Towns. As shown above, to visit cultural institutions and events appears not at last under the motivations for border crossing. As in the European integration process, culture plays an important role in the development of Twin Town co-operation. This way, people get in contact with their neighbour's culture, traditions, and every day way of life as well as they improve their knowledge and differentiate their image about their neighbour.

Nearly all towns responded common use of cultural institutions by the neighbour towns. That could happen rather informal, only from the bottom by the customs of citizens, like in the case of Buchs-Vaduz, where the people from Switzerland use the offers by the Liechtenstein capital. Nevertheless, also in this case, a cultural commission exists in the commune Buchs, which works under the motto: *Borders are connecting*. In other cases, the Twin Towns joint their cultural institutions, as the already mentioned International Joint Library of Baarle-Hertog and Baarle Nassau or the Swimming pool of Haparanda and Tornio.

Mostly, in case the border does not work as a barrier, institutions are used depending on their attractiveness and the interests of citizens. The figure shows the institutions, which exist regularly at least in one of the Twin Towns and are used by the people from the other. The outer cycle marks the institutions, at least visited in *modest* extent by the neighbour town. Indeed, what does that mean? The library in Herzogenrath has readers from Kerkrade...
H. Schultz: Twin Towns on the Border

only in low number, as responded, but the figure is given with nine percent.

![Pie chart showing common use of cultural institutions in Twin Towns](image)

That means all included institutions have real importance.

**Figure 18: Common Use of Cultural Institutions (Included Twin Towns: N=13.)**

Obviously, events and extraordinary activities such as theatre, concerts, and museum expositions attract people from the neighbouring town more often than the normal activities such as swimming or borrowing a book from the library. Nevertheless, the swimming pool in Tui is frequented by up to 70 percent of the Portuguese citizens of Valença. There are special institutions in some towns, which are important for the neighbours beyond, like the ice hall in Rheinfelden (CH), which is highly used by the people from the German Rheinfelden or the Music Academy in Görlitz preferred by the neighbours. Particularly at the Eastern EU-frontier, visitors from the poorer Twin Towns often get tickets at reduced fee. A special culture office opened in Görlitz that informs the people from Zgorzelec about the offers of their Twin Town. In Valga-Valka like in other Twin Towns, information points, which were promoted by EU-programs, fulfil this task. Communities and universities founded commonly new bilateral institutes such as the Latvian-Estonian Institute at Valka in 1999 and the Estonian-Latvian Institute at Valga in 2001.

Like all fields of public services, the cultural institutions could also offer possibilities of saving money and improving their attractiveness. Obviously, there exist limitations for joint institutions and investments. Museums, theatres, and libraries have obligations for the maintenance of national tradition and identity. They are included in national networks often financed and directed by national authorities. Therefore, the example of the Baarles could be generalised only under clear conditions. Not surprisingly, between Narva and Iwangojad things are going in opposite direction after partition, also in the cultural field. The unique institutional network was cut and Narva built its own academy of art in 1992. (Waack, 2000, 175).

Cultural co-operation is not only a task of institutional arrangements. Culture cannot function without public relations and good information management.
The citizenship of the neighbour towns has to get regularly information in their own language about the offers and events across the border. The Common cultural Program of Bidasoa Txingudi in Spain, Basque, and French give an example.

Nevertheless, culture is the field where the responsible people work closer together and are especially highly motivated towards co-operation. Institutionalised partnerships were signed between the libraries, the museums, the archives, or the cultural centres.


Formal partnerships exist particularly between the institutions in the eastern EU-frontier and the Twin Towns at other eastern borders, where these had a strong tradition from the socialist past. Under new conditions, liberated of the ideological stipulations of the former time, this tradition could fruitfully influence the co-operation. With or without such institutionalisation, there are many common activities. Joint exhibitions were created (Ěeský Tíšín-Cieszyn) or publications appeared about towns past and present. (Oberndorf-Laufen, Görlitz-Zgorzelec.) The Consorcium of Bidasoa Txingudi is collecting all activities in common programs.

Common Festivals

Common festivals are good occasions to improve and demonstrate the citizens’ engagement in cross-border affairs. Joint festivals are commonly prepared and financed, as the International Festival of Folk Musicians or the VIATHEA Street Theatre Festival in Görlitz-Zgorzelec; like the yearly festivals of Theatre, Music, and Film at Ėeský Tíšín-Cieszyn, like the Music Festival at Valka-Valga every autumn.

Since 1996, the Txingudi days are celebrated and became popular as common festival of Irún, Hendaye, and Hondarribia. Even in Tornio and Haparanda, where the people are talking the same mother tongue or understand each other very well in the local dialect or the neighbour language, music plays the main role. The cultural highlights of the year are two music festivals, named after the region North Calotte: North Calotte Folk Music, Harmonica and Dance Festival, and North Calotte Jazz and Blues Festival. Beyond these both music events, the North Calotte Art Festival takes place.
In many other Twin Towns, it makes sense, that the most common activities contain music or sports, which do not need any command of languages. Common sports events often use the bridges between the Twin Towns, like the International street run Komárho-Komárom. Nearly half of those festivals were founded not earlier than in the nineties. Additionally to the parades and carnivals from old times, we find new bridge festivals. Obviously, a forced integration process is shaping new traditions.

Conclusion:

Cross-border cultural life depends in lower degree from institutionalisation than the co-operation of municipalities; it is the main field to involve citizens. Basic condition for advances is the improvement of cross-cultural competencies by language teaching in schools. Therefore, school projects like Euro Babel need support in the first rank. Cultural investments should increase the attraction of the Twin Towns together, that means common investments and complementation should get support.

Mixed Associations

Associations and the media are the last point in this investigation. Why do these topics shape a chapter together? Both create especially the public sphere, the sphere often named as civil society. Therefore, they have the common function to organise and improve the involvement of citizens. Both fields are linked, because associations often directly shape the growing landscape of private medias especially in the Internet. Indicators shall become the network of cross-border associations and clubs. Another indicator will shape the frequency and the fields of media information. It is astonishing that special associations are rather rare. As has been written from Provincia Bothniensis:

No clubs or associations have been founded especially for co-operation. Existing clubs and associations co-operate, both cultural, sports and other. People are free to join on both sides.

Figure 19: Cross-border Associations per Twin Town in Average on Different Border Types.
Probably, there is no need, because the civil society of these regions is cross-border in itself? Even in the cases of the Baarles and Kerkrade-Herzogenrath, where more common clubs exist than in other western border regions, these associations have no exiting cross-border character. They are dealing with sports, carnival, and other issues of leisure. In some Twin Towns, cross-border Rotary clubs or Lions clubs exist. Even such associations can act very helpfully for closer connections of economic and social life.


On the other side, especially the citizenship of Twin Towns at the EU-border East has founded many associations for cross-border relations. The people, who are in the forefront of good neighbourhood, feel that special efforts are necessary and that they need the civil society to stabilise the fragile relations. The Šubfurt association is an example for such foundations. The name combines the both towns Šubice and Frankfurt and marks the goal of closer neighbourhood in a Eurotown in future. Indeed, the association found many obstacles for its projects, and the pioneers were not backed enough by the municipalities.

**Communication and Media**

In modern democracies the media play an important role, not only for information, but also mainly for public discussion and opinion. Therefore, the questionnaire asked for the media echo of the neighbouring area. In all cases, local media exist, which pay attention to the co-operation and neighbourhood. Not surprisingly, the media landscape appears denser in the north and west than in the east.


Information about the neighboured Twin Town is given more and more in the Internet, which is not yet developed in the East as in the western countries. All Twin Towns, which have Internet homepages, included links to their sister
The joint bodies regularly got special homepages, as demonstrated above for Bidasoa-Txingudi. This Consorcium projects to create an intranet region with special offers for citizens and business. There are two aims. Firstly, the three cities will improve the access to modern media and infrastructure; secondly, the networks shall relief and accomplish the various procedures related to municipal services.

Usually, information supplied to the Internet is available in the languages used by the Twin Towns concerned. Often it is partly given in English, like in the cases of all joint bodies, but also for Komárno-Komárom. Therefore, the Internet could become an exquisite medium for the exchange of experiences between Twin Towns.


Information by private associations and persons has no less importance. The private homepage for the both Rheinfelden seems a very good example. There are profound information about history and present, events and culture, tourism and business; there are also links to the official homepages of the municipalities and links to associations and institutions. Public discussion about local problems like the closure of the old bridge is offered, while advertising is used sparingly and does not disturb the attention of the user.
Figure 20: Neighbouring Town in Local Newspaper. Twin Towns: N=16.

Information appears regularly and often for more than the half of the Twin Town cases. Especially, the Twin Towns in the East beyond the EU would need more information about each other from the media. However, there are Twin Towns in the West in similar situation. The citizens of Oberndorf-Laufen and Valença-Tui can only seldom read and listen about the neighbour town in their media. Newspapers mostly inform weekly, whereas radio and local TV offer special headings and daily information. The private stations are at the forefront compared with the publicly owned stations.

Looking at the issues, we find a clear ranking. Cultural events and sports have high priority, followed immediately by the problems of local policy. Media inform and discuss plans in urban development. They go in the fields of town policy and give the local politicians a forum. That happens obviously not only concerning policy and development in the own town, but also in the neighboured Twin Town.

Figure 21: Fields of Media Reports about the Neighbouring Town

After the respondents, there is a low interest in the dark side of local policy, like scandals. Sex and crime plays nearly no role. Even problems or troubles with the neighbouring town get no space in public discussion and information by the media. Only from Guben is reported that scandals and crime have a higher ranking in the recognition by the media than cultural life and sports. Only in Valença and Tui trouble with the neighbouring town seems to be of remarkable importance for the local media. That seems to be surprising, because there exists a substantial level of border criminality, as we have seen, not only at these borders. Why did the media pay no attention to these features? That is amazing if private radio and local TV stations should naturally prefer these fields.

Two explanations are possible. The first could be found in the special interest of the respondents. The questionnaires were addressed to municipalities; that means, to the local elite, who are highly involved and interested in the
advances and positive results of the co-operation with the neighbouring town. Their recognition could be influenced by this special interest.

Some researches of newspapers provide another explanation. The scholars investigated cross-border information particularly in the German-Polish border region. They found, that the newspaper followed a crucial political correctness. Journalists feel their task is to bring the neighbours together and, therefore, they rather try to avoid information about negative examples, disadvantageous stories from the Twin Town or open discussion of border problems such as criminality. (Kozarowicz/Hoffmann, 279/280; Ehlers, 369/370). Possibly, that could not be the wrong way, where the neighbourhood still seems a sensitive and fragile good. In the end, there should raise a public opinion of common problems between Twin Towns.

Generally, media seem very active and influential advocates of Twin Town co-operation. The slogan two countries – one city should not only mean infrastructure and architecture but also public opinion as an essential part of our urban life.

Conclusion:
Associations and Media represent essential parts of Twin Town co-operation. These means of civil society improved during the last decade also at the Eastern frontier of the EU. Private Media – Newspapers, radio stations, TV and Internet – play the first role. EU programs could support this process by offering special information and supervising.

10. Conclusions
Twin towns developed during the last decade as laboratories of European integration. They overcame a history of divisions and developed the urban life on bicultural ground and under the European labels. They tested the limitations of legal equalisation and shaped new institutional forms. Therefore,
Twin Towns need and deserve further attention and support by the EU and their respective national governments. Summarised conclusions are:

- Inequality of resources, marginal location, and small size are strong objectives for closer co-operation between Twin Towns on the border.
- The legacy of history divides the more the shorter the border exists. Therefore, the Twin Towns on the younger borders in the East have less common identity and more problems with history.
- Opposite minorities and command of neighboured language are the stable ground of cross-border co-operation and of special competencies in multiculturalism. Therefore, minority rights should be improved; obstacles for mixed marriages should be lowered; the use of common local languages should be promoted.
- Open borders are the basic condition of Twin Towns co-operation. The Twin Towns inside the Schengen zone mark the goal. The Twin Towns on the eastern EU external border made important advances during the nineties, meanwhile the border crossing on the east European frontiers decreased due to the Schengen agreement. The well-proofed instruments of local border traffic, and joint border controls should be used for closing the gap.
- The connection and border traffic between Twin Towns can improve by separating the local border traffic from the long-distance transport. Therefore, local border crossing needs special checkpoints, bridges, and roads in the centre of the towns, whereas the high transport transit has to bypass the Twin Towns over special highways, checkpoints and bridges.
- The motivation structure of border crossing is the same in Twin Towns on the Eastern frontiers like inside the Schengen zone. Only commuting is missing because of the closed European labour market. Doubtless, when the eastern frontiers will become open borders in future, the cross-border connections will follow the same pattern as in the western Twin Towns now.
- Border crimes like smuggling and illegal work will vanish, when the border barriers become lower. That means decriminalisation of the local population. Furthermore, that means higher cross-border activity between the Twin Towns. Especially legalisation of commuting is necessary, when deeper and stable connections from the bottom shall grow.
- Institutionalisation of cross-border co-operation develops very fast. The European integration, programs, and institutions back the process, but it roots in the Twin Towns own needs. Institutionalisation grows from the needs of Twin Towns for closer and long-term co-operation. Twin town municipalities act on the forefront of the European institutionalisation and juridical equalisation; they often strike the limits. Therefore, institutionalisation of Twin Towns needs special support and attention by governments a European institution.
- Despite remarkable advances, linkage of public services is only in the first or second stage. The majority of Twin Towns linked less than a third of
possibly branches; only 17 percent used the advantages of connection in the most possible fields. Hindrances are shaped by the separated national systems. The further progress needs equalisation of legal, administrative, and financial regulations. The time lag of the Twin Towns on the Eastern borders is remarkable.

- Linked public transport between Twin Towns needs firstly improvement of infrastructure, like railway and tramway bridges. It needs roads and highways, which takes the high cross-border transport out of the town centres. It needs relieved or removed border controls. Lastly, it request special regulations for common public or private investment and maintenance of traffic and for common local charge and tickets.

- Mutual assistance in fire fighting and other emergency cases should be the first step to linked public services. Even this field needs the support by governments to overcome the different national regularities and bureaucratic obstacles.

- Sewage plants and water supply needs high investment and financial support, which cannot come from the towns themselves. Water networks are essential fields of pollution and environmental problems. Therefore, investments in common facilities and plants shall put on the top of the agenda of government support for Twin Towns co-operation.

- Although the linkage of public services shapes the core of Twin Town co-operation, it reached only the first or medium stage. Common investments and linked services offer advantages for money saving, environmental protection and improved supply for citizens. Further advances need investments and legal adjustment; it could toughen by EU programs and exchange of positive experiences. EU programs should support conditionally, that means especially for common investments in linked public services.

- Common urban planning expresses the idea of a common future of Twin Towns, not only some elements of dreaming. The Twin Towns with joint bodies started to realise it. In these Twin Towns, whose division by a state border happened in the last century, the dream is striking with traumatic history. These cases are mostly in the East. Support by EU-programs can shorten the process of overcoming the traumatic past. EU support can help to set convincing signs for a common future.

- Cross-border cultural life depends in lower degree from institutionalisation than the co-operation of municipalities; it is the main field to involve citizens. Basic condition for advances is the improvement of cross-cultural competencies by language teaching in schools. Therefore, school projects like Euro Babel need support in the first rank. Cultural investments should increase the attraction of the Twin Towns together, that means common investments and complementation should get support.

- Associations and Media represent essential parts of Twin Town co-operation. These means of civil society improved during the last decade also at the Eastern frontier of the EU. Private Media – Newspapers, radio
stations, TV and Internet – play the first role. EU programs could support this process by offering special information and supervising.

• Only a small number of Twin Towns on the border advanced from the unlinked situation of town couple to the narrow bounded level of double town. Double town building is the interest of citizens. Therefore, governments and European institutions shall support this process.
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12. **Annex: Twin Towns on the Border in Europe 2001**

Portugal / Spain
1. Valença – Tui  
2. Alcoutim – Sanlúcar de Guardiana  
3. Vila Real de Santo António - Ayamonte

Spain / France
4. Irún/Hondarribia - Hendaye

France / Germany
5. Annemasse - Gaggenau  
6. Strasbourg – Kehl

Belgium / Netherlands
7. Baarle-Hertog – Baarle-Nassau

Belgium / Luxembourg
8. Martelange – Rombach - Martelange

Switzerland / Germany
9. Rheinfelden – Rheinfelden  
10. Laufenburg – Laufenburg

Switzerland / Liechtenstein
11. Buchs – Schaan/Vaduz

Germany / Netherlands
12. Kerkrade – Herzogenrath

Ireland / United Kingdom
13. Lifford – Strabane

Italy / Slovenia
14. Gorizia – Nova Gorica

Germany / Austria
15. Oberndorf - Laufen

Germany / Poland
16. Frankfurt (Oder) – S³ubice  
17. Guben – Gubin  
18. Görlitz – Zgorzelec

Finland / Sweden
19. Tornio - Haparanda
20. Karunki – Karungi
21. Juogsenki - Juogsgeni
22. Kaaresvanto – Käresuando

Finland / Russian Federation
23. Värtsilä - Vjartsilja

Estonia / Russian Federation
24. Narva - Iwangorad

Estonia / Latvia
25. Valga – Valka

Belorussia / Poland
26. Brest – Terespol

Czech Republic / Poland
27. Náchod – Kudowa Zdrój
28. Tišín – Cieszyn

Hungary / Slovak Republic
29. Komárom – Komárno
30. Esztergom – Stúrovo
31. Hidasnemeti – Sena

Austria / Czech Republic
32. Gmünd – Ėeska Velenice

Austria / Slovenia
33. Bad Radkersburg – Gornja Radgona

Hungary / Slovenia
34. Rédics - Lendava

Hungary / Croatia
35. Barcs – Terezino

Ukraine / Romania
36. Kilija – Chilia Veche
37. Vilkovo - Periprava

Romania / Yugoslavia
38. Drobeta Turnu- Severin - Kladovo

Romania / Bulgaria
39. Calafat – Vidin
40. Zimnicea – Svištov
41. Giurgiu – Rousse
42. Oltenita – Tutrakan
43. Bechet - Orjahovo

Yugoslavia / Bulgaria
44. Dimitrovgrad – Kalotina
45. Izvor – Izvor Mahala

Macedonia / Greece
46. Gevgelija – Evsoni
47. Stari Dojran – Dojrani

Greece / Turkey
48. Kastanee – Edirne