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Belgium

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Jurgen Goossens and Frank Hendriks

Fig. 3.1 Belgium and its communities

3.1 State Formation

Since 1970, Belgium has evolved from a decentralised unitary state (like the Netherlands) into a federal state through six substantial state reforms. As of the state reform of 1993,

the first Article of the Belgian Constitution also symbolically expresses this evolution by stating: ‘Belgium is a federation, consisting of communities and regions’. Belgium has a particular twofold structure of its federated entities: three culturally structured communities (Fig. 3.1) competent for so-called person-related matters and three territorially structured regions (Fig. 3.2) competent for place-related and economic matters.

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Fig. 3.2 Belgium and its regions

In the eighteenth century until 1797, the territories of what today is known as Belgium, consisted of the Austrian Low Countries (ruled by the Habsburg house), the Diocese of Liège and the Duchy of Luxembourg. Previously, these territories belonged to the Spanish Habsburg but were transferred to Austria in 1715. When the Habsburg Low Countries were annexed by revolutionary France in 1795, Metternich (Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Habsburg state) avoided any confrontation with France. During this period, the country was divided into nine *départements* based on the French model disregarding linguistic homogeneity within these units. As for the French departments, they were created in order to make it possible to reach the *chef-lieu* (administrative centre) within 1 day of travel. The Congress of Vienna of 1815 unified the United Kingdom of the Netherlands with these territories, including Luxembourg. Under Dutch rule the departments were renamed into provinces, which is still their current name. Furthermore, 41 *arrondissements* were established, mainly serving as electoral constituencies. In 1836, municipalities were established as the smallest level of regional government.

In Belgium, opposition to the union with the Dutch crown came mainly from the liberal and Catholic groups, who fought against the regime of William I and against Protestantism. In 1830, the Belgian revolutionaries declared independence and

the Conference of London of the following year acknowledged the independence of the new state. King Leopold I became 'King of the Belgians'. The Netherlands kept control over Luxembourg, bound by personal union to the Dutch crown but part of the German Union (*Deutscher Bund*), and over the province of Limburg. On 19 April 1839, the Treaty of London established that Belgium annexed the French-speaking western part of Luxembourg and the southern half of the province of Limburg. In the aftermath of World War I (Treaty of Versailles), Belgium annexed the mostly German-speaking territories Moresnet (1919), Eupen, Sankt Vith and Malmédy (1925) from the German Empire. During World War II, these German-speaking territories returned temporarily to Germany (1940–1944).

The name 'Belgium' was given to the new state in 1830 and was derived from the Celtic people that once inhabited the area. The figure of the king as well as the Catholic religion worked as unifying factors of a linguistically and ethnically divided population. Belgium is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system. The executive power is shared by the king and the federal government. The federal government is held responsible by the Parliament, which is composed of two chambers: the Chamber of the Representatives, elected by universal suffrage for 5 years (since the sixth state reform of 2011, before which it was 4 years), and the

Senate, which is—in addition to the ten so-called ‘co-opted’ Senators—mainly composed by members of the federated parliaments (since the sixth state reform of 2011, before which it was partly elected by direct suffrage and partly composed of members of the federated parliaments).

An important factor in Belgium’s state reform process has always been the language cleavage between Dutch-speaking Flanders in the northern half of the country and French-speaking Wallonia in the southern half. Furthermore, there is a German-speaking minority located nearby the German border in the German-speaking community. There are now three official languages, but at the time of the creation of the centralised Belgian state the single official language was French, since the French-speaking bourgeoisie dominated the area—socially, economically and culturally. Belgium, therefore, seemed to be on the way to become a French-speaking country as French was used as teaching language in the schools and as official language in the administration, the courts and the army. Furthermore, the Constitution and the laws were originally written in French only. The Flemish population, however, built up to around 60% of the Belgians. During the nineteenth century, these were mainly Dutch-speaking farmers and workers while the elite of Flanders spoke French. A Flemish minority movement did rise in the second half of the nineteenth century and progressively obtained that Dutch was used in courthouses and in the administration through language legislation.

3.2 Continuity and Change

The origin of Belgium’s transformation into a federation lies in the ancient boundary between Germanic and Roman languages and the cultural pluralism that is characteristic for the country. The language cleavage continuously became deeper after World War II and the call for a reform of the mainly centralised state became stronger. The Act of 2 August 1963 (adding Article 3bis to the Constitution in 1970) subdivided Belgium into four linguistic areas that, however, did not yet have any institutional or significant political function. The so-called territoriality principle was established that within the linguistic area the administration would only use the language of the area. This reform was the first one in a series of reforms that transformed the language border into an institutional administrative border.

The following linguistic areas were distinguished:

- The Dutch-speaking area comprises the provinces of Antwerpen, Limburg, Oost-Vlaanderen and West-Vlaanderen. It also includes the arrondissements of Leuven and Halle-Vilvoorde (the area surrounding the capital Brussels).
- The French-speaking area includes the provinces of Hainaut, Liège (with the exception of nine communes of the German-speaking area), Namur and Luxembourg. Furthermore, it includes the arrondissement of Nivelles.

- The German-speaking area includes nine municipalities located in the province of Liège (arrondissement of Verviers). The territories of Malmédy and Waimes were attributed to the French-speaking area even though a minority uses German.
- The fourth linguistic area is constituted by the Brussels-Capital Region, which is both Dutch- and French-speaking.

It is important to mention that the provinces (in 2019, 10), arrondissements (in 2019, 43) and the municipalities as the smallest administrative level (in 2019, 581) were preserved within these four linguistic regions.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the three main political parties split along the linguistic line. Flemish parties are present in Flanders and the Brussels-Capital Region; Francophone parties in Wallonia and the Brussels-Capital Region. Moreover, there are a few parties present in German-speaking community. In 1968, the Catholic party split into the *Parti social-chrétien* (PSC; since 2002 called *Centre démocrate humaniste* [cdH]) and the *Christelijke Volkspartij* (CVP; since 2001 called *Christen-Democratisch en Vlaams* [CD&V]). In 1972, the Liberal party became the *Parti de la liberté et du progrès* (PLP; the main Francophone liberal party is now the *Mouvement Réformateur* [MR]) and the *Partij voor Vrijheid en Vooruitgang* (PVV; since 2007 called Open VLD). The Socialist party divided in 1978 into the *Parti socialiste belge* (since 1978 called *Parti socialiste* [PS]) and the *Belgische Socialistische Partij* (since 2002 called *Socialistische Partij Anders* [SP.a]). The Ecological party is divided into two linguistic branches: Flemish party *Agalev* (since 2012 called GROEN) and Walloon party *Ecolo* (Walloon). Moreover, regionalist parties emerged with the main aim to defend the interests of one of the linguistic groups in the Belgian society, such as the former Flemish Volksunie (VU) and *Spirit*, and currently the nationalist parties *Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie* (N-VA) and *Vlaams Belang* (VB) aiming for Flemish independence, as well as the Brussels French-speaking party *Fédéralistes Démocrates Francophones* (FDF). In addition, the Workers’ Party of Belgium (PVDA-PTB) is currently the largest communist party.

Another important element of the emancipation of the Flemish population was the *Netherlandising* of the University of Gent in 1930 and the division along linguistic lines of the Catholic University of Leuven in 1968 after a period of civil unrest. The French section has been relocated to a town in Wallonia, called ‘New Leuven’ (*Louvain-la-Neuve*). Ever since, two new universities have been established: *Université catholique de Louvain* (UCL) and *Katholieke Universiteit Leuven* (KUL).

The linguistic areas progressively transformed into effective administrative bodies. With the first main state reform in 1970, the four linguistic areas were constitutionalised and it was established that Belgium is composed of three communities (Flemish, French and German-speaking) and three regions (Flemish, Walloon and Brussels-Capital Region). The establishment of the communities (mainly concerned with person-related matters) can be considered as an answer to the claim of the

Fig. 3.3 Benelux, 1870–2020

Flemish population for more cultural and linguistic autonomy. This claim was backed by the strong economic development that characterised the northern half of the country. By contrast, the South has in the last decades undergone a period of economic crisis, partly due to the de-industrialisation process, most importantly the closing of coal mines. The establishment of the regions (mainly concerned with economic and place-related matters) was an answer to the call for more economic autonomy of the French-speaking population.

The two largest communities (Flemish and French) created their own parliaments and executive bodies in 1971. The German community created its own Parliament in 1973. The competences of the communities were defined clearly in the matters of culture, some parts of education and linguistic affairs. By contrast, the competences of the regions were less clearly defined and only in 1980, with the second main state reform, the legislative and executive institutions were created also at the level of the regions (but not yet for the region of Brussels-Capital, where this occurred in 1988). This reform also enlarged the scope of the competences of the ‘communities’ (until the actually called ‘cultural communities’) and established the ‘Referee Court’ (since 2007 called ‘Constitutional Court’, reflecting the gradual extension of its tasks towards constitutional review of legislation)

for the resolution of conflicts of competences between the regions, communities and federal level.

Thus, the subnational structure of Belgium is twofold. On the one hand there are three communities and on the other three regions:

- The three communities (*gemeenschappen* or *communitautés* or *Gemeenschappen*) are the Flemish (*Vlaamse Gemeenschap*), the French (*Communauté française*) and the German-speaking (*Deutschsprachige Gemeinschaft*) communities (Articles 3ter, 59bis and 59ter of the Constitution).
- The three regions (*gewesten* or *régions*) are the Flemish Region (*Vlaams Gewest*), the Walloon Region (*Région Wallonne*), both created in 1980, and the Region of Brussels-Capital (*Brussels Hoofdstedelijk Gewest* or *Région Bruxelles-Capitale*) created in 1989 (Article 107quater of the Constitution).

A figure of the Belgian state, its Regions and Communities can be consulted here: https://nfp.irceline.be/soer-2010/country-introduction-soer-2010/country-introduction-soer-2010/fig1-Map_BE_Regions_Communities.PNG/image_view_fullscreen (Fig. 3.3).

Since Brussels includes the Flemish and the Walloon populations, no specific community has been created. While the regions are a territorial structure, the communities are an a-territorial (cultural) structure. Communities, however, are not totally a-territorial since their decrees have a spatially delimited implementation. Nevertheless, the Flemish and French communities are competent also in Brussels, while the German-speaking community is competent only in the German-speaking area. In the bilingual area of Brussels, however, the decrees of the Flemish and French communities are valid only insofar as they concern only one of the two communities. The Flemish region covers the Dutch-speaking area of Belgium. The Walloon region covers both the French- and the German-speaking areas. In 1980, in contrast to Wallonia, Flanders merged the two parliaments and executives of the Flemish Community and Flemish Region into one parliament and executive. The six members of Flemish Parliament elected in Brussels, however, cannot vote on issues relating to matters of the Region, only the Community.

By the end of the 1980s the reforms appeared as still incomplete:

- The Brussels-Capital Region still did not have its own institutions.
- The distribution of competences was not sufficiently homogenous and further transfers of powers seemed unavoidable. By 1980, the regional and community budgets represented only 10% of the total state budget.
- Conflicts between the different levels needed mechanisms for cooperation in order to guarantee the equilibrium of the system.
- The regions and the communities did not have their own financial resources to carry out their tasks.

Therefore, in 1988, another series of reforms was carried out. They entered into force on 1 January 1989. The region of Brussels-Capital was provided with its own institutions and a financial reform was carried out. Accompanying further transfers of competences, the budgets of the regions and the communities build up to around 40% of the total state budget. Moreover, the Special Financing Act of 1989 was adopted to regulate the financing of the national and subnational levels of government. Finally, the competences of the ‘Referee Court’ were extended to constitutional review of (federal, regional and communal) legislation on matters of equality, discrimination and freedom of education.

In 1993, the fourth state reform was carried out. It turned Belgium into a full-fledged federation by changing Article 1 of the Constitution from ‘Belgium consists of provinces’ to ‘Belgium is a federation, consisting of communities and

Table 3.1 Synopsis: main state reforms

1970	First state reform	Settlement of the basic principles of the new structure: Belgium consists of three communities and three regions
1980	Second state reform	Official establishment of the Flemish and the Walloon regions
1988	Third state reform	Official establishment of the Brussels-Capital Region; more competences for the communities
1993	Fourth state reform	Belgium’s transformation into a full-fledged federation; direct elections of federated parliaments
2001	Fifth state reform	Transfer of powers in various domains to regions and communities
2011–2014	Sixth State Reform	Reform of the Senate; substantial fiscal autonomy for the Regions

regions’ besides additional transfers of powers. Moreover, it introduced direct elections of the federated parliaments.

In the fifth state reform of 2001, the competences of the regions and communities have expanded, including most importantly agricultural policy, foreign trade and organic legislations for municipalities and provinces. Moreover, the regions acquire limited fiscal autonomy.

The sixth state reform (2011–2014) led to: the split of the infamous constituency Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde; a reform of the Senate; the introduction of the principle of coincidental European, federal and subnational elections; further transfer of competences (e.g. labour market policy); and substantial fiscal autonomy for the Regions through a reform of the Special Financing Act (Table 3.1).

3.3 Political–Administrative Organisation of Territory

Political and administrative functions in Belgium can be found on the national (federal) level and on the subnational level. The subnational level consists of communities and regions, as well as subregional levels of government (provinces and municipalities).

3.3.1 Federal Government

At the federal level, legislative power is exercised by the head of state (i.e. the King; the de facto federal government) and the two houses of the Parliament. The federal legislative branch operates through a controlled bicameral system and is exercised by the House of Representatives (Lower House) and the Senate (Upper House) jointly with the King. With regard to the distribution of duties between the House and the Senate, the Lower House exercises political control over

the government and monitors public finances. Both houses are responsible, on an equal footing, for institutional law-making and relations between the federal government and the communities and the regions. The Senate can be seen as a forum for reflection and is also the meeting place between federal government and the federal states. The Senate had 71 members, of whom 40 were directly elected. Since the reform of the Senate in the most recent state reform, law-making is almost always only done by the House of Representatives without involvement of the Senate, which now counts 60 Senators (10 'co-opted' Senators and 50 members of the federated parliaments). The Lower House consists of 150 members, who are directly elected for 5 years.

The executive power on the federal level consists of the ministers, who are responsible to the Lower House, and the head of state who cannot be held responsible to anyone. In this regard it is worth mentioning that, given political realities, the primacy of the legislature has given way to a de facto ascendancy of the executive. Most of the draft laws are initiated by the federal government instead of the legislature. Legislative initiatives of the government almost always succeed as the government is usually backed by a parliamentary majority.

In spite of a series of state reforms and the transformation of Belgium into a federation, Belgium is still a hereditary, constitutional and parliamentary monarchy. The monarchy is regulated and limited by the Constitution, as the King possesses no other powers than those specifically vested in him by the Constitution and special legislation. The monarchy is thus also anchored in the parliamentary system.

3.3.2 Subnational Government

Regions and communities can be seen as a subnational reconstruction of national government. Regions and communities are situated on the same level as the federal government instead of being structured hierarchically. This is opposed to Germany for instance, where federal legislation supersedes legislation of the Länder in case of (the various) concurrent competences.

Both communities and regions have a directly elected Parliament with legislative power and an executive body.

The Flemish Parliament (*Vlaams Parlement*) is the legislative body of both the Flemish region (118 members elected in Flanders) and the Flemish Community (6 members elected in Brussels in addition to the 118 members elected in Flanders). By contrast, the Parliaments of the Walloon Region and of the French Community are still two distinct bodies. The Parliament of the French Community (*Parlement de la Communauté française*) is composed of the 75 members of the Parliament of the Walloon Region (*Parlement de la Région wallonne*) and 19 additional mem-

bers elected in Brussels. In the Parliament of the Brussels-Capital Region, there are 89 members and two linguistic groups. Seventy-two members belong to the French linguistic group and 17 to the Dutch one. Moreover, Brussels also has three other legislative institutions: the Flemish, the French and the Joint Community Commission. The Parliament of the German-speaking Community is composed of 25 members.

As for the Flemish Parliament, the Flemish government (*Vlaamse Regering*) is the same for the community and the region. The Walloon Region and the French Community each have a distinct executive body (*Gouvernement de la Région wallonne* and *Gouvernement de la Communauté française*), which is the case for their Parliament as well. At least one of the members of the Flemish or the Walloon government must belong to the bilingual area of Brussels. This is not the case for the government of the German-speaking Community (*Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft*). In the case of the government of the Brussels-Capital Region (*Brusselse Hoofdstedelijke Regering* or *Gouvernement de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale*), two members are Dutch-speaking and two French-speaking. Every regional or community executive has a president elected by the councils.

The twofold subnational structure with regions and communities is guaranteed by the Constitution and in the Special Acts of 8 August 1980 and 8 August 1988. Constitutional amendments occur only through qualified majorities of two-thirds in both federal chambers. The modification of the special legislation is even more rigid since, additionally, an absolute majority within the two main linguistic groups in each chamber is required. Nonetheless, before a constitutional amendment can be adopted with a two-thirds majority, an intervening election is required. Only those constitutional Articles can be amended that were included in a list of Articles susceptible to amendment adopted by the federal government and both chambers with a simple majority. After adoption of such a joint list, the House of Representatives is dissolved and elections are held within 40 days, after which an amendment can be approved with a two-thirds majority.

The distribution of competences among the federal level, the regions and the communities is based on a series of principles among which the most important are the following:

- Communities, regions and the federal level have an equivalent legislative power; there is no hierarchical relation.
- The legislative competences of the federal level, the communities and the regions are mutually exclusive. This principle lies at the basis of the distribution of competences among administrative units. This means that only one of these units is competent to legislate on a given matter on a certain territory.

- Communities and regions can produce legislation only in those domains that are explicitly attributed to them by the Constitution or the Special Acts. Furthermore, the Special Acts of 8 August 1980 and 8 August 1988 mention the ‘implicit competences’ of regions and communities, which are competences that are not attributed to them but that they can nonetheless exercise insofar as they are necessary to exercise another explicitly attributed competence. There are two types of federal competences: (1) the competences that the Constitution and the Special Acts explicitly attribute to the federal level, (2) the residual competences, namely the competences that are not explicitly attributed to any administrative unit.
- The so-called principle of verticality establishes that the level that is competent for the legislation in a given domain is also competent for its implementation if nothing different is specified in the Constitution or in the Special Acts.

The competences of the federal level have been substantially reduced after the six state reforms. The competences of the regions are concerned with matters that relate to the

management of the territory and with economic matters. The competences of the communities are concerned with person-related matters (e.g. education, culture and linguistic matters; Table 3.2).

In practice, however, this division of competences is blurred and there are hardly really homogeneous competence packages. Notwithstanding the dual-federal basic structure, there is a growing practice of ‘cooperative federalism’, similar to the German federal system. This consociationalism is expressed among others in numerous compulsory and optional cooperation agreements. The former Belgian Prime Minister Deheane called the Belgian government a form of ‘federal cooperative’, where cooperation across administrative borders is of great importance. Nonetheless, Flanders is constantly striving for more autonomy and some parties pursue Flemish independence.

There are different types of financial resources for the regions and communities.

- First, there are the non-taxation sources of income. For the communities these sources are school costs and fees for

Table 3.2 Competences of the regions, communities and the federal state (simplified overview)

Central state	Regions Management of territory and economic matters	Communities Person-related matters
Defence	Management of the land and urban areas	Cultural: cultural education, protection of the language, artistic activities, museums, libraries, radio and television, press, tourism, sport, leisure activities
Foreign policy (with the exception of those matters reserved for the regions and the communities)	Protection of the environment and agriculture	Education: includes the formation of researchers and youth policies; scholarly age, diplomas and the pension system for teachers remain competences of the federal level
Police and public order	Housing	Cooperation: cooperation between communities but also between a community and foreign states; in the cultural and educational matters, communities can conclude international agreements; furthermore, the communities have the option of whether to accept or not the treaties concluded by the federal level on those matters
Economic (and monetary) policy	Energy policy and cleansing and distribution of water	Language: use of language in the administration; the central state remains competent for the language of the communes, of Brussels and of the German-speaking areas
	Economic matters with the exception of those competences reserved for the federal level	Personal matters: matters that concern single citizens (health policy, family policy, social aid etc.)
Justice	Administration: supervision and control of the communes, inter-municipal cooperation and provinces	
Matters that are not explicitly reserved for other administrative levels	Employment policies	
	Infrastructures and transportation: harbours, roads, canals (but not railways, national air company and Zaventem airport, which remain competences of the federal level)	

Source: Empirical materials provided by editors

other cultural and educational services (museums, libraries etc.). Besides, communities receive money for the financing of foreign students. For the regions, on the other hand, this type of sources are fees for administrative services, driving and fishing licences etc. Regions also receive money for given categories of unemployed people.

- Second, regions and communities have a general taxation competence. They cannot, however, levy taxes on items that are already under taxation by the central state. Regions can, for instance, levy taxes on gambling and stakes. More recently, in the sixth state reform, the regions obtained substantial fiscal autonomy.
- Third, regions and communities participate in the distribution of general state resources. Communities have access to the so-called shared taxes. These are taxes collected at the national level and then partly or totally distributed to the communities (taxes on radio and television, income, value-added tax [VAT]). The distribution occurs in two steps: first, the federal level and the communities establish the amount of resources to be transferred to the communities and, second, the distribution among communities themselves is carried out. This distribution follows the principle of *juste retour*, that is, the part received by each area (for those taxes that can be localised) is proportional to the share of income taxation coming from each area. This means that each area profits from its own economic development. Regions have access to the so-called combined taxes. Part of the taxation on income is transferred to the regions. Communities and regions can dispose of these shares freely.
- Fourth, regions and communities can issue public bonds in the private capital market as well as private bonds. This is however done in collaboration with the Council of the Ministers and, in particular, the Ministry of Finances to avoid the increase in the interest rates.
- Fifth, for a period of 10 years (1989–1998), compensation mechanisms have been foreseen in order to avoid too large financial inequalities among regions. The solidarity intervention is carried out for those regions whose income per capita is inferior to the national average. This can however be retroactive (for example, a rich region that becomes poor). In the sixth state reform, a new solidarity mechanism for a 20-year period has been established to ensure that no region becomes substantially more poor or rich due to the substantial new regional fiscal autonomy.

3.3.3 Decentralised Government

Despite federalisation, the traditional decentralised systems of government in Belgium, consisting of provincial and local

authorities, has remained largely unchanged, although the context has drastically changed. The most obvious change is that the responsibility for the municipalities and provinces, as well as the specific payments to them have been transferred from the federal level to the new regional authorities.

For the provincial level, the provincial council (*provincieraad* or *conseil provincial*) is the legislative body and is directly elected by universal suffrage for a period of 6 years. The council elects the *Deputatie* or *Collège provincial*, which, together with the *gouverneur*, composes the executive body of the province.

As far as municipalities are concerned their autonomy, guaranteed by the Constitution and the basic legislation, was safeguarded already in 1836 shortly after independence. Their legislative institution (the *gemeenteraad* or *conseil communal*) is directly elected for a period of 6 years. The municipal council elects the aldermen (*schepenen* or *échevins*) who, together with the mayor (*burgemeester* or *bourgmestre*), compose the executive body of the communes. Like the provinces, the municipalities are decentralised agencies. Municipalities are competent for personal registration, municipal police, garbage, provision of gas, water and electricity, as well as for social aid. In this respect, municipalities run the social welfare centres that are in charge of the assistance to those in great need, of social services and of public hospitals.

The administrative activity of both municipalities and provinces is controlled by the three regions. Financial resources of the communes come from grants and from own sources (mainly additional taxation on property, income and roads).

Finally, *arrondissements* (or, since 1900, groups of *arrondissements*) have served mainly as electoral constituencies. This unit is also used to compile statistics.

3.4 Territory in Official Statistics

Statistics about Belgium are issued by the National Institute of Statistics (NIS), the National Belgian Bank and the Planning Bureau. Furthermore, the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) issues statistics about (among others) Belgium.

In 1994, the Institute of National Balances was established, in which the three big institutes—NIS, Belgian Bank and the Planning Bureau—were united with regard to the National balance.

The Flemish and the Walloon region also each have their own bureaus of statistics. Since the outside world tends to look to Belgium as one country from a statistic point of view, these different statistics often have to be integrated by the National Institute of Statistics. Since the methodologies (like the moment of data collecting) might vary, this is sometimes problematic.

Some of the different subnational and decentralised levels of government might be translated into NUTS—

Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics—categories (created by the European Bureau of Statistics in order to compare different European regions). The NUTS I category is formed by the regions. NUTS II are the provinces and NUTS III are the arrondissements. Municipalities are considered as the smaller administrative units. The communities are not an official level of statistics, since they are culturally, and not territorially, structured.

Sources and Further Reading

As general sources of empirical data, the following works have been used, most notably the papers by Hendriks and Goossens referred to below. Quite useful were also the documents and materials provided by the editors of this volume. General references are used in this section, as almost each of the following works touches on each of the paragraphs presented above

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