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BORDERING WITH CULTURE(S):  
EUROPEANIZATION AND CULTURAL  
AGENCY AT THE EXTERNAL BORDER  
OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

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Cover photo: In 2009, in the Polish town of Lublin a project event was organized with funding from the EU with the aim to support the integration of immigrants from around the world to the local community. Around the city park, among many other countries, also the neighboring Ukraine was bordered with plastic strings and a gate allowing the visitor to explore the 'Ukrainian traditions' inside. Local Poles, both young and old, entered these countries with 'passports' in their hands in order to get them stamped (photo: Kiiskinen, see also article 4).

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Turku, 23.5.2013

**I      SITUATING    THE    ARTICLES:    BORDER/LAND  
ETHNOLOGY**

# 1. Introduction

This study is part of an ongoing exploration of one particular issue: how to understand the cultural dimension of Europeanization at the external border of the European Union. Here I regard two ceded borderlands – that between Poland and Ukraine and that between Finland and Russia – as illustrative of recent conditions for cultural change; in particular of the way individuals and communities become located through the processes of European integration. These borderlands were ceded as a result of the Second World War; the past – along with more recent symbolic and territorial changes of borders – provides a context for analyzing the way that local, national and European cultures are negotiated by border-crossing actors at the external border of the EU. In contrast to border changes in the past, the consequences of recent changes of European borders have not only been endured and managed by local people, but also by European<sup>1</sup> and regional institutions (Kennard 2010, 194). The EU has focused on national borders when it has sought support European integration and ideas of borderless Europe (Newman 2007, 39). In these borderlands, EU-funded cross-border projects provide a basis for cross-border interactions, but also for European identifications, for example when ideas of a borderless Europe are put into action by local actors. This study thus does not analyze a whole way of life or cultural encounters across a national boundary, but focuses on the processes that affect and steer cultural change: in other words, on the ways that people have come to negotiate borders (the EU border along with various cultural borders) in ways that localize ideas of European culture and heritage.

In the past, the Finnish and Polish borders with the Soviet Union were highly ideologically loaded; but how can we approach the ideological in the present-day culture, without merely criticizing ideological frameworks, such as Europeanization, as such? The EU has adopted the cultural grammar of nationalism in the ideological making of the European Union (Löfgren 1996, 157; Shore 2000, 257; Johler 2006, 147ff). As a critique of ideology, ethnological research has aimed at deconstructing the national, to show it as a myth, however active it may actually be in everyday life and in terms of people taking part in ‘creative culture building’ and using existing cultural patterns to realize their own dreams.(Frykman 1995, ff) In the case of European integration, localization and Europeanization should be seen as in a dialectical relationship, one which allows both the EU and European regions to define themselves culturally.(Johler 2006, 154) As I see it, in the European borderlands discussed in this study the symbolic space is thickened and myths of shared borderlands are created both by European institutions and by local people. Here the ideas and practices of Europe (the border and diverse projects) also reveal Europe as a cultural construct with local importance.

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<sup>1</sup> See Commission of the European Communities 2006; European Commission 2003; European Parliament and the Council of the European Union 2006b.



Changes in the way people see their place in the world are not easy to track down. In support of the ‘ethnological imagination’, various theoretical lenses can be adopted in the search for knowledge for assessing the credibility of conceptualizations of culture, for example as doing or as text (Ehn and Löfgren 2001, 14). Ethnologists may be well adapted to tackle mundane trivialities and symbolic borders in everyday life and cultural constructs in regional development (Siivonen 2011, 53-59),<sup>2</sup> but how to address present-day cross-border relations and the conditions and dynamics of cultural change at the EU border? In the European borderlands, it is a challenge to understand the effect on people’s ‘cultural horizons’ of changes in the political and economic sphere, but these may also suggest a recovery of the historicity of life-worlds (Kockel 1999, 6, 281ff). In this thesis, the EU border itself is seen as crucial for the localization of Europe as well as for “keeping it afar”, that is, for imagining local and border-crossing agency. Here the imagined regions of ceded borderlands with importance for national cultures (Kresy and Karelia) become engaged in diverse projects; but at the same time the role of the border, the way it controls everyday life border crossings, comes to the fore as a condition for cultural change along with local and translocal negotiations of heritage.

Research on relations between borders and culture has become a dynamic field of interdisciplinary research, where borders have come to be seen as a verb rather than as a noun (Newman 2007, 27ff; van Houtum, Kramsch, and Zierhofer 2005, 1ff; Schimanski and Wolfe 2010, 39-49). Borders are not only products of political conflict and negotiation, determined by cultural factors, but are cultural constructs with the potential for “physical, material and violent effects” (Schimanski and Wolfe 2010, 40). Attention has turned to the negotiation of borders and bordering. For me, this means the role of people engaging culture and materiality at the external border of the EU. In the borderlands local people are engaged in border-crossing projects and rely on resources and processes beyond the local in ways that draws attention to the ways in which cross-border relations exist and how they impact on communities and actors. For many institutions, the ideas of cultural mixing and overlap have become objects of actions and a basis for realizing imaginary borderlands. These call for an ethnographic analysis which does not privilege the local as a site for culture or imagine the global as a force, but seeks to trace the ‘local knowledge’ of relations.<sup>3</sup> The point here is that even if Europe, its borders, are seen locally as having a negative effect, and a ‘European identity’ or ‘cross-border identity’ is absent,<sup>4</sup> it is crucial to recognize how these are present in the doing of local and border-crossing projects on culture. In other words, a close look at the empirical reality is required as a means to address the ‘triviality’ of borders as a cultural phenomenon (as part of everyday life and projects).

In the early twentieth century national identities in these borderlands were still only in construction, and for example national or Soviet authorities and policies often had

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2 In Finnish ethnological studies transnational cultural processes have come under focus, while state borders have not. See Korhonen 2003, 9-16.

3 See Marcus 1995.

4 For a recent example, see Straczuk 2012.

rather limited influence on local lives.(Brown 2003, 308; Snyder 2003; Korpela 1999; Hämynen 1998, 153-205; Judson 2012, 17-32) The border changes that occurred in conjunction with the Second World War finally seemed to rule out local options for identification, and physical border-crossings were likewise limited. Peripheries were created at the borders, which gained very little attention and did not make themselves heard. Since the Soviet collapse, changes in the permeability of the border have come to affect the trajectories and power of local agency.<sup>5</sup> This is a change I seek to track in the five articles that form the basis of this dissertation. Here I trace the ethnographic object<sup>6</sup> in these borderlands, especially after the expansion of the EU in May 2004 with the accession of Poland. Throughout history, borderland people and materiality have here been subject to changes in which local identifications have been a fluctuating option. Here I use the notion of ‘ethnographic death’<sup>7</sup> to foreground the role of agency and the visibility of cultural creativity in these changes. Basically this means the way that local people, as part of diverse ways of doing and representing the border, come to negotiate the meanings of the borderland heritage and make the EU border visible. I will argue that in terms of the options available for avoiding ethnographic death, for the cultural agency of local and border-crossing actors (see Questions) negotiating borderland heritage, and for the cultures that cross borders easily (project practices) as well as the EU border itself, the borderland materiality of these ceded borderlands is of crucial importance (articles 4 and 5).

There have been calls for ethnological studies that take into account issues of regionalization, political economy and governance (Kockel 2010, 225; Jöhler 2002, 7-18; Berg and Löfgren 2000, 7ff), but there is still a lack of ethnography about what it means to live as a ‘European’. The same is true in case of everyday aspects of bordering processes, such as the meaning of cross-border projects for identification processes in borderland localities (Donnan and Haller 2000, 7-21; Haller 2000; Jukarainen 2006, 470; Nic Craith 2008, 12). So far, some analysts have foregrounded institutions, while others have focused on the people who cross borders and provide alternatives to those provided by planners (Kennard 2010, 229; Löfgren 2010, 95-113; O’Dell 2003, 31-53). It has been observed that changes can also be hidden by the very processes that support border crossings, for example when co-operational rhetoric and concepts are emphasized (Löfgren 2010, 95ff). In the borderlands discussed in this thesis, recent cultural agency is not to be seen as a simple return to past local identities

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5 See chapter on ‘Agency: competence, relations, materiality’. This can be contrasted with the project agency that reflects competencies in realizing projects. This ‘cultural agency’ is defined in the conclusions chapter in term of individuals’ competences in negotiating borders and differences in the borderland as part doing of border crossings.

6 This is discussed in particular in the chapters entitled ‘Questions’, ‘Translocal fields’, ‘Bordering and border figures’, and in the conclusions; see chapter ‘Avoiding ethnographic death at the border’.

7 This concept is discussed in detail in the final chapter, Conclusions. The problem of ethnographic death was noted in an ethnographic-historical study of Soviet Kresy (a region which had once been part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but during the interwar period was part of the Soviet Union); written texts and popular images of Kresy idealize the past, along with monuments, museums and histories (Brown 2003, 228).

or as suggesting some emerging borderless era,<sup>8</sup> but in terms of multiple actors, humans and things, which come to be both aligned with and contrary to transnational, national and local processes.

For me, ethnology here means a search for the new and the marginal.<sup>9</sup> The marginal is here to be understood not as the societal or political location of the informants, or their position as ‘ordinary people’ (Hallberg 2001, 94), but rather in terms of their narratives of border crossing culture and heritage; these may be less easy to observe than more established and louder ones, such as ‘national’ narratives on heritage or discourses of ‘cooperation’. For example, since the Orange revolution in Ukraine in 2004, ideas of Polish-Ukrainian cooperation between peoples have flourished. At the eastern border of Poland, ‘old values and institutions’ also confront those imposed by ‘European and global innovations’ (Kurczewska 2005, 395). Such institutional approaches, however, may be rather remote from local people (Babiński 2010, 35-36). In Finnish-Russian cooperation a ‘360° perspective’ is now imagined (Cronberg 2000, 170ff); but rather than as a matter of everyday life this relates to the people involved in the projects and to the self-image of local communities. For me, however, this does not mean that the many ‘cultural’ and ‘social’ border-crossing projects which are at the center of this thesis can be excluded from the research focus. As Katriina Siivonen (2011, 50-51) points out, in terms of understanding local development work, different transnational and regional organizations are part of the local and ‘glocal’ culture studied in ethnological research. The cultural researcher has to address the way border-crossing people perceive the meaning and effect of transnational flows on people (Linde-Laursen 2010, 4-5).<sup>10</sup>

Cross-border co-operation has been seen as a process that delineates continuity and disjuncture in border regions, in which different ways of understanding culture can be observed (Anderson, O'Dowd, and Wilson 2003, 23). Here new forms of meaning and action are seen to derive from the needs of cooperation, forming a ‘culture of cooperation’. In cross-border policies and projects there is tendency to see cultures as means for other development.<sup>11</sup> There is support for ‘cooperation on culture’, i.e. “on issues of mutual but differential culture”, which can mean actions that are perceived as supporting and reproducing notions of traditional and local culture (Anderson, O'Dowd, and Wilson 2003, 24). As Anderson et al. (Anderson, O'Dowd, and Wilson 2003, 25) suggest, ‘culture’ can also be seen as a factor that enhances and inhibits

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8 The options are suggested when, especially in the Polish case, the interwar (and earlier) ways of living in the region are idealized in cross-border programs; see chapters ‘Regions imagined and made’, ‘Places and identity’ and ‘Heritage and authenticity’.

9 A focus on novelty has been observed especially in Swedish ethnological research as a fruitful basis for locating new research questions and objects (Hallberg 2001, 182-183, 206).

10 Interestingly, this study of the Öresund region between Denmark and Sweden overlaps with my research and addresses the same lack of ethnological studies on borders.

11 These are suggested when socio-cultural cooperation is to smooth the way for cooperation in economy, environment and infrastructure.(Anderson, O'Dowd, and Wilson 2003, 19) In the case of the EU, it has also been successful in policies supporting local cultural differences, but lacks success in terms of creating a shared European culture.(Johler 2006, 147-162)

cooperation. Here culture and identity are seen as providing ‘spectacles’ “through which borders become significant” (ibid, 25). In borderlands the issue of national cultures comes to the fore. As ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson 1991), nations are formed by many agents.<sup>12</sup> When two imagined communities share a common border and mutually recognize and acknowledge their cultural differences, different agents participate in creating their ‘ditch’. The study of the national means an analysis of identities but also of cultures, in order to provide a context that is able to explain both similarities and differences. (Linde-Laursen 2010, 144) Analysis of culture tells us what is distinctive and characterizes the entity (similarity); analysis of identity focuses on difference(s). It may well be that other differences than national ones are important for border-crossing actors.<sup>13</sup> Notions of difference have tended to coincide with political borders, and these are thus important for the study of ideas and practices relating to cultural borders.

For me, the material objects in these two borderlands and the border itself provide an important dimension for understanding conditions for cultural change, but this is not necessarily something that is derived from co-operational needs, or is loud and visible; rather, it can be hidden. In the case of transnational regions, border-crossing actors have been studied as ‘regionauts’, who not only explore new cultural spaces but also adopt the routines that make transnational regions a reality (Löfgren 2010, 96-97; O'Dell 2003, 38, 46-49). These routines can easily contradict any visions and plans for cross-border regions. As I see it, at the external border of the EU a regional approach to transnational everyday life, needs to be supplemented with an analysis of relations and bordering processes. The local knowledge of relations that I am after suggests different ways of cultural sharing and bordering, locally and across borders.<sup>14</sup> What is needed is a focus on multivocality and cultural processes. Here a focus on the reality beyond the texts offers a basis for analysis of the processes that objectify culture. Here hermeneutical culture concept can serve as a way of assessing the different ways that culture comes to be imagined and used in research as well as by individual border-crossing actors realizing diverse projects.<sup>15</sup> For this purpose, ethnology, as a discipline situated between the material and social worlds (Åström 2005, 25ff), has benefits; it allows us, for example, to observe how cultural constructs and identity constructions are relational, not fixed or natural, but also not without contact issues of practices, interests and power; the empirical world (Hallberg 2001, 215-216).

Approaches to materiality have also become more common as a reaction to textual approaches in other disciplines. Bordering narratives have suggested an interplay

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12 We can also ask if but the national can provide identity for people; it is different to be national in symbolic and in everyday life. (Frykman 1995, 5-15)

13 Formation of identity takes place along many borders in an open process through continuous transformations. A focus on the analysis of identity can delimit the analysis of “ways that people under specific circumstances can share insights and experiences”. Culture is to be seen in terms of circumstances (everyday, state, market, social movement), as suggested by Hannerz 1992, 40.

14 See articles 4 and 5.

15 For this role of the hermeneutic concept of culture, see Fornäs 2012. See also the chapter ‘Sustainability and culture’ and the conclusions.

between culture and material borderlands (Schimanski and Wolfe 2010, 39-49; Schimanski and Wolfe 2007). Furthermore, in terms of analyzing relations, even things are now seen as verbs, that is, in terms of what they 'do' in the world (Damsholt and Simonsen 2009, 12). These approaches affect the way we hear the multiple voices present in the field. They suggest different cross-border relations and locations of the ethnographic object. In this thesis the ethnographic object is part of the relations that construct the field; this poses a challenge to the analysis, but also offers possibilities for the analysis of 'cultural complexity' (Hannerz 1992, 7). This cultural complexity is reflected in the diverse and broad empirical materials and in the methods used. Here reflexivity emerges not just as an awareness of the position occupied by the researcher in the field, but also in terms of the political and ethical consequences of theoretical frameworks.

I rely on the idea of translocal fields<sup>16</sup> (Hannerz 2001, 7ff; Hannerz 2006, 23ff) as well as on multi-sited fieldwork, in order to observe the relations that construct both the field and the way I myself engage them (Marcus 1998, 275; Coleman and Collins 2006., xii, 204 s; Falzon 2009, 1-23). My fieldwork observations and engagement with people themselves form a pathway, one which resembles the relations and networks that construct the translocal field. However, the issue here is still to approach as closely as possible to the research object (Ruotsala 2005, 45ff). Here 'culture' is defined by diverse project actors and border-crossing actors can often be ascribed a status not far from that of the researcher (Greverus 2002, 9ff; Cerwonka 2007, 1ff). In a multi-sited approach the focus is on people's everyday consciousness as well as on an understanding of the system. The story to be told here is thus one of relations and networks in which cultural constructs, culture as a resource, and human beings become differently situated. From this perspective, the focus on 'cooperation' which positions the border as 'natural' is called into question. Imagined borderlands and actual 'doing' come into focus. Diverse relations contribute to cultural sharing and provide identifications, which may also implicate what it means to live as a European. Especially for border-crossing actors the material borderlands, the border and physical environment, are not simply traces of the past, but imply negotiations of borders and identity processes between the personal and the European.

## Questions

The questions discussed in each of the five articles approach the cultural horizons of local actors and border-crossing cultural cooperation projects from different angles. These questions shed light on the negotiations of culture and heritage affected by Europeanization processes. Here in focus are diverse practices of border crossing-projects across the EU border, but also ways of making Europe local, that is, as a cultural idea that affects local negotiations of differences, in the past and in the

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16 Here the field is not only viewed as multi-local, consisting of many places; relevant connections are also seen between them (see chapter 'Translocal fields'). It is another question how the ethnographic subject is situated in a multi-sited analysis and allows comparisons (see chapter 'Comparisons in demand').

present.<sup>17</sup> These are suggested by individuals who reflect the systemic setting in which such concepts as ‘culture’, ‘heritage’, ‘cooperation’ and ‘border’ come to be located in new ways. Thus the research questions do not simply aim at tracing diverse uses of heritage and culture by diverse actors (organizations, media, projects, individuals), but also seek to reveal how these ideas come to be located in different sites, and suggest negotiations of the EU border and local heritage in the present. As a theoretical, methodological and practical process, this research allows new questions to emerge as the process of orientation and interpretation progresses. The mobile research approach meant that each fieldwork trip was followed by analysis and writing/publication as well as by conference presentations. The questions thus developed both out of visits to different sites and out of working back home. The primary question emerged only as a result of this whole process:

- How does the changing EU external border, with its focus on safeguarding local well-being as well as strict control of border-crossings, affect the prerequisites and dynamics for cultural change in the ceded borderlands of Finland and Poland?

This can be divided into questions concerning distribution of culture (the role of the media as well as diverse cultural projects and their meaning for local actors who are doing border crossings). These suggest the effect of translocal relations for the ‘cultural agency’ and self-identification of diversely located individuals and organizations.

- How do border-crossing individuals negotiate diverse local, national, and European practices of border-crossing (the relation to the border, practices and symbols of border-crossing projects and representations of these projects and the project actors in the local media)?
- How do local actors doing border crossings relate to Europe as a cultural idea? In other words, how do they address the meanings of borderland heritage and culture – the competences and resources, the cultures, used in constructing networks and relations beyond the local; how do these relations actualize the past and present cultural diversity of the borderlands?

As a concept, bordering (see the chapter entitled *Bordering and border figures*) also supports the contextualization of everyday practices, concrete and imagined, as empowering practices (van Houtum, Kramsch, and Zierhofer 2005, 1). The question is: when does bordering, as a cultural practice of making sense and manipulating everyday life (Linde-Laursen 2010, 3), contribute to cultural bordering, and in what ways? Here the ethnographic objects, things, people and even the border itself, as part of diverse relationships, may come to implicate cultural sharing and difference, that is, cultural

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<sup>17</sup> This suggests a “process whereby the ‘European’ is becoming increasingly ‘localized’, while simultaneously the ‘local’ is clearly being ‘Europeanized’” (Johler 2002, 7-18). It is the means by which this happens that I focus on: for example, how directed is this process and how does it affect local ways of addressing cultural diversity?

bordering. Diverse symbols, cultural products and objects become part of representing and performing border-crossing relations and networks. Here the effect of the EU border is observed in the bordering to which it leads. Local actors have diverse options available in constructing relations and considering their impact. Local actors also suggest how diverse relations engage borderland people and materiality, including as a means of engaging the future and defining what is valuable in terms of well-being at the border.

In tracing the ethnographic object in the midst of diverse bordering processes – the relativization of borders and their imposition at the external border of the EU – the relations between the local and the European in particular also suggest the multitude of options available to local people; these connect with people’s awareness of the system in the midst of bordering processes. Some of these options suggest ‘ethnographic deaths’ while others may suggest ‘cultural agency’ as a means for avoiding them (‘cultural agency’ is defined in the conclusions, see also chapter ‘Agency: competence, relations, materiality’). Basically this means the way that cultural constructs are part of diverse bordering processes and how local actors adapt and provide alternatives to such ‘cultures’, ‘heritages’ and ‘identities’. The locations of the ethnographic object, as reflected by local border-crossing actors, suggest the need for multi-sited approaches to borderlands and Europeanization. These show the effects of projects in dealing with borders and cultural diversity, i.e. bordering as mechanism and resource for identity construction.

## **Europeanization and the interdisciplinary setting**

Political scientists and geographers have noted that borders are socially constructed and that cross-border regions are established through social practices (Paasi 1996; Paasi 2002, 802-811). Territorial identities may also be quite far from the ‘vernacular cultural regions’ that have emerged out of the life of social communities, since they are ‘public representations which literally take place in the sphere of these discourses’ (Paasi 2000, 88). Europeanization is seen to reorganize group identification in relation to ‘territory’ and ‘peoplehood’ (Borneman and Fowler 1997, 488). It is related to issues of governance and politics, to the way the EU directs development through funding policies and institutions (Scott and Matzeit 2006, 21); it also strives toward less strict definitions of EU borders (Mikkeli 2009, 28-29). In the case of the Polish-Ukrainian and Finnish-Russian borderlands, political and development discourses seem to ‘take care’ of the cultural.<sup>18</sup> In research on EU funded cross-border cooperation, ‘culture’ is defined by its usage in networking, that is, as a means for border-crossing communication, cultural sharing and social competence. ‘Europeanization’ is seen to emphasize participatory approaches; here ‘transnational communities’ are formed by the cooperation of diverse organizations. (Scott and Matzeit 2006, 7)

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18 This is suggested by the emphasis on cooperation and reconciliation (see chapter ‘Cooperation and reconciliation’ and articles 1, 2 and 3). In the Finnish-Russian case this has been suggested by Berglund (2000, 23ff).

In the ceded and asymmetrical borderlands discussed in this study, it is a challenge to assess borderland culture in such a way as to avoid the 'ethnographic death' that seems to result from a focus on discourses, networking and the social. At the same time, while the focus on public culture and representations of cultures as fixed suggests rather little interest for the cultural researcher focused on everyday life and observing the ethnographic object, this is also something that needs to be taken into account. Europeanization can be seen as referring to a 'metaculture', codified in documents, directives, reports, and programs, within which the actors involved can address culture as a resource in social terms. As an EU-funded research on 'planning cultures' (in case of INTERREG programs) suggested, in cooperation, 'cultural difference' can function as an 'energizer' when it is transformed into social capital (During and van Dam 2007, 103-104). Here people belong not only to 'local cultures', but to a number of overlapping 'habitats of meaning' (Hannerz 1996, 22-23). In terms of 'culture' in borderlands, we are also confronting the question: who has the power to define cross-border development (Berglund 1998, 3-4)? Regional projects in borderlands, however, have suggested the need for a dialogue between on the one hand functional regions (defined in terms of economy and institutions), on the other cultural regions, based on common heritage, identity and cultural traits (Berg and Löfgren 2000, 13).

Many research projects focusing on cross-border cooperation are based on networking<sup>19</sup> by different researchers around Europe. They seek a standardized methodology, a 'symmetrical approach' to borderlands, which can also enable comparisons and policy advice. In this interdisciplinary setting it is a challenge to argue in favor of the benefits of an ethnological dimension. Interdisciplinarity entails a specific need to justify the process of knowledge production, but as a method fieldwork also challenges interdisciplinarity (Cerwonka 2007, 10). Here the fieldwork approach is crucial as means for engaging the field and moving between the material and the cultural worlds. What seems to be lacking in many studies (especially in EU funded focusing on cooperation across borders) is any personal engagement with borderland actors (people who take part in projects, but also live at the border), as well as reflections of researcher's experience and comparisons between sites as part of the whole process of knowledge production. There seems to be need for ethnological approaches in interdisciplinary settings of borderland research, such as in research projects conducted by social scientists and geographers (Löfgren 2008b, 119ff).

In ethnology, the research object changes between subjects as well as between texts and things, and it is these 'others', and their moral status (in case of people), that plays an active role in knowledge production. Social constructions are thus perceived as untrustworthy because better knowledge can be gained when researchers place

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19 The Finnish-Russian and Polish-Ukrainian borderlands have been included in the 'Exlinea' project (Scott and Matzeit 2006, 153), <http://www.exlinea.comparative-research.net>, 'Regbour' project (see Change on Borders 1.9.2007 and for its workshop, see Field notes 22.11.2005, TYKL/SPA /1149:33), and continued later in the 'Eudimensions' project, <http://www.eudimensions.border-research.eu> (Büchner and Scott 2009, 126). Exlinea and Eudimensions are both research projects on European borderlands funded by the EU in its Framework Programs 6 and 7.



themselves at the same level as the subject studied.(Hallberg 2001, 206) For me, this importance of ethnology connects with ethnological research as a means for suggesting social constructions as having an arbitrary character, but also their role as contributions to (cultural) bordering.<sup>20</sup> Since the 1990s Finnish cultural researchers too have come to see reality as a social construction, but at the same time it is to be noted that both the researchers and the people studied take part in ‘supporting and deconstructing’ cultural constructions in their everyday lives. It is noted that social constructions are time-specific, but they also influence people’s lives by categorizing things and setting boundaries. There are certain ideas, for example, of nations and, when time passes, these come to be taken for granted. Here it is important to note what kind of structures people and diverse actors are creating, what kind of contents and interpretations there are and how these processes become directed.(Åström 2006, 83-84) We can ask: how is the process of creating a ‘common Europeanness’ directed, by whom, and toward what end (Åström 2006, 84). As I see it, this is also what ethnology can contribute to studies of the social and cultural constructions of the European borderlands and Europeanization. On the other hand, in the case of borders ethnological studies tend to focus on ethnicity and identity (discussed in the next chapter), which may not suffice to reveal what it is that is shared and how.

Anthropological studies of Europeanization have focused on the discursive construction of the EU.<sup>21</sup> In borderland studies borders have come to be seen simultaneously as structures and processes, things and relationships, as well as histories and events. Here the focus has been on the “role of culture as a marker and agent of tradition and change at borders” (Donnan and Wilson 1999, 62).<sup>22</sup> Culture is a discursive terrain which ties border peoples and institutions within and across border (ibid. 11-14). The concept of culture has been applied differently in the social imagination when compared to its uses by anthropologists (Burszta 2008, 9). Anthropological studies of Europeanization tend to focus on EU institutions and legal texts rather than on actor-centered research (Stacul, Moutsou, and Kopnina 2006, 6). This thesis seeks a more actor-centered focus. Such a focus seems to be confirmed in ethnological studies of everyday border-crossings in transnational regions, where ideas of cultural and functional regions seem to be combined by diverse actors who seek to develop cross-border regions (Berg and Löfgren 2000, 7ff; O’Dell 2003, 31ff; Löfgren and Nilsson 2010, 223). It is here that diverse actors, individuals as well as

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20 This is not merely to note how phenomena are constructed in social processes, but also the meaning of the fact these are socially constructed (see Hacking 1999), and connect in different ways with borderland materiality. This is in particular an aspect of crossing material and cognitive borders, where it is the legitimacy of practices (rather than their continuity) which is affected (see article 3; also Lehnert 2011, 130-132).

21 For example, it was noted that in the 1990s the cultural politics of the EU attempted to create an imagined community, appealing to the mass public (Shore 2000, 222; 1999, 53ff).

22 “Anthropology has long researched culture at and across state boundaries, and has much to offer the interdisciplinary study of the evolution of borders, nations and states... culture inscribes state territory, national sovereignty, and ethnic, national and other identities at borders”, and in focus here are “rituals, symbols, informal economies, sexual and body politics, and the negotiation of meanings and values both within and across state borders”(Donnan and Wilson 1999, 62).

organizations, are involved in using and defining culture, and here that ethnology can provide a critical perspective on ways of using culture, revealing novel, and sometimes hidden, aspects of the processes that affect cultural change.

Recent approaches to material borderlands within ANT (Actor-Network Theory), with their focus on networks and relations in studies of cross-border cooperation and everyday practices (Sandberg 2009; Häkli 2009, 205ff), can be useful. Within border studies, glossaries of ‘bordering’ concepts are something that can be shared across disciplines (Schimanski and Wolfe 2007, 14). It may be impossible to construct a single theory of borders, but, as David Newman (2007, 28, 45) points out, there is “sufficient common ground for a glossary of border relevant language to be compiled” and possibilities for opening up discipline specific terminologies for other disciplines.<sup>23</sup> Recent border studies, which focus on processes of bordering, have looked for the ‘material and metaphorical narration of borders’ (van Houtum, Kramsch, and Zierhofer 2005, 4). As the ethnologist Wolfgang Kaschuba (Kaschuba 1996, 126) has argued, European ethnology “cannot be understood as a closed structure of theories and as a disciplinary canon of methods. Rather it must be open to all those analytical perspectives that are of use in the decoding of historical systems of communication, symbols and meaning”. In ethnological studies, the notion of bordering has been connected with everyday life and cultural communities (Linde-Laursen 2010, 303; Ruotsala 2011, 139ff). In a situation where borders have become a verb and culture a process, interdisciplinary approaches seem necessary in addressing the role of cultural constructions, such as the emphasis on networking across borders based on ideas of common culture and heritage. Here ethnology, as a discipline situated between the social, the cultural and the material, has some advantages for critical analysis.<sup>24</sup> Here the hermeneutical concept of culture, as the inter-subjective meaning-making processes in focus in ethnological research, can demonstrate its value.

Europeanization is not as an isolated phenomenon unconnected to everyday life, but a process constructed by diverse relations and practices. We should not simply repeat the claim of an unavoidable gap between theory (European ideals and visions formulated by the EU) and practice, since this would locate the European reality as remaining somewhere ‘out there’ (Andersen and Sandberg 2008, 56). Within Europe, the emphasis on seeking originality and differences has come to suggest a ‘culturalization of European space’ (Johler 2006, 155). Europe is obviously a construction, but we also need to look at the ‘soft’ and hard materializations that can be observed in European everyday life. These may suggest a ‘local Europe’ (Johler 2002, 15-17) as a reality for many people. Here ethnologists can bring up for discussion the complex relation of ‘narration’ and ‘discourses’ on the one hand to ‘reality’ and ‘doing’ on the other hand (Johler 1999, 72). In terms of borders, both political practices (EU policies, legislation) and discourses of belonging, such as museum displays, can

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23 In the fourth article, published in the *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, this aspect of interdisciplinarity in border studies is reflected in the need to place the article within a border studies framework. Thus the forum of publication also affects research in a concrete way.

24 See Hallberg 2001.

be seen as transcending as well as confirming borders, which both constitute the 'European' and are formed by it (Sandberg 2009, 12). Instead of discourses and rhetoric, the focus is on what is practiced or done at the border. In borderlands, national narratives also have a role to play as 'safe paths' that offer 'a refuge for the ethnographic object'. These narratives can be turned upside-down in reflections of informants, but it is far more difficult to go beyond 'safe paths'. (Linde-Laursen 2010, 195) There is a need to look at what people 'do' and how they conceptualize border crossings and the bordering processes in novel ways. This means a search for bordering beyond the established narratives and discourses of cooperation, but also the way of actual doing of border crossings.

### ***Beyond areas and ethnicities***

In European ethnology as a discipline, the relationship to the idea, territory and institutions of Europe has remained largely undefined. The same seems to hold true of its boundaries. (Kockel, Nic Craith, and Frykman 2012, 1-3) Historically, in a European context, ethnology has contributed to the processes which created nation-states as 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1991), especially in the early twentieth century (Löfgren 1996, 157). This may not have been a conscious aim in research, but rather the result of a focus on the study of peasantry and the use of ideological concepts such as 'homeland' and 'nation-state'. Within Northern Europe<sup>25</sup> ethnology has specialized territorially, thereby differing from a general anthropological approach (Löfgren 2008b, 119ff). As a result, 'European ethnology' seems a matter of rhetoric; actual research does not take place among people belonging to other national groups, residing outside national boundaries. In studies of contemporary cultural phenomena, where the focus is not only on the reconstruction of the past but also on the way this takes place in contemporary culture, new challenges have emerged which also require new theoretical and methodological approaches. In Finnish ethnological research it is nowadays stressed that the relation between theory and empirical data should always be made explicit; earlier, however, it was fairly typical for theory, if it was present at all, to be so only implicitly (Åström 2005, 28; Siivonen 2008, 124). At the same time, the history of the discipline also suggests certain concepts: *kansa* ('people', 'nation'), 'boundary', 'ethnicity' – and research approaches (diffusionism) which support my attempt to locate my research and the problems of integrating the transnational in this study.

Early on, in the Finnish national sciences, 'nation' and 'people' were more or less interchangeable terms. In ethnology, folk culture was seen as the basis for Finnish culture. (Sääskilahti 1997) In the Finnish context, the focus on the national has been a distinctive feature serving to differentiate between anthropological and ethnological research. In the context of European ethnology, where *kansa*, *volk* is no longer a plausible object of study, but there is still an emphasis on studying one's 'own' society, ethnology has faced a need to redefine its object. A shift is apparent from the analysis

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25 This is not so much the case of ethnological sciences in (post-)socialist Central and Eastern Europe (Buchowski 2012, 68).

of 'cultural areas' to 'Europe-wide constructions' (Ruotsala 2009, 190). European integration, however, has affected ways of doing research and the application of concepts still in a limited sense.<sup>26</sup> In practice, Finnish culture is still a strong framework (Siikala 2006, 161). Finnish ethnology has focused on phenomena within the national context, in terms either of territory or of ethnicity. After the Russian Revolution, and Finnish independence, the focus turned to the study of Finnish peasant culture on the basis of museum collections. This was not a nationalist approach, but reflected research practices and materials at the time (Siikala 2006, 161). In the course of the twentieth century ethnology came to a greater extent to be the ethnology of Finland, with a strong orientation towards the history of localities. In the case of material culture the trend has been to deconstruct the relationship between people as nations and the ethnographic facts. Distinct cultural features were searched for and the past was reconstructed, but no holistic notions of nations and society were applied. (Siikala 2006, 163) During the Second World War, however, ethnologists among other Finnish scholars also had a specific task: to demonstrate that Eastern Karelia, the regions occupied by Finland across the interwar borders in the Continuation War, belonged to Finland (Pimiä 2009, 30).

In the case of the ethnographies of Finland (by U. T. Sirelius 1920/1921, Toivo Vuorela 1964, 1975 and Ilmari Talve 1997/1990),<sup>27</sup> any systematic theories of culture or society tend to be absent. Up to the 1960s, the regional identification of various cultural phenomena and folk culture was analyzed from an evolutionary perspective; this was then supplemented with a diffusionist approach, focusing on movements of cultural phenomena and on borrowing from others in cultural contacts (Ruotsala 2009, 172). Urpo Vento (1998, 18-20) has noted that Toivo Vuorela's study<sup>28</sup> of material folk culture described a 'Finnish-Karelian' cultural area (linguistic territory) and that Matti Sarmela's atlas<sup>29</sup> of Finnish ethnic folklore from 1994 likewise suggested that in the past political borders probably played only a slight role in changes in folk culture. Past studies in diffusionism can be seen as predecessors of studies on transnational phenomena (Frykman and Niedermüller 2002, 3-6). Rather than a political agenda, these suggested a European tradition,<sup>30</sup> identifying not only differences but also similarities. Ethnologists were drawn outside national borders, but the national became an unquestioned frame of research. National borders were shown to have little significance for folk culture, but at the same time the main purpose of existence of the discipline was the nation (Löfgren 1996, 158). Areal approaches are still addressed (Leimu 2010, 276), but now rather as constructions in a European context of regions and cultural heritage (Ruotsala 2009, 175). Helena Ruotsala (2009, 184) has noted that

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26 For a recent exception see Siivonen 2008 and 2011.

27 In Poland we find for example the six-volume *Polski atlas etnograficzny* (Gajek, Józef. Published between 1964 and 1981 by the Instytut Historii Kultury Materialnej, Polska Akademia Nauk, Warszawa).

28 See Vuorela 1976.

29 Rather than seeing folk culture as formed as an issue of diffusion of phenomena, innovations and customs (as for Vuorela), Sarmela focused on 'ecosystems'. It was around these ecosystems that a border could emerge, while political borders were relatively insignificant. See Sarmela 1994.

30 These were also part of a European-wide phenomenon in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of classifying people as well as cultural areas with boundaries (Schippers 1999, 28).

the new focus on multivocality and on the culture of everyday life reveals the inadequacy of the previous focus on 'cultural areas' in 'doing justice' to the research object.

Even in terms of material folk culture, Finnish ethnologists have been rather hesitant in drawing cultural borders (Ruotsala 2003, 121). For Ilmar Talve (Talve 1997, 334, 351), Finland was not a 'Finnish cultural area'. His point was that folk culture in different regions of Finland reflected what was a constant process of change taking place in culture. The aim of ethnological studies was to describe this process itself, the different dynamics of cultural change and various influences from various directions, the factors affecting culture. More recently, the focus has been on symbolic boundaries and cultural encounters. In 1994 the 27th Nordiska Etnolog- och Folkloristkongressen (Nordic Congress on Ethnology and Folklore Studies) took as its theme 'borders in time and space' (Ruotsala and Siltanen 1994), and a volume of conference proceedings has been published on the ethnological 'interpretation, presentation and representation'<sup>31</sup> of borders. Borders have come to be discussed, but not in terms of actual borderlands and state borders. Cultural encounters have been seen as a matter of the negotiation of social boundaries. This perspective follows the ideas of Fredrik Barth (1994), that boundaries can be transgressed without making them obsolete and that they are not defined by specific cultural phenomena. Likewise his ideas as to analyzing ethnicity processes in terms of micro, middle and macro levels have been influential in terms of identifying cultural encounters in a transnational era. Here the instrumentalization of culture has come under focus, for example in the case of the population of Finnish origin living in Norway on the Atlantic coastline (Anttonen 1999). Globalization and its effects have been discussed as a matter of relationships between regional development, symbolic borders and everyday life in the Finnish Archipelago (Siivonen 2011, 53-59; 2008, 347-348). It is now recognized that European Union policies have become part of everyday life and have an impact on local cultures.

Studies of ethnicity and migration did shift the focus outside Finnish territory (Anttonen 1999; Sallinen-Gimpl 1994; Tuomi-Nikula 1989), but here the borders of national cultures can apparently be quite easily ignored. At home, the emerging multicultural society was seen in the 1990s to require new tools of analysis (Räsänen 1995, 15). In the case of the repatriated Ingrians 'returning' to Finland, studies focused on symbolic boundaries (Räsänen 1999, 9-17). For this group, ethnicity was a resource for social networking rather than a common denominator. In the case of Finland's eastern border with Russia, the focus has been on ways of recollecting the past. From a Finnish perspective, the 'lost' Karelia (ceded in 1940 and again in 1945 to the Soviet Union) is seen to exist as a place of memory, although recent studies have also explored Russian perceptions of places which once belonged to Finns. (Fingerroos and Loipponen 2007, 7-15; Hakamies 2006, 31ff; 2005, 91ff; 2004, 11ff; Korjonen-

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31 Including presentations held at the 7th Finnish-Hungarian Ethnological Symposium in June 2000 (Korhonen, Ruotsala, and Uusitalo 2003).

Kuusipuro and Kohvakka 2010, 73-87) Ethnological approaches to everyday life in borderlands seem to emerge at internal borders of the EU rather than at external ones, as for example in the Finnish-Swedish case of transnational options for identification (Ruotsala 2011, 139-147; 2009, 30-49). This of course also reflects what has changed in these borderlands in terms of new possibilities for transnational everyday life. For me, recognizing that state borders are also cultural constructs is an attempt to look for the credibility of the external border of the EU as an ethnological topic.

In Finnish ethnology, these changes in the concept of culture have suggested the internal development of the discipline, both in itself and in relation to the wider society. Rapid changes in societies have made it ever more difficult to observe the structural aspect of society and culture. A particularly demanding task is to see how different conceptualizations of culture connect to political and economic structures, and how these interact with the everyday lives of people. (Åström 2006, 81) It has been noted that if we are to understand culture in the present, research needs to include 'local knowledge' and socio-political structures. This means a chance to understand the processes and structures to which ethnologists contribute (Åström 2006, 87). As noted above, some recent research (Siivonen 2008, 352-353; Anttonen 1999) has taken into account the political context and the reification of culture. Due to diverse processes of ethnic mobilization and regional development, the study of cultural sharing is more problematic than in a research focus was on particular groups or areas. In the study of complex cultures it is to be noted that ideas of 'cultural wholes' have been adopted by the wider society: We need to look at who is presenting these 'cultural wholes' and for what purpose. (Siivonen 2008, 39) National delimitations in ethnology may have yielded practical results, and may have reflected a situation where theories of culture remained in the background; but societies change, and we need to look for ways of understanding that actively seek to avoid reductionism.

In contrast, ethnology in Sweden has been strongly based on theories of culture (Arvidsson 2001, 9). The development of Swedish ethnology in the 1960s and 70s was significantly affected by social change, in particular by immigration to Sweden (Hallberg 2001, 68-69). The new focus on local communities was based on disillusionment with earlier ethnological research, as having focused on "relics of a past folk culture" (Löfgren 2008b, 123). At the end of the 1970s attention turned to cultural systems, identities and subcultures, but studies outside Sweden were few. In the 1980s, the debate in ethnology circled around *kulturanalys*, in which foreign trends were adopted from British social anthropology and American cultural anthropology (Hallberg 2001, 76). The relationship between culture and power also came under focus. The study of everyday life and of 'ordinary people' became important markers of the discipline, as did the new concept of 'cultural creativity' (Löfgren 2008b, 126). 'Culture' as such, it was noted, is never enough to explain why people behave as they do. It is also problematic if culture is associated only with positive things, such as creativity, community and meaningfulness; it also excludes, creates inequality, and masks controversy (Ehn and Löfgren 2001, 12).

As a critical tool the concept of culture has had potential in studies concerning established and dominant viewpoints, as it may articulate “hidden and suppressed ways of understanding reality” (Ehn and Löfgren 2001, 169-170). It is a form of ideological critique when it makes visible the mechanisms that make ideas and interests seem ‘normal’. This critical approach to people’s practices is limited not only by material conditions, but also by conceptualizations of what is right and wrong.(Ibid. 169-170) The concept of discourse was applied in the 1980s and 1990s to highlight the way that everyday life is affected by ideological discourses: in other words, how people’s actions and thinking are shaped by politics, the mass media, commercialism and ‘tidsanda’ (‘spirit of the times’). What was not noted, however, is how ‘everyday’ practices exist everywhere, even in the ‘corridors of power’.(Löfgren 2008b, 127) In the 1990s and during the last decade ethnologists in Sweden have focused on cultural identity, everyday life and transnational mobility in borderlands (Löfgren 1996, 157; 2010, 95-113; 1999, 5-27; O’Dell 2004, 108-129; 2003, 31-53). In addition to studies of border crossings, Swedish ethnographic research has also been conducted on Polish everyday life.(Lindelöf 2006; Wolanik Boström 2005) Rather than certain ethnic connections of the studied groups with Sweden, issues of gender and identity have come to the fore, also in terms of Poland’s future as part of the European Union.

This study is also to be seen as a story that looks beyond one’s own territories and ethnicities in order to avoid reductionism in the analysis of cultural change; this also requires new approaches to borders and to Europe as an ethnological research topic. The above brief description of ethnological research in Finland and Sweden also reflects the personal path that has led to this thesis, as well as my own academic background. I had studied in Sweden earlier, in 1999,<sup>32</sup> close to the construction site for the Sound bridge between Sweden and Denmark which then became a core site for innovative ethnological research on the making of European transnational regions in everyday life (see Löfgren and Nilsson 2010). I have, however, also been drawn by my studies and work experience in Poland, which led to a desire to understand the changes that have taken place in that country in connection with the expansion of the European Union; I was able to witness some of these changes when I took part in the celebrations in front of the Royal Castle in Warsaw on 1 May 2004.<sup>33</sup>

### ***Perspectives of the Polish ‘borderlands’***

In the Polish case, changes since the Soviet collapse have been significant but continuities are now emphasized as well (Buchowski 2002, 63-81). Connections outside the Soviet bloc existed already before the collapse, and Poland enjoyed more freedoms than the Soviet Union. Changes brought by EU membership have also had

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32 In 1999 I was an exchange student in Lund, where I was able to participate in theoretical and fieldwork training. At the time this field of research for local ethnologists was only starting to take shape.

33 It can be said that my experience of the Swedish-Danish borderland led serendipitously to the topic of this thesis on European borderlands. In 2001 I was studying in Kraków and in 2004 I was working for a company in Warsaw, but I had coincidentally also started to work as a trainee with development projects close to the Ukrainian border (in 2003). All this forms a very specific path, and helps to explain some of the perspectives applied.

consequences not only for the society, but also for Polish research in the fields of ethnology and anthropology. In research this systemic change from communist rule to a European democratic state, has been seen to be reflected in the everyday lives and identities of Polish people. Here the ‘transition discourse’, the ‘becoming like Europe’, has been a framework setting the parameters of identity building for many Poles. (Lindelöf 2006, 36) Educated Poles who talk about their life events may see the socialist period as dull, grey and indoctrinated, while they see themselves (or their families and those close to them) as different, as persons who thought differently (Wolanik Boström 2005, 287). Here the systemic changes have become important for research, although in terms of Polish research traditions the effects of the Soviet collapse were relatively minor.<sup>34</sup> My approach, however, is rather one of a ‘post-transformation’ period, with Polish membership in the EU a reality and taken for granted by Poles. However, while the Polish-Ukrainian borderland may increasingly suggest opportunities for local Polish actors to belong to a European community,<sup>35</sup> this in my view does not mean that these identities are easily delineated or stable, but rather their constant construction and destabilization.

One issue to be confronted is the way that studies conducted in Poland by non-Poles relate to the framework of transformation/transition. It is as though all Polish research produced since the fall of communism is exemplary of the ‘transformation period’; and new ‘knowledge’ is also interpreted in this context.(Wolanik Boström 2005, 29) Although my collaboration with Polish researchers has been limited, this should not be interpreted as a presumptuous attitude towards knowledge produced by Polish ethnologists/sociologists.<sup>36</sup> Actually, my purpose in this thesis is to take into account Polish analytical concepts and research perspectives on local identity and agency relating to the borderlands. This borderland research has had interesting interdisciplinary undercurrents linking ethnology, sociology and anthropology. Here the meaning of systemic change for the disciplines is reflected in their conceptualizations of the Polish borderlands and their heritage, and address ideological contexts in ways that are helpful in assessing present-day border crossings as well.

In Poland, ethnology has roots in the nineteenth century (Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze), and Polish institutions of ethnology have long traditions: Lwów 1910, Cracow 1925 and Vilna 1927 (the last-mentioned belonged at the time to Poland). In Communist Poland, ethnology and ‘ethnography’ were long condemned to studying the ‘exotic’ of Poland itself; studies outside Poland were an exception. In the early 1980s young ethnologists presented their manifesto, stating that reforms in society have to be taken into account in doing science (Łuczecko 2006, 57). The ‘new

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34 See Buchowski 2002.

35 See for example Scott and Matzeit 2006, 74-76.

36 In this sense I see my research as contributing to bridging the gap between studies of post-socialist societies, suggesting possibilities to “merge perspectives from ‘East’ and ‘West’ in order to create a truly equal and innovative” research (Buchowski 2012, 82).



ethnology<sup>37</sup> claimed a departure from the positivist and functional analysis of culture and an increased focus on cultural identification and the benefits of interdisciplinary research. Ethnology was not to focus on peasant culture, exotic peoples or other ‘non-elite cultures’, but was to be a science of the internal mechanisms of each and every culture (Łuczecko 2006, 61). After 1989, structural semiotics and phenomenology were further emphasized, especially in Warsaw and Kraków. Previously neglected topics such as popular culture and the media were now discussed, along with the role of stereotypes and ‘fraternal’ relations within the Soviet bloc (Dzięgiel 1996, 161-172). Janusz Barański (2008, 216-217; 2002, 31-33) has noted that the sites and subjects of research changed even earlier than in the West. For example, Czesław Robotycki called himself an ‘ethnologist of the contemporary’ and had similar ideas to those presented by George Marcus concerning multi-sited research. The idea was to recognize that anthropology was suited to showing how “contemporary societies and economies are increasingly sign-based, dependent on information, symbols and images” (Łuczecko 2006, 76).<sup>38</sup> In the 1990s ethnological and ‘socio-ethnological’ studies enjoyed a boom, and the same kind of articles could be published in sociological and ethnological publications and journals. In practice, however, the role of fieldwork was often relatively weak. (Buchowski 2002, 63ff)

After Communism, ethnology too redefined itself as a discipline and its field was extended to borders and ‘borderlands’ (Kantor 1996, 27-43). In practice, it is more often Polish sociologists who have been active in studying borderlands, the Polish ‘pogranicze’ (Kurczewska 2005, 365ff; Babiński 2005, 99-118; 1997; Wojakowski 2002).<sup>39</sup> In particular the Polish-German borderland can be seen as a site for observing these ethno-sociological discussions, but borderlands also serve as sites for observing cultural change. During the Communist era research in this area had served the purpose of ‘Polonizing’ the settlers in the new territories acquired from Germany, but the point was not to show the actual experience of settlers. Ethnologists focused on documenting folk culture and villages (Jasiewicz 2004, 41; Tumolska 2007, 257). The sociologically trained Józef Burszta<sup>40</sup> emphasized the social character of cultural phenomena. He was interested in how the present inhabitants were coping with transformation processes. In the 1970s local researchers in the borderland or with an ethnic background also became active.<sup>41</sup> Later, research came to focus on subjectivity and the local articulation of identity and the inclusion of German culture (Jasiewicz 2004, 51): how, in the current

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37 This ‘new ethnology’ was just one trend in Polish anthropological research. There were also for example socio-pragmatists (concentrated in Poznań), who placed anthropological theories in a wider social and cultural context (rather than focusing on their internal logic), but were also aware of historicism and the way that people create history rather than are predetermined by structures. (Buchowski 2002, 63-81)

38 The anthropologist Jozef Obrebski (1905-1967) can be seen as a predecessor of Anderson’s ‘imagined communities’ and Barth’s ‘ethnic boundaries’. He conducted fieldwork in interwar Polesia.

39 This may reflect the earlier focus on social and cultural changes in the society after 1989; see Buchowski 2002, 63ff.

40 See for example *Ethnografia Polska* vol. 9 (1965) and vol. 14 (1970).

41 These were ‘repatriates’ from France, Belorussia and Romanian Bukowina, and Lemkos originating from the Carpathian Mountains.

‘Western Kresy’,<sup>42</sup> do people realize their desires, produce new meanings, and rationalize their own actions in everyday life? Here the border can be revealed as a local phenomenon and the ethnologist can also engage in the process. Ethnologists are seen to confront presumed ‘truths’, such as ‘elite discourses’, that limit the imagination of borders. These can be criticized by taking seriously what people say and their role in cultural creativity. As Michał Buchowski (2004, 11) has put it, here “the political border fades away and the cultural space thickens and is filled due to people that engage laboriously in creating their own local fatherlands, which transcend ethnic and historical divisions”.<sup>43</sup> In my case, these also include the ways people engage in border-crossing projects and negotiate the many ‘cultures’ they seem to come in contact with.

Research in the Polish-Ukrainian borderland has emphasized the role of national belonging, although in the late 1990s there were some ‘optimistic’ visions of the borderland.<sup>44</sup> In southeast Poland the cultural has seemed to connect strongly with the nationalist project (Hann 2002a, 259ff), and Europeanization seems to conceal a nationalist logic (Buzalka 2008, 769). Here Polish studies of Poland’s neighbors to the east have focused on those who, somehow, declare themselves as Poles, and on relations between Poles and Ukrainians. The focus has been on ethnic and national identity, on distance, rather than on ties and relationships between people (Babiński 2010, 38).<sup>45</sup> For Polish ethnologists who have studied ‘Poles’ on Ukrainian soil, the definition of Polishness has been a problem. Here the notion of ‘Kresy’ has not been understood in a context of power and politics, but as a euphemism for a specific way of life and in particular a specific form of religiosity, i.e. Roman Catholicism. Here expressions of identity in terms of such statements as ‘I was born in Ukraine, therefore I am Ukrainian’ are regarded as superficial, dictated by the state.(Zowczak 2003, 9ff) Rather than objective criteria, deeper identifications have thus been sought. In a recent book on the southern part of the Polish-Ukrainian borderland, the author ruled out the metaphoric aspects of borders as well as their transgressions and ‘everything with a trans-prefix’ (Zowczak 2010, 13). This followed the ideas of the American anthropologist Michael Herzfeld (2001, 136-137), who regards ‘border crossings’ as “materialized taxonomic breakpoints”, as symbolic spaces where the flow of people,

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42 Western Kresy is used in connection with the regions gained by Poland from Germany after the Second World War in ‘compensation’ for its territorial losses in the east, the ‘proper’ Kresy.

43 The notion of the ‘small’ or ‘local fatherland’ has the meaning of *Heimat* in German use. Rather than with a direct political link, it is a private fatherland. In Poland it was used first by the sociologist Stanisław Ossowski (1897 – 1963). It may be noted that the ideological fatherland (German ‘*Vaterland*’), the nation, was used in a propagandistic way in the People’s Republic of Poland.

44 This optimism was related to a diminishing of differences, tensions and negative attitudes and stereotypes across the border. Fears were related to asymmetries across the border in terms of the attitudes and opinions of others. See Babiński 2010.

45 Their relations with Poland are also a complex issue. The Polish Card, ‘*Karta Polaka*’ was introduced in 2007 for people who “belong to the Polish nation”, have ‘Polish origins’, but cannot obtain dual citizenship in their countries. This, however, is a very diverse group and may not fulfill the criteria defined by the law. This may further divide these groups in the east.(Babiński 2010, 42) The card was supposed to support Polish communities abroad in “safeguarding the national heritage”. In Poland the card gives access to education and exempts the holder from needing a work permit, among its other benefits.

ideas, and imaginations results in meetings of incommensurable, heterogeneous categories, different ways of classification. He notes the recent magnification of taxonomic exclusion by technological development as well as by economic and political factors. The taxonomy of belonging to a cultural group continues to function in essentialized form, using reified categories of culture and society, for example that one must 'have' a culture. Herzfeld (*ibid.* 137) notes that these are 'dilemmas' anthropologists may encounter in cities and border crossings. This approach to borders was in turn based on Fredrik Barth (1969), who famously drew attention to the creation and maintenance of boundaries, rather than permanent cultural phenomena within boundaries. In the case of the Polish-Ukrainian 'neighborhood' at the border, research is focused on the everyday lives of local people and their strategies of survival; on the way the local community perceives, in everyday life, the injustices of life (Zowczak 2010, 13). Here the EU border as such is not in focus, nor are the new identifications brought by increased emphasis on cooperation and border-crossing structures for development and their effect on group boundaries.

The above-mentioned 'underdog' perspective, typical in ethnology, does not draw attention to border crossings, but it does seem to correspond to reality for most people in the borderland, in a situation where the optimism related to increased border crossings and local development seems to be fading away. Ultimately, this borderland has come to reflect the impact of European structures, but also national developments indicating that this borderland is not particularly autonomous when it comes to such processes. (Babiński 2010, 35-36) As I see it, however, here the focus on 'local survival' may not reveal what sustains recent developments in terms of cross-border relations. When people, in their survival strategies, comment on the injustices of life, this can actually shed light on local project actors and their critique of cross-border relations and bordering practices. At the same time, from my perspective, as an ethnographic description of a borderland, the focus on everyday injustices provides a partial view and masks the way that cultural sharing and bordering takes place. These are also worth grasping, as they may be revealing in terms of locating the ethnographic object and understanding cultural agency at the EU border. This borderland suggests the 'transborderness' of the Polish-German borderland (Babiński 2010, 35). National-level identification and Polish-Ukrainian relations are friendly and symmetrical, but this does not mean that actual relationships and contacts are equally symmetrical.<sup>46</sup> In other words, diverse local actors<sup>47</sup> need to establish relations that allow them to transcend the border. For me, the issue is neither to dismiss nor to idealize cultural mixing across the border, but rather to look at the way individuals have agency in constructing relations in the local-border context and how the doing of border crossings may suggest cultural change. This entails a need to collapse the gap between local and global, between everyday life and the system (discussed in the next chapter).

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46 See Kurcz 2009, 9-18.

47 These include for example those who can benefit from the financial support provided for border crossings especially by the EU, such as cultural institutions, museums, organizations of local development, but also individuals (articles 2, 3 and 4).

## **Translocal fields**

From a discipline concerned with bounded and rooted cultures, anthropology gradually began to extend to the study of routes, i.e. how identities are produced and performed through movement (Clifford 1997). Rather than continuity and immobility, this suggests a focus on change and movement. Transnational research on culture and interconnectedness has suggested that some people can benefit from the abundant imaginary perspectives related to diverse border crossings, while others do not. Rather than re-naturalizing ‘global dreams’, they should be located ethnographically (Tsing 2008, 81-82). Research on mobility and globalization, however, has seemed to be “a matter out of ethnographic place” (Coleman and Collins 2006, 8). Focusing exclusively or primarily either on larger cultural processes or on the local seems to result in partial and unfocused interpretations. In anthropological research, to see the local as embodying the global seems to come too close to ideas of ‘non-places’, i.e. places that do not seem to sustain social life (Augé 1995). This would shatter the context of interpretation and make distinctions between informants and the researcher problematic (Coleman and Collins 2006, 8). In my view, however, issues of relations and networks, ways of doing of border crossings, have to be faced, both theoretically and methodologically. In the case of borderlands, translocal perspectives have been adopted (Donnan and Haller 2000, 8). Cultural processes and phenomena extend beyond borders; they have done so earlier too, but now they involve the aspect of directing local development in glocal culture. This happens when people acquire contacts and competences around the world, but also due to different institutions and organizations, which can be seen affecting the “mechanisms that tend to create the boundaries, homogeneity and stability of culture.” (Siivonen 2011, 51) For me, the issue thus is to find a suitable model for analyzing the translocal field.

Such concepts as ‘borders’ and ‘borderlands’ have opened up anthropological fieldwork practices in terms of how ‘fields’ and ‘cultures’ are understood. This also suggests the way culture has become situated. (Olwig and Hastrup 1997) The idea of ‘multi-sited fieldwork’ was raised by George E. Marcus and Michael M. J. Fischer already in the 1980s and was further developed in the 1990s. This approach is less focused on a “single-site probing of local situations and peoples”; it includes transnational phenomena, “consisting of social formations and cultural practices that transcend nation-state borders” (Marcus 1998, 81). Mobile research projects have come to be seen as an established method in studying transnational processes (Turtinen 2006, 29; Welz 2002, 147). The research object is seen as “mobile or spatially dispersed” (Falzon 2009, 9). In multi-sited ethnography the ‘bottom-up’ perspective has not been abandoned but challenged, with the shift of focus to “other domains of cultural production” (Marcus 1998, 85). This shift reflects dissatisfaction with the idea that the local is an adequate ethnographic space, but it is also a response to the notion that space is socially produced, placing the focus on the processes whereby this space is produced (Falzon 2009, 4-6). These wider interpretative frameworks, such as globalization and transnationalism, give further contextual meaning to individual lives. In traditional cultural anthropology it is places and landscapes that have supported theorizing, and even here the spatial imaginary of a ‘site’ is important (Coleman and

Collins 2006, 6). The issue in the ‘multi-sited’ approach, however, is not the “linking otherwise bounded location across global space” (ibid, 7); rather, it is an ethnography which collapses oppositions between life world and system, between the local and the global. As Simon Coleman and Peter Collins (ibid, 7) comment on Marcus,

Marcus’s work mediates between images of fixity and flow, accepting the contingency of the ethnographic object but retaining emphasis on the need to explore everyday consciousness of informants, including indeed their ‘system awareness’ and knowledge of other sites and agents.

The ‘system’ is what people articulate as their understanding of the world, things, culture, heritage, relations between people and peoples, cooperational projects, Europe, the border: in other words, how things work in a wider setting. For a multi-sited approach, it is crucial that people not only recognize other sites and agents with which they have relationships, but that these sites are also seen as discontinued. (Marcus 1998, 96) This way of transplanting ideas and practices is what I consider important when analyzing border crossing projects and uses of heritage as a local and border-crossing resource by diverse actors. Thus the idea of multi-sited research is not a matter of combining many local fields in a single whole, but of recognizing that single-sited research may not address the same kind of social units and relations. Anthropologists should “follow people, things, memories and metaphors across borders to their spatial, temporal, social and spiritual sites” (Greverus 2002, 22). Ulf Hannerz (2006, 24) has used the phrase ‘studying through’ to describe the practice of “tracing webs of relations between actors, institutions and discourses”. Here we have to be wary of making the same assumptions made in single-site fieldwork, where the aims of research and the relations that characterize the field differ from those of a single place study (Hannerz 2001, 25).

As I see it, a multi-sited approach has its advantages when it comes to assessing Europeanization and identifying the negotiations – between the self and the European – carried out by actors involved in the border-crossing projects. This can be seen as a study of Europe ‘from below’ (Kockel 1999, 99-118). There has been a tendency to postulate “middle level theories between micro and macro level” (Barth 1994).<sup>48</sup> This middle level (culture process) can be important in terms of understanding for example regional and local development (Siivonen 2011, 47-63; 2008, 352ff). Individuals can act within organizations, they can form diverse border-crossing communities (such as museum professionals), and the relations they contribute to can be rather different from those of local communities at the border (see article 5). For me, mid-level approaches to analyzing cultural processes seem to assume a gap or process of mediation, which not only seems to impose the opposition between local and global, but can also simplify<sup>49</sup> the way that Europeanization can support cultural bordering. Here especially

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48 Barth distinguishes between three analytical levels in the analysis of ethnicity processes: the micro (everyday interactions), middle (institutions and organizations), and macro levels (states, international organizations).

49 If not in the analysis itself, I suspect that this happens in communicating research outside the “researchers’ own ranks” (Eriksen 2005, 145).

the processes of localization and Europeanization can be seen as in a dialectic process of defining each other culturally (Johler 2006, 154). In these borderlands, diverse organizations may have little interest in Europe as a cultural idea to be localized, but this is suggested on the individual level within or outside the organizational context (article 2, 4 and 5). The doing and imagining of border crossings by local people may also engage the local community, as well as the community across the border, in new ways. In other words, their negotiations of the border and of local heritage connect ideas of local and European culture. These can suggest a kind of ‘Europeanization from below’ (but without idealizing or simplifying local actor positions) rather than from above, which is suggested in studies of cross-border co-operation and analysis of the organizations in cross-border institutionalization and ‘networks’ (Kennard 2010, 194; Kennard 2006, 104-106). I position myself and bordering actors as located between places and relations (see also the chapter entitled ‘In-between places and relations’).

The critique of the multi-sited approach has had to do with its lack of reflexivity and its tendency to open up limitless narrative possibilities (Falzon 2009, 1-3). It also seems to lack ‘depth’, i.e. the ‘thick description’ (Geertz 1973, 456; Horst 2009, 119-133) which is still an important aspect of ethnological research (Åström 2005, 25ff). In studies of transnational networks and flows, however, both depth and multi-sitedness may be combined. This has been seen as meaning a ‘thick description’ of networks, their dynamics and “the interplay of relations between people, things, activities and meanings” (Horst 2009, 126). A further critique has concerned the seeming assumption of a ‘pre-existing field’, which would contravene the idea of socially produced space (Falzon 2009, 11). However, this can be also a possibility when, as Gisela Welz (2002, 146) puts it,

The site of ethnography can no longer be presupposed to be an unproblematic given, even before fieldworkers can engage in multi-sited research, they confront the task of discovering trajectories of mobility and tracking the far-flung relations of communication that connect one social setting to many others.

Practical issues of multi-sited research will be discussed in the chapter on fieldwork, but here it is relevant to note that the field I chose to address was originally defined in terms of cross-border cooperation (CBC) projects; this, however, has not limited the research, and the field has changed along the way. I have observed local project actors, both their everyday consciousness and their system awareness (of the border and collaborative networking); but this also came to include the ways they live with and make use of borderland materiality. They can use and experience it in ways that suggest personal and collective bordering and suggest different orderings of cross-border relations (article 4). As Ullrich Kockel (Kockel 2010, 120) puts it, the following of flows of goods, persons and ideas raises questions: “where is the human being in all of this?”, and whose interests it serves if people are not included in these relations. What the multi-sited approach means for me, in this case, is essentially a focus on relations that may allow comparisons between sites and borderlands, and the bordering processes. Here Kresy and Karelia suggest past territories and heritage in ways that

become differentially actualized in the present border crossings. This happens in cases of border-crossing project areas (such as Euregio Karelia), but especially in the way that the past of these ceded borderlands is actualized in diverse ways of using culture and heritage in negotiating the border. These include not only crossings of the border but essentially become an issue of relating the local to the transnational, including the European. Here people have competences and knowledge, system awareness, in using culture and heritage; this suggests opportunities for observing cultural agency, that is, negotiations of differences and similarities, but also what is valuable for communities and individuals.

### *Comparisons in demand*

Comparative research has been criticized for its tendency to cut up cultural systems into “comparable bits and pieces”, leading to a loss of “contextual meanings and culturally specific relations” (Welz 2002, 149). European ethnology has been described as an essentially comparative way of doing research. It is more than a combination of national and transnational perspectives; a European context means more than just looking for other, exotic cultures. It is about cultural relations and contacts within Europe as well as from outside it. (Roth 1999, 31-44) Comparative approaches to a ‘Europe of regions’ are required in terms not only of representations and discourses but of actual practices. (Johler 2006, 152)<sup>50</sup> In this thesis the comparative aspect is based on assessing ethnographic objects as part of diverse orderings of cross-border relations and of the negotiation of borders and cultures. Increased mobility and interconnectedness have led to an increased demand for comparisons, but no longer as a matter of units conceived of as independent of one another. It is crucial to be explicit about what kinds of relations and networks one relies on and what are the relations that construct the translocal field. (Hannerz 1998, 237) Rather than a fragmenting of cultural systems, an ignoring of historical change and cultural interaction, or an unreflective relation to people, a multi-sited approach suggests new forms of comparative research. Ethnography of an object which is multiply situated is integrally comparative when the phenomena juxtaposed have conventionally been kept apart (Marcus 1995, 102). Cross-cultural comparison can even be regarded as a “historical, geographical and social imperative in an interconnected world” (Greverus 2002, 9). In my case, this concerns the ethnographic object situated in border-crossing and translocal relations.

In addition to face-to-face relationships, more ‘mediated forms of interactions’ also come to be included in the analysis (Horst 2009, 126). Places count as well, but localities are seen as comparable, not similar. The focus on connections between different sites and actors is a means of avoiding reductionism. As Gisela Welz (2002, 141) sees it in her study of a Cypriot village, attention turns to the way that translocal influences are “worked into the local fabric of social life, to eventually addressing the

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50 As Katriina Siivonen (2011, 51) puts it, in terms of understanding local development work, “it is relevant to take different organizations, such as the European Union, UNESCO, and the various organizations concerned with local development and the administration of cultural heritage, to become part of the local and ‘glocal’ culture analyzed in ethnological research.”

village as a node in a translocal and effectively polycentric network”. In a specific locality, it is not only ‘ordinary people’, but diverse actors that have to be taken into account. In the case of environmental conflicts in Cyprus, Welz (2002, 154)<sup>51</sup> writes:

The way in which competing sets of moralities inform the actions and stances of the social actors involved, and how their conflicting representations of the environment enlist local and trans-local knowledges makes this case eminently comparable with other like it.

Comparability can be based on ‘competing moralities’ and ‘conflicting representations’ of the actors.(Welz 2002, 154) By focusing on relations and the actors, organizations and people, their ways of representing and using cultures and the border, I seek to avoid comparisons between areas; that is, to take for granted that certain social practices and values are shared (or not) within ‘borderlands’. My point is also to avoid an emphasis on difference – the risk of seeing ‘local cultures’ as ‘stand-alone cultures’ (Welz 2002, 151) – which might effectively rule out claims beyond the case study. As I see it, notions of right and wrong ways of border crossing are also comparable, for example when definitions of culture and heritage suggest diverse relations and actions across borders.

There are differences between the ‘border/lands’ discussed in this thesis as defined by the systemic framework, i.e. in terms of diverse development programs and negotiations of the border. In Finland, the external EU border has silenced any official negotiation of the border (Paasi 1996); it remains important as a (cultural) barrier that allows local development and ‘autonomous local actions’, in relation to national actors as well.(Scott and Matzeit 2006, 51) Finnish EU accession in 1995 resulted in a focus on regionalization, in which development programs became localized.<sup>52</sup> In the Finnish-Russian borderland this meant a focus on cross-border cooperation as a means for local development, a situation in which ‘techno-managerial discourses’ reigned (Berglund 1998, 3ff). Ideas of systemic change and modernization projects are located on the Russian side of the border; the Finns have focused on region-building based on cross-border institutionalization (Scott and Matzeit 2006, 74).

In the Polish case, changes in the EU border are part of the borderland in different ways. Accession to the EU in 2004 has brought with it an awareness of systemic change,<sup>53</sup> along with discourses of joining Europe and a sense of belonging to the EU

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51 Welz followed a local conflict (between local landowners and environmentalists, local politicians and tourism developers), becoming transnational (including European agencies and global NGO’s). Here ‘locals’ are required to gain competence in extending their reach beyond the national arena. As Gisela Welz puts it, here ‘environment’ is defined by many actors. For me, morality refers to the ways in which diverse actors do things rather the aims of their action as such. Here diverse ‘right’ ways of border crossing become crucial (articles 3, 4 and 5).

52 The emphasis was placed on regional originality and competitiveness. This connected regions to global economic processes such as tourism (Siivonen 2008, 112).

53 For example the new EU funding available, especially for Ukrainian cross-border cooperation (CBC), offers a means to learn EU rules and mechanisms. Here actual local-level cooperation has also been seen to “reflect local and regional needs” (Scott 2006, 74).



and to Europe (Babiński 2010, 31ff; Scott and Matzeit 2006, 74). The Orange Revolution in Ukraine in 2004 also raised high expectations among many actors of Ukraine joining Europe, a 'future-oriented discourse' (Szmagalska-Follis 2008, 344). Here too the asymmetries of the Polish-Ukrainian borderland are addressed and post-colonial perspectives have been observed (Buchowski 2006, 463ff). Who is actually representing local needs and defining the means of safeguarding local well-being is another question.

My purpose here is not to compare these two borderlands as such, but rather to examine the way that ideas of European borders are localized by diverse actors and come to shape cross-border relations and their multivocality. In these 'cultural horizons', negotiations of the EU border also suggest ways of addressing and conceptualizing cultural borders. In order to understand these horizons, it is useful to look at different ways of using culture for border crossings (articles 1 and 2), ways of representing border crossing relations and projects (article 2). Here what is crucial is how culture and heritage suggest right ways for border crossings as perceived by the actors (article 3). Essentially these horizons can be understood as negotiations of borders and how these have come to address people and materiality (article 4). Here too the systemic framework is important; the ethnographic object is more or less mobile, or relational, when it is subject to diverse strategies of localization and bordering. This is a task permeating the entire research process; it is therefore discussed in the final chapter.

We need to contrast and follow objects at different sites not only in the present but in the past as well. This is also what actors do in their border-crossings and local projects, and when they address the environment within which they spend their everyday lives. These relations are illustrative not only of negotiations among themselves (people who take part in or reflect border-crossing projects), the local and the national, but of Europeanness. EU funding, for example, allows local people and organizations to engage in border-crossing projects. This funding is of interest to diverse organizations, but when it comes to assessing the effect on local agency one has to look at the relationships people draw between communities, things and culture in their doing of border crossings. It is the ways that local-European relations become personalized that counts. For these people, for their cultural agency (which is defined in the Conclusions), organizations and project funding are important, but perhaps more important are the cultural spaces provided by Europe and the EU external border itself.

## 2. In-between places and relations

The theoretical part of this thesis reflects my own travels. I was studying in Sweden, in the Öresund region, when the construction of the Sound bridge (it also has a joint Danish-Swedish hybrid name, *Øresundsbron*) was underway. In 2001 I collected material in the Krakow region for a master's thesis on the Polish Roma/Gypsies, and in 2004 I worked for a Finnish-based company in Warsaw.<sup>54</sup> I heard about the expectations, fears and hopes which people associated with the coming accession of Poland to the EU; especially in 2003, when I was working as a trainee in an association of self-governments (municipalities) in the Polish borderland town of Lublin.<sup>55</sup> Here I was first involved in initiating networks between regional actors and project implementation. I noted the strong emphasis on local traditions and culture as a basis for international contacts. Localities and communities seemed to be at the same time both opening outward and turning inward to look at what was their own. I took part in some 'local initiative projects' funded by a Dutch region, such as the renovation of playgrounds in small *gminas* (municipalities) or of old mansion parks in the borderland region. I also organized visits of officials from eastern Finland to Poland and from the Lubelskie region to the east-Finnish town of Joensuu. As a Finn, my position was affected by the local perception that EU funding was efficiently used in Finland. At the same time I faced the issue that my knowledge of Finnish projects was based on information accessible through the internet and publications. Ideas and visions of future development were many, but in practice as well many university students took part in project-related voluntary work: it was an opportunity to gain an advantage in future competition 'in Europe'. Here an idea came up for applicable research on managing borderland diversity through project work: what would happen after accession? Local actors were active in seeking funding and practices from the west, but also recognized the need to cross the border to the east.

When I started my research, it seemed rather self-evident to include the Finnish-Russian borderland. It was quite another thing to decide how to do this; the literature stressed the uniqueness of each borderland. Borderlands have intrigued European ethnologists, leading to actual engagement in the field – sometimes by motorbike (Sandberg 2009) or by bicycle (Binder 2008). For some time I did not concern myself with this, until I encountered the idea of translocal fields. The problem, in the case of translocal fields, is how to choose the 'actual field' out of the 'potential field' (Hannerz 2001, 7ff). This can be done based on various criteria, such as 'national' or 'organizational differences' or 'center-periphery thinking'. In my case the selection of the field has been a process that has developed throughout the research process: the ways ideas and ways of border crossing become intertwined. Apart from my earlier contacts, I relied on transnational networks and managed to establish connections with

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54 Although it was not directly related to the borderland, cultural mobility was here part of the activities of the company since it focused on services and inter-cultural trainings for mobile employees (expats) of international companies.

55 The association Dom Europy (House of Europe) provided support for its members, the 'gminas' of the Lubelskie region (municipalities), see Dom Europy 30.9.2012.

people who attached rather different meanings to border crossings and networking. It is clear that my relationships and experiences in the field before beginning the actual research gave me an important preliminary understanding of the field. At the time I had no awareness of multi-sited fieldwork practice; likewise the focus on relations developed in the course of the research process and the accumulation of data.

It is also a challenge to pinpoint when and where my fieldwork started. Was it when I started keeping a record of field notes (TYKL/SPA/1149:33),<sup>56</sup> or perhaps when I left home and traveled to diverse sites in the borderlands? But what if the sites I went to for fieldwork already were or had been 'home' to me? My many arrivals and departures in and from Poland have led to a sense of 'coming home'. Orvar Löfgren (Löfgren 1999, 13) writes about 'feeling at home' in terms of the 'thickening of the nation into a lived everyday experience', which is not only about identity politics but also of shared routines, habits and frames of reference. For me, a visit to the Lublin cemetery, especially on 1 November (All Saints' Day), can thus be just as significant as to the one in Liperi in Northern Karelia. My connections and experiences in the field have been many. These have also provided me opportunities for sharing local everyday life, and this obviously also has practical consequences for fieldwork; not only because of my ability to speak Polish, but because of the emotional ties established with places and people. Such ties can have significant role in doing ethnological fieldwork (Ruotsala 2005, 45-76). For this purpose, this research is also not fully based on multi-sited fieldwork, but also, especially in the Polish case, includes my experience of everyday life.

Methodology has been seen as the core of ethnology (Ehn and Löfgren 2001; Nic Craith 2008, 1-4; Siivonen 2008, 123). It is the hunter-gatherer mentality that counts in ethnological research (Löfgren 2008b, 129). Ethnography is a matter not of a given set of methods but of a process (Geertz 1973, 5). As researchers, we must be constantly open to adjusting our strategies and tactics in the different contexts we move about in. We need to be ready to change methods, theories and even materials in the course of the research process, although this may be more easily said than done. It takes time and is not easy, either for the researcher or for the environment.(Anttonen 1999, 59) Such multiple connections with the field are, however, a rather typical aspect of ethnological field research. The researcher is the instrument of research. It is in the field that an understanding of phenomena is gained; furthermore, the researcher also has some impact on the field itself. Ethnologists tend to collect their research data in person, but they also tend to emphasize their own attitude towards life and a focus on the complexities of life; this comes up especially in their approach to trivialities of life. What may seem trivial at first can also be used to criticize the patterns of life in a given society.(Siivonen 2008, 126-129)

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56 Archived in the Archives of the School of History, Culture and Arts Studies, University of Turku. See 'Sources'.

Fieldwork has traditionally been understood in terms of a prolonged stay in a locality (Ruotsala 2005, 45ff). In the 1990s, Gupta and Ferguson (1997, 1ff) noted that the traditional notion of the field has implied a separation between time spent ‘in the field’ and the researcher’s ‘normal life’. In an era of globalization, with the increasing complexity of the experience of communities and feelings of isolation, changes have occurred in the role of ‘immersion’ in the field. The multi-sited approach has forced researchers to rethink what our research practices actually look like (Cerwonka 2007, 6). Multi-sited research typically emphasizes engagement in the field, even though one may reside in one place for only a limited time (Hannerz 2006, 23-41). This way of doing fieldwork obviously also affects the claims that we can make based on fieldwork. In my case too the research process is non-repeatable, and it is thus a challenge to provide reliable descriptions of the phenomena studied. This also means that research materials are properly archived. In terms of analysis, my perspective is one of relationships. The challenge is to describe the course of this research, consisting of numerous journeys and relationships. This reflects the origin of the research idea, i.e. my participation in the creation of transnational networks between European borderlands before the start of the research. What my multi-sited fieldwork suggests is a rather multi-faceted ‘anthropological voyage’, which has the goal of experiencing, comparing and historically contextualizing the diversity of cultural design, recognizing power relationships and discontinuities, as well as examining future prospects” (Greverus 2002, 36-37). In my case, this concerns the cultural expression of adaptations to transnational cultural flows as well as their ‘counterflows’ (ibid, 41), suggested in the form of cultural bordering.

I conducted four periods of fieldwork periods over an extended length of time (see table 1). The actual fieldwork periods had a combined duration of two months, spread over three and a half years. This temporal aspect can be seen as challenging in terms of immersion in the field and providing ‘thick descriptions’ of cultural phenomena in places, since travel encounters unavoidably have a fragmentary character (Greverus 2002, 37). In my own view, however, it has also had benefits in terms of the relationships and the specific temporality of the project world. A temporally dispersed approach makes it possible to assess their relevance to the borderland culture. The idea is to be sensitive to emerging cultural forms and practices, which do not easily fit in with old ones. My perception is that fieldwork approaches that emphasize a long stay in a locality may fail to grasp them. The saying that the ethnologist is never ‘off duty’ is particularly descriptive of the multi-sited research setting, where one does not have to disconnect from a faraway site even when at home. The purpose is to grasp ethnographic objects in settings affected by change and mobility. A multi-sited approach is required to avoid reductionism.

Table 1. A mobile and cyclic research design, including fieldwork, presentation and the networks and relations most characteristic of each fieldwork journey

Fieldwork	FIN-RUS, XI 2005	PL-UA, V-VI 2006	PL-UA, V-VI 2007	PL-UA, V-VI 2009	Review of fieldwork
<b>Conference forum(s), paper as a basis for the article</b>	‘Borders of the European Union: Strategies of Crossing and Resistance’, CEFRES Prague, 2006	‘Media, Interaction and Integration’, Turku, 2007	‘Transcending “European Heritages”: Liberating the Ethnological Imagination’, IX SIEF, London/Derry, 2008	‘Power and Ethics in Cultural Policy’, IV NCCPR, Jyväskylä; Byggstenar - Substances, XXXI NEFK, Helsinki, 2009	‘People Make Places – Ways of Feeling the World’, X SIEF, Lisbon, 2011
<b>Networks and relations in order of importance</b> <sup>57</sup>	Professional, Projects, Academic	Professional, Personal, Projects, Academic	Projects, Personal, Professional	Projects, Personal	Academic
<b>Article</b>	I, 2007	II, 2009	III, 2008	IV, 2012	V, 2012

The idea of a translocal field also enables temporally dispersed fieldwork. Here the networks that construct the field are also accessible before actual arrival at the site, and allow making contact with informants (Horst 2009, 126). My purpose here is not to document some ‘whole way of life’, but to understand the ideas, activities and relations that characterize the field and thus serve to locate the ethnographic object. It is thus not merely the social construction of the (ceded) borderland but also its materiality that counts in the analysis. The field itself consists of diverse locations in the borderland, but as in translocal, or ‘multi-sited’, fieldwork, these can be considered as somehow linked together (Hannerz 2001, 17-18). In some cases the fact that I found some actors serves as proof of this nature of the field. It can be approached because it is interconnected; the actors can be traced without an extended stay in any one place. Such relations also have consequences; an actor who is ‘found’ (by me as a researcher) interprets this as meaning the success of their activities (TYKL/SPA/1149:22). Rather

57 ‘Professional’ refers to my earlier contacts with people, such as those administering CBC projects and those I had worked with before starting the research. ‘Projects’ refers to my cooperation and interviews with actual project actors. ‘Academic’ suggests academic contacts and events. ‘Personal’ is here to be understood as support by individuals who were not directly related to the research but could offer support mainly in certain practical issues.

58 Super Tydzien (ST), Nowy Tydzien (NT), Dziennik Wschodni (DW), Kurier Lubelski (KL), Gazeta Wyborcza (GW), Echo Dnia (ED), Nowiny (N), Sztafeta Stalowa Wola (SST), Tygodnik Powszechny (TP). Abbreviations here as in article 2 (see also annex 4). Newspaper articles on basis of article 2 are archived (TYKL/SPA/1149:34).

59 The inclusion of local media articles would hardly have been possible some years earlier. Now I was able to access even the archives of local newspapers via internet (article 2).

60 This magazine discusses current social, political and cultural issues in Poland and abroad. During the Soviet era this magazine was known as a ‘window on the world’ for Poles, but it was also known on the Ukrainian side of the border at the time, as one of my informants pointed out (TYKL/SPA/1149:23).

than pondering ‘immersion’, the way to go forward is thus to move beyond the question of depth and to increase the debate on the practical, methodological and ethical issues arising from doing research (Horst 2009, 130).

The focus on diverse relations and border crossings has not meant that places are irrelevant. A set of images (figures 1-4) points to the specific characteristics of the Polish-Ukrainian borderland and the relations that they imply between past and present, as well as the localities and project funding. I experienced the new activities in these places as particularly interesting: the expectations of changes related to the border and the new interest in borderland heritage in terms of local strategies of survival. It is the specific background of these localities that makes the question of heritage in cooperation and in communities a complex issue. One town may have a long ‘old’ history, going back to the fifteenth century, with trading traditions and a Jewish, Catholic and Orthodox population; and a ‘new’ history, since the 1970s, as a mining town with only partly realized future plans and with a population most of which comes from other parts of post-war Poland. Another town may have a history of heavy steel and weapons industry, established in the 1930s, and since the Second World War has also incorporated a nearby Jewish town. Yet another border town tells the story of Catholics, Jews and Orthodox living in the same town before the war, where there are now no more Jews and only a few Orthodox people left, but where the border has penetrated close to the heart of the town. In yet another case the town has a past which is almost completely Polish and Catholic. In other words, these localities have different amounts of past cultural remains. It is not necessarily the distance from the border that counts, but the networking and local materiality that contribute to border crossings.



*Figure 1. My first encounter with the Polish-Ukrainian border in October 2003 took place not at a border crossing but in a local park located on the bank of the border river Bug, six months before it became the external border of the EU. Świerże, Kiiskinen.*



*Figure 2. The former mansion, used during the war by the Nazis, no longer exists, but the design of the park along the border river can still be recognized, such as an arbor of chestnut trees. Świerże, Kiiskinen.*

*Figure 3. Many old mansions are still in poor condition even on the Polish side of the border. Some of them are in public use, but property relations are often unclear, which does not make their 'rescue' any easier. Zamieście, Kiiskinen.*





*Figure 4. In 2003, in the course of a local development project, I visited the previously Jewish town of Wojslawice, located some 30 kilometers from the Ukrainian border. The renovated synagogue now functions as a municipal library, at the time also offering information on the EU. Wojslawice, Kiiskinen.*

It is also crucial how time is spent when one only stays in a place a couple of weeks at a time. I have usually been based in one location, from whence I take day trips to interview people and visit localities. This means intensive fieldwork in which a specific mood and goal-targeted manner of working takes over, sometimes even bypassing such needs as nutrition; a day trip may mean ten hours on one cup of coffee and some cookies, without even realizing it (Field notes 22.5.2009, TYKL/SPA/1149:33).<sup>61</sup> This expresses not only the intensity of fieldwork in this form but also its most rewarding aspect: the human interface. It also means that there is no way to acquire material in any very selective way, as there is no way of totally controlling or planning how the engagement in the field and human interaction will take place. Fieldwork means increased alertness to these interactions, but it also allows one to observe contingencies. There is little time to think about these issues in the field, but multi-sited fieldwork also means ‘deskwork’ (Bausinger 1997, 67-77). Many ideas and insights have come while sitting in the office in front of a computer screen, scrutinizing the material documents and experiences obtained from the research sites. This also offers a counterbalance to fieldwork and its role in producing ‘drugs of self-experience’ (Bausinger 1997, 75). Ethnography often means returning to a changing scene. And between visits it is possible both to assess materials and to plan further steps (Hannerz 2003, 213). Questions emerge and theories are tested in a process that takes place ‘at home’ as well as ‘on the move’.

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61 Poles, however, were usually very hospitable.



Even ten years ago this kind of research would have been much more time-consuming. Of course, ten years ago, before Poland's accession to the EU, there would probably have been little reason for such a multi-sited and comparative research on Europeanization processes in the first place. Now, however, I was able to benefit for example from the archives of Polish local media accessible on-line (annex 4) and from organizational web pages, and to follow in particular EU-funded development programs and projects via the Internet. The media are themselves part of the construction of translocal fields. The discussion in the media could also have a rather direct effect on the responses of the actors I interviewed. During my fieldwork, the Polish media were focusing on the current discussion of German history (Field notes 27.5.2009, TYKL/SPA/1149:33); then a museum professional (TYKL/SPA/1149:28) talked about how they deal with 'difficult issues' and emphasize representations of the time of German occupation of Poland during Second World War. (The debate in the Polish media had just been dealing with the way in which the Germans seem to be trying to share this guilt with other nations.) I have also subscribed to the renowned *Przekrój* magazine, a weekly offering a wide-ranging discussion of Polish society and other topical issues discussed in the public sphere.<sup>62</sup> It could perhaps be said that the media also function as a 'research assistant' (Greverus 2002, 17). I have seldom been totally disconnected from the field, and the media can offer valuable insights; for example into the meaning of European funded projects and local cultural festivals.<sup>63</sup> These insights connect rather closely with my understanding of these phenomena (for example the role of local festivals in a border community in article 4), or the role of media in actualizing the past in cross-border interaction.<sup>64</sup>

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62 In *Przekrój* magazine EU-funded cultural projects were present in a specific way when they were promoted in supplements receiving EU funding. In 2010, for example, the Jarmark Jagiellonski project, which started in 2007 with Neighbourhood funding in Lublin, was still planning to apply this funding to expanding the event and developing further contacts with neighboring countries (*Przekrój* 20.7.2010). This suggests a Europe in the making, with a constantly evolving horizon. Having access to this magazine also allowed me to follow the debate on Polish cultural policy, such as the activities of the Instytut Adama Mickiewicza, a state organization promoting Polish culture internationally with the mission "To demonstrate Poland's role as an indispensable link in the international circulation of ideas, values and cultural goods of the highest order" (see Instytut Adama Mickiewicza 1.9.2012). The Instytut is suggested to be "one of the big players" in cultural markets in Europe focusing on contemporary culture (*Przekrój* 14.9.2010). I was also able to follow the Euro-elections in 2009, when it was noted that some political actors suggested opposing EU as a matter of European identity: "I do not oppose the Union, but I don't believe that someday there will be a common European identity, and therefore we need to strengthen the role of states in the Union." The general view was that for the EU it is crucial for the European idea to be constantly regenerated, that there are constantly new goals and plans on the horizon (POLITYKA 30.5.2009).

63 Some magazine articles also lent direct support to my understanding of cultural projects and EU funding in the Polish context. I could read about Jewish festivals started by local Poles in the late 80s and early 90s, with conflict over who has the right to organize such festivals, the need to get Jews themselves involved in them, and whether they are sites beyond local politics, where some Poles can find their own Jewish roots and where local skinheads can reflect on their previous hatred on Jews in their youth (*Przekrój* 22.6.2010).

64 This first occurred when an article in a local Finnish newspaper (see Karjalainen 12.10.2004) erupted in a debate over the restoration of Karelia, which was then noted on the Russian side of the border. In this

## Research materials

In order to assess the quality and quantity of research materials collected in fieldwork, one has to describe the relation of this material both to the phenomena one wants to describe and to the research questions posed. It is also necessary to describe the researcher's relation to the research objects and in the field. Fieldwork practices thus define in a concrete way the relationships between researcher, research object, research questions and research data (Siivonen 2008, 129). As such, the categories of research materials in this case do not differ from those of many other studies in the social and political sciences. It is rather the way they have been gathered and analyzed that counts in understanding cross-border relations. It is impossible to analyze all interactions or events taking place. The focus is on representing multivocality. In multi-sited research, interaction between ethnographer and informant is an event or performance rather than a long-term stay in one place, but personal engagement with the field is still emphasized (Coleman and Collins 2006, 12). From a translocal perspective, not bound to fieldwork in one place, no single type of source material is enough. This reflects the steadily increasing importance of texts and discourses in society (Hannerz 2001, 29). Here we need to take into account (local) media,<sup>65</sup> organizations, and policies of governance. Research materials are project-related; they include project documentation, policy papers, and personally conducted interviews and observations. For me, a manageable delimitation has been to focus on so-called 'cultural' and 'social' projects.<sup>66</sup>

### *Interviews and participant observation*

The ethnologist's aim is to see reality from the perspective of those studied, and the actors themselves may also benefit from this (Kockel 2007, 19-33). An emphatically ethnological approach may be problematic in studies of the elite (Hallberg 2001, 99); when such people have power, the approach becomes complex. Some researchers have adopted an outsider perspective in order to avoid labeling and losing credibility (Lindqvist 1996, 16). As Siivonen (2008, 144) has noted, in a study of development projects the researcher becomes part of the field oneself; thus one can gain inside knowledge, while a critical distance may be hard to retain.<sup>67</sup> In the case of regional development projects, those engaged in projects have been found to have the most conscious conceptualizations of local identities and groups, while for other people the

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context, the past became a burden for cross-border relations (see also Field notes 22.11.2005 TYKL/SPA/1149:33).

65 My materials include seven local/regional newspapers with internet archives in which I was able to apply search phrases (see annex 4) that would lead to articles including Ukraine, EU funded projects and how local actors are involved in border crossing projects. I found 516 articles of interest. I also searched two national/regional newspapers, *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Tygodnik Powszechny* (379 articles). Apart from articles collected before June 2007 for article 2 (included in the archived research materials), I also later collected some articles which I came across in Finnish and Polish newspapers, but this has been a less systematic process.

66 See the chapter entitled 'Local and border crossing projects'.

67 In my case this means participation in the realization of local projects and establishing transnational networks prior to the actual research, but during the fieldwork I also took part in project development. My role here, however, was more that of an outsider, since I was not paid by the projects.

relationship to their home place and groups may be differently expressed (Siivonen 2008, 133). In the context of the Polish eastern borderland, the vivid conceptualizations of border crossings among Polish project actors has been noted in relation to the ancient forest of Bialowieza, which lies on both sides of the Polish-Belarusian border (Blavascunas 2007, 232ff).<sup>68</sup>

Between 2005 and 2009 I conducted interviews with 34 individuals (Annex 3).<sup>69</sup> Most of these interviews took place in Poland. In some cases two people were present, although I had arranged the interview with only one. I also had other discussions with local actors; these were not recorded as such, but are reflected in my field notes (TYKL/SPA/1149:33) and have supported the process of interpretation. Some of these conversations were based on friendship. All in all, my position in relation to these people varied. For some local or program officials, or for museum actors, I may have been either a colleague or a potential threat depending on my questions and the way I presented myself. For some NGO actors I seemed a possible partner in projects. When I was open about my intentions, there were no problems and people were usually willing to answer my questions. First and foremost I emphasized that I was not evaluating the projects. Otherwise I had no specific strategy for trust-building; but I found that my earlier links with these regions were helpful, whether in Northern Karelia or in the Lubelskie region.<sup>70</sup> It seemed to imply that I was truly interested and could understand these actors, perhaps even cooperate with them. I might 'know' what they meant when something was done in a 'Polish way'. While I usually played the role of interviewer, there was also an expectation of shared interests, a 'culture' we shared; we could refer to a common European dimension, but also to national and local frameworks. From a national perspective, the role of Russia in Finnish and Polish history seemed to be a point of reference for many.

Perhaps it also reflects my background as a Nordic scholar that my Polish informants first took up issues of gender equality in discussing sustainable development (TYKL/SPA/1149:15) or in looking for ideas that might locally be considered strange in the borderland communities (TYKL/SPA/1149:9). The position of women is one of the best-known facts about the Nordic countries in Poland. While I carried out the main part of my fieldwork in Poland, my relationship with Karelia, both personal and national, makes the research setting 'natural'. This means in particular the Finnish-Russian border and its counterpart, the Polish-Ukrainian border. While I found that I shared things, real or imagined, with these people, these were not places where I

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68 The former territories of Poland, the Kresy, include areas in both present-day Ukraine and Belarus, and Belarusian regions also belong to the same Neighbourhood Programme area as Ukrainian and Polish regions.

69 The way I refer to these interviews in my articles is to some extent inconsistent (see annex 3). In articles 2 and 3 they are referred by codes showing country/year/no. while in articles 4 and 5 the coding is in the form country/no./year (see annex 3). In this Introduction and in the Conclusions, however, I use the coding in given by the archives (see 'Sources').

70 One NGO actor engaged in environmental projects was personally interested in old music and earlier took part in organizing a local concert series, in which I happened to participate in 2003 while working in this city (Field notes 27.5.2009 TYKL/SPA /1149:33). I was no longer simply a foreign researcher.

belonged. In this sense the city of Lublin offered an urban center where I also knew many places and people outside my research. I had lived there. In a sense, I was able to share in the local framework of everyday life. In the Finnish case, I sensed that I shared a national framework rather than a local one, although also locals there were hospitable. I had ‘roots’ in the region (also Orthodox relatives who lived in there in the nineteenth century), but I had not lived the everyday life there myself; when it came to my interests in the area, I remained firmly a researcher from southern Finland rather than a potential project partner.



*Map 1. Location of the Finnish town of Joensuu and the Russian capital city of the Republic of Karelia, Petrozavodsk. Place-names have been added to the map showing regions included in the Euraegio Karelia Neighbourhood Programme for cross-border cooperation (Council of Oulu Region 2004, 3).*

Next to conducting interviews, participant observation has been crucial. In 2005 my focus was on the Finnish-Russian case (map 1). In November I conducted open-themed interviews with project actors and program officials; I also took also part in diverse events related to cross-border cooperation, such as a project event organized in Petrozavodsk, Russia, and a ‘cultural partnership’ event organized in Joensuu, Finland. These events suggested local ways of adopting national initiatives of cooperation and ways in which local actors related to border-crossing projects. I met diverse actors and got a glimpse of the role of institutions in cross-border cooperation, which seemed to

reflect a strong pragmatism and a financial emphasis. At the time the first call for new projects from the Neighbourhood Programme (2004-2006) was open, and there was talk of the growing importance of 'joint projects'. These did not seem to carry connotations of cultural sharing, but simply the way that previous INTERREG funding (on the EU side) and TACIS funding (on the Russian side) were to form one source of funding (TYKL/SPA/1149:2). It became clear that the input of public actors and officials into cooperation was strong. National actors focused on 'cultural exports' (Koivunen 2004), while in the speeches of Finnish-Russian Culture Forum an emphasis on economic aspects of cultural cooperation was observable (article 1). At the same time, local actors seemed to emphasize the need for local doing as well as projects themselves (rather than 'culture') as a matter of business. This local approach came up particularly in relation to the national initiative of 'Culture Forums' organized on the Russian and Finnish side<sup>71</sup>, and in the Finnish national funding for Near Area Cooperation, which from the perspective of local Finnish actors seemed to ignore local needs.(TYKL/SPA/1149:2; see article 1)

All in all, local Finnish actors seemed to know how things work in projects. Such knowledge became 'hard currency' for me in Poland, where INTERREG funding was something new. Such connections also affected my position when I extended my fieldwork to Poland. In May-June 2006 I conducted my first Polish fieldwork (in Warsaw, the Lublin region, Rzeszow and Przemysl); I also visited Ukraine in July. At this point, the field was still very wide; it was only in subsequent fieldwork periods that I focused more and more on the borderland itself. I was trying to grasp the system of cooperation and discourses of reconciliation. Fieldwork in Polish locations in 2006, 2007 and 2009 usually took place in May or June, but I also took other trips there. This was not only a comfortable time of the year to move around in the field (when I needed to rely on public transport), but was also, perhaps for the same reason, a time of year when many projects were active and people were most willing to move about in the region. It was a kind of 'project event season'. In 2009 I finally conducted interviews at the border, with one actor based in a village divided by the border and one based in a town adjacent to the border (map 2). One aspect of the fieldwork process has thus been the progressive narrowing of the field. This has also meant a focus on the relationship between metaphorical and material borderlands, and the need to address the border itself as part of the research setting. I noted the different ways in which local actors engage in establishing and sustaining 'connections'.

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71 The lack of middle level actors and problems for funding small-scale projects was pointed out in the self-evaluation report produced by the Finnish Ministry of Education. Here it was also noted that the Culture Forum should be developed as a 'brand'.(Finnish Ministry of Education 2005, 23-25).



Map 2. On this map,<sup>1</sup> place-names bordered with a rectangle show the places where my informants were implementing their projects (excluding events organized at the borderline, see article 4). In the case of Włodawa I found myself also at the Belarusian border, but where local actors cooperated with Ukrainian ones. It is important to note that my own work tasks with projects prior to the actual fieldwork (projects on playground and old park renovation, realized and planned by Dom Europy in 2003) had led me to different borderland locations, including Wola Uhruska and Hrubieszów at the Polish-Ukrainian border, Janów Lubelski close to Stalowa Wola, and Józefów close to Zamość, as well as Wojstawice located south-east of Krasnystaw.

Interviews also resulted in situations that revealed underlying conflicts between cooperating project actors. For example, when a project development agency selected a coordinator for a cultural project, the other partner might consider that this person was not actually fit for the task at hand (Field notes 19.5.2009, TYKL/SPA/1149:33). This suggests that outside project development agencies were no longer an option for local actors, who could sort things out better by themselves. Some actors also implied that what one saw in an event was different from what actually happened or what was really taking place (Field notes 25.11.2005, TYKL/SPA/1149:33). This is where the role of observation is crucial. One simply needs to experience these events. For example: an event was organized where cross-border development strategies were being celebrated, but where the people taking part seemed to be bored to death (Field notes 31.5.2006, TYKL/SPA/1149:33). Any deviation from this image and from enthusiastic comments tended to open different perspectives on doing border crossings

and on the ways relations are meaningful. When I met actors who spoke excitedly of their activities and their future plans, a different horizon came into sight. In the case of NGO's, their premises (if they had any) seemed to be decorated by 'doing', that is, diverse project materials, although the office itself might be very modest and located in a back alley (Field notes 14.5.2007, 27.5.2009, TYKL/SPA/1149:33).

Thus I have not merely interviewed people but have also become familiar with the place and the towns where they live and/or work. Their place of work may or may not coincide with their home towns or places of origin, but when they contribute to cultural production, the audience and target is more or less the community or locality. Especially in the Polish case, very diverse considering localities are involved in a relatively small area. Some places have a history in the Russian section (with an Orthodox heritage) of nineteenth-century partitioned Poland, while others are located on the Austro-Hungarian side (Greek Catholic heritage). Some seem to have no multicultural past at all, while others use it in active place-marketing. In terms of these contrasts, it was particularly striking to visit a museum located in what had once been a Jewish town; the neighborhood itself now in poor condition, but in the middle of it was an old Polish mansion which housed a newly renovated regional museum (renovation with EU funding, Field notes 17.5.2007, TYKL/SPA/1149:33). This suggested that the effects of EU funding are materialized in public space in a powerful way. On my fieldwork trips I could also observe those local media and current affairs programs which I did not follow at 'home', such as the ever-present topic of Polish-German relations for example in historical documentaries (Field notes 31.5.2006, 20.5.2009, TYKL/SPA/1149:33).

The actual field notes<sup>72</sup> from these fieldwork periods are more detailed; they were written by hand in an A5 size notebook and later transcribed on computer. They may also include short texts and materials that were an integrated part of a fieldwork trip. The 'Notes' on the other hand, I made 'at home' and they served more as a memo or reminder; they were usually written in a smaller (A6) notebook that was easy to carry, and were not computerized. These notes, written down in between actual fieldwork periods, usually related to a paper or an article I was preparing at the time, an interview I was transcribing, or comments I had received at a conference. In some cases they were more general notes about the direction the research was – or perhaps should have been – taking. They might also be related to concepts, such as 'sustainable development' or the role of 'cultural heritage'. The actual field-notes from the field trips, in contrast, are specific, in the sense that they try to capture the way I perceived the field, encounters with people, and details of the meetings and places I had noted. These also include photographic material and material I had received from the people I met (apart from electronic materials, such as DVDs and other materials produced by the projects). Both ways of taking notes have been useful in tracking and recovering

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72 Archived in the Archives of the School of History, Culture and Arts Studies, University of Turku (TYKL/SPA/1149:33).

the research process afterwards. I have also myself taken photographs in different localities, recording interesting aspects of places and events.

### *Language and communication*

Part of the problem of understanding concerns forms of communication with actors. In multi-sited research, a lack of language competence also seems to entail a lack of cultural competence (Horst 2009, 127). My academic sources are mainly in Polish, English and Finnish. Using English as the language of publication was a choice made early on, based largely on practical considerations involving journals and audiences as well as my own desire to improve my English skills. The decision to use Polish in the field, on the other hand, was based on the need to interact with actors. Although a Polish informant might be competent in English, I chose to use Polish. I am not a native speaker of Polish, but I decided to rely on my language competence. The few Ukrainians I met in Poland spoke Polish so well that I could not tell the difference. My knowledge of Polish, and of Polish society, had been gained already prior to this research, in 2001-2004, when I was studying in Krakow (five months) and working in Warsaw (ten months) and Lublin (three months). One's choice of language involves personal engagement as well as responsibility. My interviews and their transcriptions, however, are not supposed to go into every last detail. This has been a practical issue as well: due to the large number of interviews; in particular those with officials and scholars are less meticulously transcribed. In the case of project actors the interviews were used to elicit the actor's perceptions of border crossings and localities, but not to serve as an analysis of their self-conceptualization and world-views. What is important is rather how their accounts reflect the forms taken by cross-border relations. Here they might or might not choose to take up their personal background and experiences. I did not consider it necessary to send them the transcriptions to check. In some cases I was able to check up on some unclear issues during a follow-up interview.

Poles love to talk and play with language, and their use of language can be challenging to interpret (Wolanik Boström 2005, 32). It should be noted that the people I interviewed did not expect that as a Finnish researcher I would have good Polish. Informants might use relatively simple vocabulary and syntax. Using Polish, however, created a better atmosphere for the whole encounter. Here again my previous experience of living in Poland had a positive effect on the interview situation. One program official, in switching from English to Polish, commented that my Polish was very good, but that "we'll use Polish so you can practice [laugh]" (TYKL/SPA/1149:15). This joking was friendly and led to a warmer atmosphere than might have been expected from an organization where the work-load is rather heavy. Thus my deliberate choice of language was a positive factor, even if it might have caused some information to be lost in the process of communication/ translation. In terms of intercultural communication, it has also been noted that when a researcher has native-speaker competence in a language, this skill also carries with it a certain cultural competence, offering tools for interpretation; but this is not necessarily an advantage (Wolanik Boström 2005, 17). To be an outsider can have its benefits. In the case of



eastern Finland the situation was slightly different, in that I could not make a similar choice of language in approaching people.

Most of the interviews focused on the Polish-Ukrainian case. Here I sometimes had inevitable problems in understanding what the informants were saying. Where the actors spoke in a specifically low voice, I could also assume this to be partly deliberate, as in the case of one NGO which did not seem to have any projects going on; their experience in realizing projects also seemed rather limited. Apart from such differences in the recorded interviews (which I conducted with an electronic voice recorder), I was also able to note non-verbal communication. There could be situations with two informants present at the interview. In one case, although I had arranged the meeting with only one of them, two persons came (I had met both of them during a previous trip). The other person did not actually take part in the discussion, but seemed to be telling the other, by diverse gestures, not to talk about something (Field notes 21.5.2009, TYKL/SPA/1149:33). This can be interpreted in various ways. I might be considered as a project partner, so that it was important not to reveal too much in case I might 'steal' their ideas; or the point might be that the issues would not make sense to an outsider, or were not yet completely worked out (in some cases, project ideas could be rather wild). Apart from such individual cases, humor was clearly an important part of many interviews. It could be part of a critique of the topic discussed, as in the case of an NGO actor who commented that he knew about Euroregions "as much as I need to know [laugh]" (TYKL/SPA/1149:14). Here it means the assumption of a distance. In some case a humorous expression is a way of addressing a problematic issue involving the national past, such as the 'Polishness' of the city of Lwów/Lviv.<sup>73</sup> Past conflicts between Poles and Ukrainians also seem to be an issue one can joke about in face-to-face interviews, although this is frowned upon on the Internet (TYKL/SPA/1149:7).

It was not only the interviews conducted in Poland that reflected a 'love of talking'; in Finland, Northern Karelia is similarly viewed as a region of talkative people. In the Finnish case this was easier to handle; in the Polish case the direction of the discussion was more freely chosen by the informant. Interviews and discussions might also occur suddenly and in diverse locations, and take place in a rather informal mode. All in all, for me humor became a sign of a successful interview, with a warm and personal relationship between interviewer and informant. I saw significance in those moments where even the calmest of professionals or actors changed the tone and rhythm of their speech. Such moments occurred for example in discussions concerning material heritage and events.<sup>74</sup>

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73 A conversation between A and B, two officials working in a Polish municipality (TYKL/SPA/1149:9): A: "... higher culture in those areas was to a large extent Polish, historically..." B: LWÓW is a POLISH town, Lwów is a Polish town... A: Heh, heh, ok, please... B: ...and Polish buildings... A: Ukrainians have slightly different opinion, hehe...

74 For example when an actor is anxious to emphasize that no distinction should be made in projects between the material heritage of the rich and the poor (TYKL/SPA/1149:30). In some case changes in tone suggested the way a local international cultural event with a specific atmosphere affects the whole town at the border (TYKL/SPA/1149:32).

### *Local and border-crossing projects*

In these borderlands, border-crossing projects have mainly been carried out with EU funding, but national and other sources of funding have also been used. The following list presents the sources of project funding I have dealt with in the field.<sup>75</sup> A manageable delimitation has been to focus on so-called ‘cultural’ and ‘social’ projects. In the Polish case, apart from national funding, these projects have mainly been realized with EU funding (since 1999), along with resources, on a smaller scale, from the United States (since 2001) and the European Economic Area (during 2004-2009). In the Finnish case there is EU and national funding.<sup>76</sup> These funding sources suggest different ways of understanding ‘culture’ in a cooperational setting, and as such also reflect my aim of achieving multivocality. The search for projects took place in two directions. I found actors via my earlier local contacts, and these informants might refer me to other actors. Another approach was to use public project listings available on the Internet or provided by officials. All in all, in the Polish case the projects chosen led me to various places in the Lubelskie region. In the Finnish case the place to visit was the town of Joensuu, since it was here that actors, population and projects were concentrated.

In the Finnish-Russian case, a culturally focused initiative for networking has been the Finnish-Russian Culture Forums (see Finland-Russian Society 18.2.2011), but it has not provided project funding as such. Actors have to rely on diverse sources. The Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has provided funding for Neighbouring Area cooperation (see Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs 25.5.2012). Here the focus is on the economy and the environment on the Russian side. Some funding for cultural projects that support connections between Finland and Uralic-speaking peoples in Russia is provided by a Finnish foundation (the Kindred Nation program, see M. A. Castrén Society 22.2.2010). EU-funded cross-border cooperation has been funded by the Neighbourhood Programme (2004-2006) which was a continuation of the Interreg (Karelia III A program) launched in 2001. In 2005 Tacis funding was included for the Russian side (Council of Oulu Region 2009). Here a handbook of ‘best practices’ for regional actors was also published (Regional Council of North Karelia 2006, 66). Issues of cultural identity, entrepreneurship and common cultural heritage are raised as opportunities and strengths of the region (Council of Oulu Region 2005, 30-31). Interreg funded projects ended in 2007, but some Tacis funded projects continued until 2009. Since 2007 the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument, ENPI, seeks to apply the same rules for projects across the border (Council of Oulu Region 2008). The first call for projects in ‘Karelia ENPI’ opened here only in the spring of 2010. The projects are quite sizeable; minimum funding is 50,000 €, and no micro-projects exist.

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<sup>75</sup> See also chapter ‘Regions imagined and made’ for information on Euroregions and their projects.

<sup>76</sup> The FIMOS database makes projects, their descriptions and their funding publicly available, if one knows it exists (FIMOS 2000, accessed 12.8.2012).

In the Polish case national funding has focused on cultural institutions and exchanges, such as the National Cultural Program ‘Znaki Czasu’ for regional cultural development (focus on contemporary art and national/regional art collections) in 2004-2013 (Ministerstwo Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego 2004b) and the national program for protection of the cultural heritage (Ministerstwo Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego 2004a). There was a particular period (which in 2005-2006 reflected the national political situation), during which the state emphasized the national heritage and cultural identity (Ilczuk and Drela 2007). In terms of crossing the Ukrainian border, Gaude Polonia has been an exchange program for artists from Belarus and Ukraine (see Narodowe Centrum Kultury 3.3.2012). The state managed Polska Pomoc aid program has also funded cultural events and projects supporting tourism at the border (see Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland 23.10.2012). In the case of EU funding, since 1999 small-scale Phare (pre-accession funding from the EU) projects and the micro projects<sup>77</sup> of the Neighbourhood Programme 2004-2006 show an emphasis on ‘cultural projects’ (Ministerstwo Rozwoju Regionalnego 2004, 32-34), which tend to be ‘soft projects’ (see Cross-border Cooperation Programme Poland - Belarus - Ukraine 2007-2013, 16.11.2009). This continued in the Polish-Belarusian-Ukrainian Cross-border Cooperation Program 2007-2013 (Ministerstwo Rozwoju Regionalnego 2008, 17). The first call for projects took place only in November 2009, even though many actors were talking about this new program already in 2007 (TYKL/SPA/1149:30). The gap in the continuity of EU funding was filled partly by ‘Norwegian’ (the term used locally of the EEA and Norway grants) funding from countries which are not EU members (Iceland, Norway, and Liechtenstein; see EEA and Norway Grants 15.6.2011). Here the principles of EU funding are followed, but bilateral contacts are required with partners from these three countries. This funding has been used in the borderland but only on the Polish side, as it does not focus on Polish-Ukrainian cooperation as such.<sup>78</sup> Another specific point here is the American support for democratic development (see Polish-American Freedom Foundation 2.8.2012) in terms of small-scale projects for NGO actors and schools, with grants between 20,000 and 100,000 PLN; 20 % self-funding is required, but this can be covered with ‘volunteer work’, which is important for local NGO actors (TYKL/SPA/1149:14). Here ‘culture’ does not refer to a specific project field but is integrated into the projects.

In the case of the Polish-Ukrainian borderland, the Memoria Program funded by the German ‘Remembrance, Responsibility and Future’ Foundation is interesting. Since 2005 it has provided funding for youth projects in the borderland; in 2009, for

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77 I used so-called micro projects (funding managed by Euroregion Bug, located in Chełm) as material not only in opening up access to the field, but also in discussing projects in article 3, where they are cited in the form ‘Bug/year/nro’ (method based on the form used by Euroregion Bug; see Euroregion Bug 1.4.2007 and 2.4.2007).

78 For example in EEA and Norway Grants, the priority sector ‘Conservation of European cultural heritage’ has funded the restoration of a world heritage site, the old fortifications at Zamosc (case number PL0023; see EEA and Norway Grants 30.9.2012) and the renovation of the Orthodox Church at Dołhobyczów close to the Ukrainian border (case number PL0242). In the new funding period (2009-2014) diversity in culture and arts are also in focus (see EEA and Norway Grants 22.10.2012).

example, it granted over 160,000 euros to Ukrainian and Polish organizations for organizing ‘voluntary summer camps’.<sup>79</sup> These have aimed at engaging transnational youth with European heritage in terms of getting to know the cultures of border regions that experienced the destruction of the Second World War (see Remembrance, Responsibility and Future Foundation 1.10.2010). Between 2001 and 2007, the foundation also made payments to victims of National Socialism.

Along with diverse outside sources, border-crossing projects are also realized on local financial terms. This may or may not mean an ethnic focus. Thus people with Polish roots may be supported by actions funded by local businesses as well as by volunteers who want to spend their free time for this purpose (TYKL/SPA/1149:22, see Stowarzyszenia Wspólne Korzenie 1.3.2012). In the Finnish case there have been some welfare actors involved, which have also supported the integration of unemployed immigrants (see Karjalan Apu ry 10.1.2007).

### **Notes on interpretation and knowledge production**

Among other issues, this thesis explores the conditions and consequences of producing ethnological knowledge. The issue is how to regard ethnological research as part of society: in what ways it may or may not be political, and how it may contribute to cultural bordering. Ethnological research can be said to be nonpolitical in its quest for ‘understanding’ a culture: it can support the idea that a culture exists and develops on its own premises. There is a reality beyond texts (Åström 2006, 84ff). Language can only be more or less isomorphic with reality, and ethnologists are thus faced with the problem of epistemological relativism (Arnstberg 1992, 19-22). Here the measure of knowledge is not ‘truth’, but the trustworthiness of the description and the ethnologist’s understanding. Particular emphasis has been placed in ethnology on the methods of knowledge production and on the choice of research objects. Ethnologists can also adopt a political approach, in the sense that they see research objects as part of society. Here attention turns to an analysis of the political implications of our claims concerning ‘reality’ (Damsholt 1999, 23-24). Ethnological knowledge has been based on the idea that ethnologists lend a voice to ‘ordinary’ and ‘local’ people (Hallberg 2001, 93ff). This idea of supporting the weak and the vulnerable seems to derive from the sphere of non-intellectual values, and is thus political.<sup>80</sup> Research brings to light the value of such voices (and of ethnological research). However, as I see it, the crucial issue is that as researchers we try to place ourselves at the same level as the people whom we study, without assuming such qualities as ‘local’ or ‘ordinary’; cultural processes are a complex phenomenon and suggest multiple actor positions.

This emphasis on ‘understanding’ is connected to hermeneutical research traditions (Hallberg 2001, 98). ‘Understanding’ is not a specific method, but points to the

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<sup>79</sup> In one project Ukrainians visited the places where old Orthodox churches were destroyed before the war by the Polish army (TYKL/SPA/1149:30), ‘Kryłów. Laboratorium pamięci pogranicza [Laboratory of borderland memory]’ (see Stefan Batory Foundation 9.10.2010).

<sup>80</sup> See Raatikainen 2004.

interaction between informant, researcher and research material (Gadamer 2004, xxxvi). In practice, the whole research process affects the results; ideally, the process of interpretation is reflected by the research process (Ruotsala 2002). One needs to find the meaning of a phenomenon for the people one is studying: how it is constituted and to what extent it is explained by the context, i.e. the phenomenon as such or people's personal background (Åström 2005, 38). Clifford Geertz's discussion of 'thick description' has invoked "the metaphor of 'tacking' as the movement between part and whole that ethnographers do when interpreting culture" (Cerwonka 2007, 15).<sup>81</sup> The process of interpretation is not a matter of tacking between a 'part of culture' (a particular set of symbols) and the 'whole of a culture', but rather "a matter of moving in our interpretative analysis between theory and empirical social facts in a dialectic that often reshapes our theoretical ideas as well as our view of the empirical data" (Cerwonka 2007, 15). This hermeneutical process widens the horizons of both the researcher and the researched.

In multi-sited research, the process of producing ethnological knowledge differs in part from that involved in research taking place in a particular location. Local knowledge counts in the multi-sited approach as well, but one needs to be aware of its problematic nature. Some anthropologists have discarded the concept of 'culture' altogether (Daun 1999). The critique of cultural relativism has contributed to our (conscious) avoidance of speaking of 'cultures', but rather of 'local knowledge'<sup>82</sup>. The emphasis in ethnology on studying social constructions has been an indirect way of implying the existence of culture. In relativist approaches the 'social' seems to merge with the 'cultural'. (Åström 2006, 83-87) Culture is seen as a constantly changing dynamic process of meaning-making. When the cultural is no longer objectified, when research seeks to integrate the objective and the subjective, the relationship between materiality and everyday life becomes increasingly problematic (Hallberg 2001). The premise of 'local knowledge' tends to rely on an empathetic approach, but if it claims that reality is local it may become relativist in its effects. It may also suggest places as closed entities (Prokkola 2008, 35), thus downplaying the role of cultural sharing.<sup>83</sup> There is need for 'translocal knowledge' (Welz 2002, 154), which in my case is to support the analysis of uses of culture and heritage in representing and doing border crossings.

In this thesis, the idea has been to take seriously that informants have something meaningful to say, even if it may not correspond to what actually happened. One should not belittle the self-knowledge of the observed (Berglund 1998, 13). This is a case of situated knowledge. We only understand from one point of view, but that does

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81 As Allaine Cerwonka emphasizes, this is not about adopting Geertz's view (Geertz 1973, 456) of cultures as closed and coherent systems in which a part can simply reflect the overall meaning of a culture.

82 Focus on local experience and individuals' interpretations of their everyday life (Geertz 1973).

83 In anthropology, ethnography, rather than producing raw material for comparisons and theories, has become emphasized as a mode of producing anthropological knowledge. 'Local knowledge' has suggested a focus on diversity, which can in effect lead to studies of local cultures as 'stand-alone', which may not observe cultural sharing. (Welz 2002, 143, 151)

not mean that all interpretations are equally valid.(Cerwonka 2007, 38) Theories and analytical concepts should avoid privileging certain concepts as a starting point, which can narrow the scope of analysis. It is also not plausible to reject theoretical concepts; there seems to be no reason why theories cannot help us to ‘understand better’ as a means of denaturalizing ‘local common sense’ (Cerwonka 2007, 18). In Finnish ethnological studies the field has often been defined by relying on the concepts of ‘place’, ‘time’ and ‘social relations’. Rather than as a physical entity, ‘place’ is seen as formed in the interaction between the researcher and the object.(Siivonen 2008, 128) This allows the observation of cultural phenomena that stretch across more than one place.

Some of the local events I observed – a tourism conference in Petrozavodsk (Field notes 24.-25.11.2005, TYKL/SPA/1149:33), a presentation on tourism strategy in Lublin (in which multiculturalism relied on images of the sixteenth-century Lublin Union and the east–west civilizational divide was taken up; Field notes 18.5.2007, TYKL/SPA/1149:33), or a multicultural festival organized in a city park in Lublin, where border guards were used as part of presenting local cultural diversity (Field notes 24.5.2009, TYKL/SPA/1149:33)<sup>84</sup> – are interpreted in the context of my own and other people’s experiences of differences and border-crossing relations. On the surface, these might be events occurring in a particular place; they nevertheless add to one’s understanding of cross-border relations and of the negotiation of borders and diversity. As the common phrase goes, borders are everywhere. Their understanding needs a mobile and comparative basis. As Hannerz (2003, 209) points out, in multi-sited research one can focus on “a particular line of belief or activity in a wider set of circumstances”. This does not mean an ambition to understand a whole way of life, but it also does not rule out the meanings these informants assign to phenomena. Anna-Maria Åström (2006, 80-88) has pointed out that in understanding culture we need to include structural aspects (political-economic structures and culture as a deep structure, not static but constantly changing), which affect the way that knowledge may support different ideologies.

In this research, ‘local knowledge’ is reflected in actors’ ways of relating to “the system and the set of relations” (Marcus 1995, 111) in which they are involved in projects and border crossings. In a way, ‘local knowledge’ here ‘parallels’ the mapping made by the ethnographer (ibid.). Actors include ideas of ‘cooperation’, ‘reconciliation’ and the border itself, both in their statements and in the doing of border crossings. The actors here are ‘experts’; they need to be contextualized accordingly within the relations they are part of. The knowledge of the actors seemed so close to my own interests as to be actually uncomfortable (Field notes 21.5.2009, TYKL/SPA/1149:33). At the same time, some project actors offered valuable

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84 I heard Poles reacting to a Chechen traditional presentation, which was mostly celebrated only by the local Chechen minority at the concert, saying that it was ‘stereotypical’ and wondering “what they got out of this”. The organizer commented on the meaning of the event, saying that “people tend to think in stereotypes when they have no other possibility.”(Field notes 25.5.2009, TYKL/SPA/1149:33) This left me bewildered about the way stereotypes were part of such events and of the argumentation.

‘outsider’ perspectives (TYKL/SPA/1149:32). These can be seen as valuable aspects of the local knowledge of relations. When transnational flows, border crossings or localities seem important, they are regarded as such. Beliefs and cultural expressions, or border figures, suggest processes of bordering, which are not only about accommodation or resistance to ideas and discourses, but suggest cultural creativity.<sup>85</sup> As I see it, my approach to local knowledge is a way to capture creativity as a matter of individuals negotiating borders and cultural bordering. This happens in ways that place the focus on reflexivity and the relationship between the researcher and the people studied, as a means to gain further understanding of relations, not least those linking the local with the European (and the EU border).

### ***Reflexivity and ethics***

The question of reflexivity has been dealt with extensively in ethnological research, as a way of gaining better knowledge. Reflexivity here means rather self-reflexivity, in order to gain credibility for the research. It also, hopefully, means a closeness between theory and research materials.<sup>86</sup> Ethnologists need to be constantly aware of their position, especially in relation to the people being studied, but also in relation to the wider society (Åström 2006, 81). Self-reflexivity is important, but it should not play a leading role (Anttonen 1999, 23-29). A focus on the researcher’s subjectivity may place too great an emphasis on the researcher’s capabilities, thus actually resulting in objectivism. A paradox is suggested by ethnologists’ positivist emphasis on empirical substance, on external reality, while at the same time noting that all knowledge is situated. Instead, we should perhaps focus on the reflexivity related to the political consequences of our theoretical perspectives (Lindelöf 2006, 38).

I have been fortunate to have held a four year position as doctoral candidate in the Graduate School on Integration and Interaction in the Baltic Sea Region. In practice, the continuity and financial independence provided by this position was what made possible the multi-sited approach. The same can be said of the several research grants I received at the start and in the final stages of the research. These did not compromise the results. The same can perhaps not be said of EU funded research, with its focus on cooperation and its demand for applicability. The issue of reflexivity and ethics comes up when the research landscape is actively produced by journeys to places and relations. In my case reflexivity is affected by the diverse relationship the actors and I both construct and are part of. As such, the choice to uncover the multivocality of the field is itself a political choice (Siivonen 2008, 146). The same is true of the focus on relations. Here ethical considerations are involved, particularly when agency is

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85 Culture can be seen as a constant cultural flow that is essentially the result of individuals interacting with their material and immaterial environment. It is also here that creativity is located.(Siivonen 2008, 70)

86 See Åström 2005.

ascribed to objects, as a means to contextualize what people say and do, and the consequences these may have for cultural bordering.<sup>87</sup>

The idea of ‘studying sideways’ (Hannerz 1997, 537-548) has been adopted in studies of people in a position more or less similar to that of the researcher in terms of their opportunities to define culture. As I see it, the project actors are not ‘elite’, ‘authentic’ or ‘ordinary’ people in any way that is a priori distinctive from the researcher (Cerwonka and Malkki 2007, 95). In this research, the informants as well as I myself engage in fieldwork encounters with diverse ‘investments’ (Cerwonka 2007, 96). These cultural, political and economic investments can explain why people do things the way they do. My focus on multivocality is not an approach expected in the field; this can cause confusion, but may also be greeted with enthusiasm when actors find this an opportunity to talk about what they have on their minds and what is important for them. Actors were usually interested in sharing their views of border crossing and its importance. I simply needed to demonstrate that it was not my purpose to evaluate the results of projects. Actors may emphasize the way they distinguish between their private lives and their public roles. It was easy to obtain responses from those actors who dealt with culture within an institutional context. They were used to discussing the border crossing ‘culture’ and ‘heritage’. In some cases actors would emphasize more personal issues (such as their roots across the border, long-time friendships there, or then even certain ethical considerations with regard to the border), but this was not something I particularly asked about. For Polish actors, I probably seemed a person from a Nordic welfare state, with a good record in European integration and ‘fighting the Russians’. Due to my history in Poland, which I mentioned to them, I managed to diversify this image.

My relationships with local informants have ranged from years of friendship to a half-hour conversation in a park. People in the field have their own conceptualizations of culture, and are often aware of the ways that cross-border policies and programs address local demands; but they are also aware that their opportunities are affected by local politics. My informants included diverse people: from students to senior museum directors, from village-based NGOs to capital-based EU program officials, from village priests to ‘cultural animators’.<sup>88</sup> Here museum actors may see themselves as ‘cultured individuals’ (TYKL/SPA/1149:23), with ‘responsibilities’ and a passion for the ‘cultural heritage’ (TYKL/SPA/1149:28). Outside institutions, ‘passion’ also means an emphasis on change and on doing something for the community. Projects can also mean that “only you yourself can forge your own fortune” (TYKL/SPA/1149:8). Some actors told me that they had resigned from their jobs in order to work for projects because the approach to ‘culture as a resource’ fits in well with private, commercial initiatives, which cannot be realized in public institutions (TYKL/SPA/1149:24). One

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87 This is to be seen as a rather different approach to materiality than that suggested in diffusionist approaches, which can be seen as precedents of transnational research (see chapter ‘Beyond areas and ethnicities’).

88 ‘Cultural animators’ are trained in Poland to supplement mass culture and the traditional cultural institutions, in an effort toward the full realization of human cultural potential (Godlewski 2002, 58).



issue of importance is thus the fact that for some actors the projects meant their livelihood. Their position could be a sensitive one.<sup>89</sup> The stakes can be high, but here again their 'material interests' do not exhaustively explain their activities or the forms their actions take.

Ethical considerations have been useful in understanding the themes of the research, cross-border agency as a matter of material and human relations. The issue has been one of finding openness. In interviews actors may say things they do not want me to record (again, they usually said this as a joke). I do not reveal the actors' identities, but recognize that at least in the case of more public figures they can still be identified. As public figures, they are also prepared to safeguard their private lives (TYKL/SPA/1149:25). A deviation from openness occurs in the case of participant observation in an event forming part of a local project or development. My presence is often covert; in other words, my role as a researcher is not known, at least not by all the participants. In some cases my 'open' approach also resulted in some avoidance behavior. It was self-evident to tell people that I was doing 'cultural research'. In some events this was possible, in others not. For example: on my trip to a project event in the Russian town of Petrozavodsk, I used the bus microphone to introduce myself to the Finnish participants.<sup>90</sup> There was no similar way to present myself to the local Russians at the event. Openness was not always possible, but here again it was the event, rather than individual people, that was in focus. It became clear, however, that ethical considerations emerged not only as a matter of an open approach and in safeguarding people's right to decline interviews or provide them anonymity,<sup>91</sup> but also as a matter of engagement.

Although engagement with the field is important, work 'at home' or 'at the desk' retains its role in reflecting my position. The desk phase is not merely a time of transcription, "a smooth way from observations to texts or from notebooks to essays, but a time of constructive reflection opening new sights and possibilities." (Bausinger 1997, 71) I carry out the retroactive analysis of the fieldwork, but I also return to the field. In a way this research setting combines reflexivity in the field and at home. Here the translocal theoretical framework is a way of transcending the problem of overly inward-looking research practices; but the question also arises whether my multi-sited approach offers a false image of my interests in the field.

Border crossings themselves were an important point of reflection. Border crossings as such seem to be a common joke, especially the time they are expected to take, although the reality might be different (Field notes 25.11.2005, 24.5.2009,

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89 One local NGO was accused of financial malpractice in projects, but at the same time it organized the "first ever tolerance parade" in the town (Field notes 1.6.2006, TYKL/SPA/1149:33). Such controversies inevitably affected my perception of the field, although they were not part of my focus.

90 The Finnish participants relied on the same organized bus transportation across the border. There are no direct public means of transportation between the Finnish town of Joensuu and the Russian Petrozavodsk.

91 At the same time it should be noted that the people who implement a project may be very public figures locally, and complete anonymity would be hard. I can of course take this into account and be aware of their public and more private roles.

TYKL/SPA/1149:33). These experiences and their absurdities tend to be reflected in anthropological studies. Reading about an asymmetrical border is different from experiencing it. In some case this opens up in a very concrete way the role of borders and differences that are present everywhere, not just at the border itself. In the Schengen area, this takes concrete form for example when we see that customs controls can take place far from the actual border (Zowczak 2010, 30). I myself experienced this at the Polish-Ukrainian border in 2006, before it became a Schengen border. When I crossed the border from the Ukrainian side, the border controllers were not even slightly interested in my bags or my business; but the Ukrainian woman who was travelling in the same compartment was practically strip-searched, and had to show her money (in US dollars) and open her bags. She was going to “visit her relatives living on the Baltic coast”.<sup>92</sup> For me this was merely an interruption in my sleep, but it became a moment that signified the differences between myself and this woman (Notes 29.7.2006). ‘Others’ needed to prove their legitimacy before they could cross the border, involving a strict search of material belongings and identity.

In my fieldwork I was only visiting the field, although I could present my track record showing my ties to local lives. I do not think this was a false image, or differed significantly from the immersion in the field that occurs in long-term fieldwork. Likewise my focus on relationships, which led me to observe borderland materiality, means that I am not exploiting individuals or their trust. There were some points in this research where this issue came up. In the beginning, when I relied on professional contacts that intertwined with friendly ones, situations arose in which this setting was likely to lead to ethical tension. I was asked to support the project activities of local actors, but it emerged that these activities, although they would provide a valuable practical aspect to the research, would address borderland heritage in a way I found problematic. This actor himself in fact noted that we should not emphasize this ‘cultural heritage’ as it is ‘so problematic’, and that the focus should be on providing cultural actors training in applying for EU funding (Field notes 1.6.2006, TYKL/SPA/1149:33).<sup>93</sup> At the same time, it was important for me to be able to use their office facilities and contact actors.

I got to use [their] office facilities... [His] interest was to prepare a common project... The next call for projects... was to start in July and they have now very few projects... [He] was very helpful, but I do not really know what he is up to... I need to rely on many contacts, although he says he ‘knows them all’ (Field notes 30.5.2006, TYKL/SPA/1149:33)... This meeting aroused very controversial thoughts. This is about their livelihood in a very different manner than for

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92 Many people with a Ukrainian background live in the Warmia-Mazury region of Poland, which became part of Poland only as a result of the Second World War (gained from Germany). Many of these Ukrainians, including one of my informants, were moved from southeast Poland in the Akcja Wisla in 1947.

93 Such a project seemed both problematic and unrealistic. This made me aware of the ethical issues as well as the way a lot of work is done for proposals without ever being implemented. I chose not to engage directly in any other projects; this was also a practical decision, since doing proper project proposals and fieldwork with a time constraint, seemed too much to handle at the time.

actors in Finland. My researcher position is also complicated since this project seems more or less invented. (Field notes 2.6.2006, TYKL/SPA/1149:33)

During my later fieldwork I usually lived in former workers' accommodation, which as a hotel still seemed to house mostly guests from the east. I also relied on my own technical equipment (laptop and mobile), making it easier to focus on what I was doing. Instead of direct engagement in project development, I chose to focus on interviews and on observing the diversity of projects. For some actors, this seemed an important opportunity to talk about their views of border crossings.<sup>94</sup>

### ***Redirections and obstacles***

Fieldwork and the interpretative process involve improvisation and redirection, chance and serendipity (Hannerz 2006, 23-41; 2001, 18). Experiences and moments lead to new reflections and interpretations (Greverus 2002, 41). These were provided by my pre-research encounters, but also by the fieldwork trips. The latter took place in orderly form; each one laid the foundation for the next one and supported the analysis of relations between people and materiality, cooperation and interaction, representing and doing. The initial focus on practices and symbolism, and the 'culture' they involve, was soon supplemented by a focus on cross-border agency: how it is constructed in – and in relation to – bordering practices. From studying 'regions with shifting faiths' (an early working title, presented at a research seminar in 2005), the focus turned to the analysis of relations and cross-border agency. My experiences and improvisations in the field did not suddenly change the direction of the research altogether, but they suggested the possibility of different contexts for situating interviews and the rhetoric of cooperation. Some encounters were important in terms of these redirections.

As a rule I had no problem in contacting actors, but I realized some of them were reluctant to meet my questions, even if another local actor had 'recommended' me. One reason for this might be that they had faced so much public criticism in the media. In another case the actor had previously been subjected to criticism in a study which had questioned the socio-cultural connection of their cultural festival (Field notes 26.5.2009, TYKL/SPA/1149:33).<sup>95</sup> Such obstacles became part of identifying tensions in the field, and the difference between what is said and what is done. In project events I was an outsider, as I did not share the same interests as the other participants. When I presented myself openly as a researcher focusing on cross-border co-operation, some participants seemed to take a distance from me, but for this was an opportunity to talk about what the event was 'really' about and what was happening behind the scenes.<sup>96</sup>

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94 Through this project development I also met a local cultural activist who provided an alternative view on heritage. He was working in a cultural organization which housed a Polish photo exhibition about Kresy. For him, the photographs of ruins simply suggested a search for what is/was Polish across the border, while the people living there were not visible. (Field notes 2.6.2006, TYKL/SPA/1149:33)

95 See also Bieniecki 2005, 199ff.

96 A project event might be held in Russia, but I was told that actually the 'big boys' (experienced project actors) negotiated future business (projects). A program official might comment that this event did not have any interest for him/her: "you know how things are there in these events" (TYKL/SPA/1149:2).

These utterances cannot be verified in any objective sense, but for me they suggested ‘projects’ as a form of border crossing.<sup>97</sup> For the cultural researcher, the relations established in projects, temporally limited and with few connections to everyday life, might seem rather insignificant: these encounters, however, suggested how co-operational projects were connected to communities in different ways, and revealed the difference between theorizing/imagining and the actual implementation/doing of border crossings.

The relationships between project actors, development projects and everyday life have been addressed in recent research, on the one hand in terms of habitual spatial bordering practices (Prokkola 2008, 51), on the other as a matter of the identities and identifications that emerge from the diverse fields of action (Siivonen 2008, 149). For me these suggested diverse relations. In the Finnish case, ideas of a ‘common future’ seemed to have little space. In my first fieldwork trip to Poland, I focused on actors who were not involved in projects in the actual borderland; EU-funded projects funding were only starting.<sup>98</sup> I noted that in project-related events the official program seemed to result in boredom among the participants, although this was counterbalanced by the elaborate catering and setting. This, of course, was not the whole picture. In interviews with actors taking part in actual projects, it emerged that culture was seen as a highly multifaceted phenomenon, but also one that is not to be asked about directly using the word ‘culture’. Also diverse theories of culture emerged. Two local ‘cultural experts’ at the city office (A and B) tried to understand my interest in the Polish-Ukrainian borderland:

A: It’s about what views we have about Ukrainian culture and what views they have of Polish culture. B: That is culture but it cannot be compared like that... A: It is possible, it is... B: When it concerns national, culture, you can compare, every nation has its own culture, yes? [...] K: I have kind of this idea of culture, as kind of without borders, an idea... A: Ah, yes, it is a very complicated subject [heh], because it’s something like if you would like to try Finnish-Estonian contacts, it would be also very difficult to describe, what, it goes on at very different levels, and from private to very high up.(TYKL/SPA/1149:9)

Theoretical concepts, such as identity, can be seen as heuristic; in other words, they lead in certain directions and point to certain aspects of phenomena studied. In the case of analytical concepts, these suggest how the phenomenon works.(Åström 2005, 32-33) Here the way these informants discuss ‘culture’ suggests that it is first of all a matter of national differences, but at the same a very diverse phenomenon, implying diverse contacts across the border. It was clear that these actors, even though they

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Many (Finnish) actors seemed rather unhappy about the event and had other, personally interesting, plans for the future (Field notes 25.11.2005, TYKL/SPA/1149:33).

97 I also encountered a sense of pride about the local way of doing things.

98 I visited actors located in Warsaw, EU program officials in the Neighbourhood Program in Warsaw, and people at the Marshall’s office in Lublin as well as research institutions: the South-Eastern Research Institute in Przemysl (see *Poludniowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy* 2.3.2006) and the Institute of East-Central Europe in Lublin (see *Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej* 4.3.2006).

worked in the same office, had different approaches to culture and differences. Some actors also spoke enthusiastically about their projects and how they succeeded in engaging the local communities.<sup>99</sup> Negotiations of the border and borderland materiality also indicated border crossings as interesting for a cultural researcher, who might be used to considering cross-border cooperation simply as a matter of politics and economic interests, with little meaning for local people (Field notes 23.5.2009, TYKL/SPA /1149:33). It became possible to contrast how diverse cross-border relations coexist and negotiate the border. For actors this means comparisons to other actors who cross borders, differences across the border and in the system of cooperation. Rather than looking at how communication took place across borders, it became crucial to look at how localities were transformed as a basis for diverse relations.

I visited a small Polish community to conduct interviews at the House of Culture (Field notes 22.5.2009, TYKL/SPA/1149:33). At the door, I happened to see a poster for a conference on ‘Globalization and Media’ being organized in a local sports hall the same day. The informant asked me to accompany her there; otherwise I would have needed an invitation. At the event, I wondered about the presence of security people, but did not need to wonder long: soon, and unexpectedly, the popular Polish politician Jerzy Buzek, future president of the European Parliament, came to give an uplifting speech. I had first-hand experience of a local event right before the Euro-elections. Here a national-level political figure and the local elites get together and tell us what is good for this local community:

During the interwar period people here were in the middle of Poland, but now at the eastern border. ...we can be strong if all towns are strong... After five years in the EU, now there is a financial crisis, but we obtained the EU money...We have become part of the first class of nations ... In the Union we won the legacy of the war, we received compensation.(Field notes 22.5.2009, TYKL/SPA /1149:33)

At this event, prizes for local actions on supporting diversity were also handed out to those who improved Polish-Jewish relations and the situation of disabled people (Field notes 22.5.2009). This is a locality within Europe rather than on the edge of a nation-state. Such encounters also became an opportunity to locate myself and to observe translocal relations.

## **The five articles**

Orientation, interpretation and experience accompany the whole research process and merge into each other (Bausinger 1997, 67-77). All writing involves reflection as well as objectification. As Greverus (2002, 27) puts it, we are currently faced with the

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99 George Marcus (1998, 97) has noted that the most important form of local knowledge in multi-sited research is that which parallels the ethnographer’s own interest, the mapping itself. This concerns for example “the sorting out of relationships of the local and global”. In my case, this concerned diverse relations beyond the local, such as Europe, nation, and the ‘culture’ across the border.

idea of people we study as well as the researcher her/himself as a hybrid, a “manifestation of our current circumstances” and larger cultural processes. This has made the traditional genre for presenting research and analysis, the monograph, somewhat problematic. She continues: “[t]he entire research process ... begins to reassemble a collage, in which the deconstruction and reconstruction of meanings allows the dynamic cultural processes to be seen in a new light”. In this context, she notes, an essay rather than a monograph may be more suitable for documenting the research. My articles too tell the story of this research process, the story of Myself as well as the Other. This is not simply a matter of each article focusing on a specific problem, or that each article was planned in the early stage of the research process. Rather, they have emerged in the course of the fieldwork process. This is a story, hopefully, that can be read as both a theoretical and a methodological adventure.

The process of interpretation and writing, as of publication, began after the very first fieldwork journey. Each article deals with fieldwork observations; thus theory follows, rather than preceding, observations made in the field (see table 2). In contrast to a monograph, which is often a more concise work on a specific subject, here the writing process also functions as a way of interpreting and narrowing the field. Each article reflects not only partly different materials, but to some extent also different methods and relations included in the fieldwork. The earlier articles have a more textual approach, while subsequent ones focus on actors and observations in the field. In the fifth and last article I seek not only to reassess earlier ones, but also to review all my fieldwork journeys in the field. This ongoing process of publication obviously also reveals issues which might have been easier to conceal in a monograph, had I so wished.<sup>100</sup> At the end of this introductory chapter and the conclusions, the articles are presented in the form in which they were originally published or accepted in peer-reviewed journals and conference proceedings (see ‘Original articles’).

The **first article** has a clear focus on the rhetoric of cultural cooperation initiated at a national level between the Finnish and Russian authorities. Here views on ‘culture’, ‘cooperation’ and ‘practices’ emerge and are placed in relation to my fieldwork in the actual borderland. In the **second article** the focus has already shifted to the Polish-Ukrainian case, in an analysis of local media articles.<sup>101</sup> Two case studies are presented, showing how two local project actors negotiate their relationship with the media and with diverse cultures (popular, traditional and transnational). In the **third article** I focus on the complexities of ‘cultural heritage’ as part of co-operational practices, where it has power as a symbol of border crossings. This ‘heritage’ is imagined in different ways by experts, NGO actors and by those actors who rely on

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100 Journals too affect the contextualization of research. In my case this concerned especially the interdisciplinary approaches to border studies which I encountered in the *Journal of Borderlands Studies*. This affected my perceptions of ‘bordering’ (van Houtum, Kramsch, and Zierhofer 2005, 1-15; Schimanski and Wolfe 2010, 39-49; Linde-Laursen 2010, 303) in my fourth article.

101 These articles can be found in the electronic archives of newspapers (see annex 4), but in particular the articles used in article 2 are also included also in my own archived research materials (TYKL/SPA/1149:34).

other than EU funding. In the **fourth article** the role of borderland materiality emerges as a means of suggesting relations across the border. Here everyday experience of borderland materiality and of the EU border play a specific role in cultural bordering. The **fifth article** constitutes a conclusion, in which I discuss the idea of cultural sustainability from the perspective of strategic uses of heritage and culture in bordering. I review the materials and actors since 2005, and revisit the Finnish-Russian case in terms of a recent case of place- and heritage-making).

It may be noted here that my approach to these borderlands has involved a narrowing of the field, from metaphorical borders and borderlands to the actual doing of border crossings. This also means a move from analyses of representing action at the interface of national cultures to an analysis of the experience of bordering, local cross-border relations and borderland materiality at the external border of the EU. In terms of border concepts, this means that I am moving from a rhetoric of open borders, which tends to sustain inward-looking boundaries at the local level, towards conceptualizations of frontiers that also suggest local border crossings. The articles reflect the multitude of options available to cultural agency in term of defining similarities and differences. Some of these are available to local actors, while others may be limited to only some of them. However, in an analysis of European borderlands, they all seem necessary: not only in terms of contextualization, but as means of comparing sites, actors and borderlands – with regard, for example, to the sense of being a European, and its consequences for imagining and doing border crossings.

Table 2. Problems, theory, 'borders', materials and methods of each article

Article	I	II	III	IV	V
<b>Problem and 'borders' discussed</b>	Rhetoric and symbols of cooperation; How 'culture' is presented in co-operational practices, and by whom? Metaphoric and symbolic boundaries, borders of national cultures	Media images of local cross-border projects: Representation of border crossing 'cultures' and practices Metaphoric boundaries; borders of national and local cultures; private and public life	Cultural heritage as symbol; Cultural heritage as part of border-crossing practices and cross-border agency Boundaries of local communities and heritage: Bordering between local, national and the transnational	Border/land materiality and local actors: How objects and the border become part of doing border crossings Materiality of borders: Imaginary and material borderlands as translocal fields of action	Cross-border relations as bordering: How people and things suggest cultural sharing and cultural change Addressing the multitude of borders and 'cultures' as a means for cultural bordering
<b>Theory</b>	Culture as a resource in international relations and in cooperation on culture: Culture as a marker of tradition and change in borderlands	Culture of cooperation: Packaging culture, distribution/commodification; Cultural form and substance (practices vs. things)	Cultural constructions as a resource; heritage as a symbol for reflecting border crossings: Tangible/intangible heritage; Ideology of local fatherlands	Bordering processes and border figures: Translocal fields; Recollecting and presenting differences and similarities	Collapsing the gap between local and European; cultural bordering; Cultural sustainability
<b>Materials</b>	Finnish-Russian cultural projects and policies: interviews and participant observation	Polish local media articles on projects and cross-border relations: interviews and observations, EU funded projects	Interviews with national, regional and local actors, observations, project documentation, 'micro-projects' and American funding <sup>102</sup>	Interviews, with local actors, observations, project documentation, EU, German and Polish funding	Review of earlier fieldwork and materials, projects with diverse funding sources
<b>Method</b>	Textual analysis, fieldwork, participant observation	Textual analysis, fieldwork, participant observation	Fieldwork, textual/ narratives, participant observation	Fieldwork, narratives, participant observation	Fieldwork, comparison
<b>Process status</b>	Fieldwork, I FIN-RUS, Autumn 2005	Fieldwork II, PL-UA, Spring 2006	Fieldwork III, PL-UA, Spring 2007	Fieldwork, PL-UA, Spring 2009	Review of materials and articles

102 See chapters 'Local and border-crossing projects' and 'Regions imagined and made'.



### 3. Shifting Finnish and Polish borderlands

In these borderlands, the past carries specific importance when it comes to national history and heritage. These have an effect on border crossings that is often not a direct one. For anthropologists, ‘actualized history’ (Giordano and Kostova 2002, 77) means that the past is intentionally mobilized in the present. History can be used to problematize the present, but this may have benefits as well as drawbacks. (Löfgren 2008b, 129) It was only in the nineteenth century that the idea emerged that a nation inhabits a specific territory, leading to a gradual emphasis on the meaning of borders for societal life. (Mikkeli 2009, 41) The definition of national differences in terms of ‘culture’ was laid by developments in the twentieth century, when religion too came to be associated with nationality. In the Polish case, for example, religion was no longer simply a local option in the borderland. (Brown 2003, 231) During the interwar period, nationalism and Communism did their best to replace local border crossings and local belonging. This development culminated in the Second World War, when both Finland and Poland lost eastern territories to the Soviet Union. Both countries have shared a strong belief that the nation is formed by a specific people, which differs from other nations, an ‘imagined community’ (Anderson 1991). In Finland collective memory is connected with ‘Karelia’, in Poland with ‘Kresy’ or ‘Galicja’. The lost Karelia and Kresy<sup>103</sup> thus play, in different ways, a role in present-day border crossings as negotiations of differences.

Here these ceded borderlands are seen to tell a story that is one of shifting borders and movements of people and materiality. They suggest ways that cultural diversity has become aligned with borders, nations and ideological systems. The challenge is not merely to locate historical issues but also to recognize how these are mobilized in the present, as a basis for novel ways of defining similarities and differences. These may be hidden by narratives that present the past in idealized form. A historical perspective is thus useful, both as a means of understanding local actors’ recollections of the past and as a resource for imagining present border-crossing relations. As I see it, here movements of people and materiality, the creations of a displaced heritage, provide a basis for understanding present cultural agency. Recent images of border-crossing ‘identities’ can be scrutinized in terms of their anachronistic character and the way they locate present-day concepts, such as multiculturalism, borders and borderlessness, in the past. What is being suggested here is a process whereby borders have become a means for ideological, systemic and cultural bordering in a somewhat simplistic but powerful way: difference comes to be located in people and material objects. The cultural agency addressing the present external border of the EU is similarly to be understood on this basis.

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103 In Karelia this means ‘Ladoga Karelia’ (and its northern part Border Karelia) and the Karelian Isthmus; in the case of Kresy the areas include Polissya (Polesia), Volhynia (Wołyn) and Galicja (Galicja).

## **Kresy and Karelia – border/lands**

Polish history emphasizes the Polish state as coinciding with a certain territory. In particular the era of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Habsburg Empire exemplify a period of Polish history with a tolerant character in terms of ethnic and religious diversity. For example, the Constitution of 1573 is seen as the most advanced approach to the issue of religious freedom in Europe (Kłoczowski and Łukasiewicz 2003, 24-26).<sup>104</sup> In the Polish partitions (1772, 1793, 1795), however, the territory of Poland was divided between Russia, Prussia and the Habsburg Empire. For the next 123 years, Poland ceased to exist as a state.(Davies 1981) In the 1830s Adam Mickiewicz described Poland as the ‘Christ of Nations’, suggesting that Poland was ‘crucified’ (when it was divided by its neighbors) because it was the only nation harboring freedom; its ‘resurrection’ would lead to a worldwide renewal for all suppressed nations. Along with the idea of a territorially defined Polishness there is also an ethnic definition, according to which Roman Catholicism and the Polish language are indivisible from Polish identity.(Remy 2004, 271) These ideas, territorial and ethnic, can be traced in the eastern borderlands of Poland, where multiple states and ideologies – including imperial Russia, parliamentary Poland, Ukrainian nationalist parties, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union – were involved in the process of creating an ethnically pure nation-space.(Brown 2003, 2)

The past of the **Kresy** suggests diverse connections between local lives and the systems and ideologies that have sought to transform this reality. Kresy suggests a mobile borderland: at first the name referred to the easternmost part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth,<sup>105</sup> but under the Polish Second Republic (1917-1939) it came to be used more or less in reference to the regions east of the current Polish-Ukrainian border. In the nineteenth century Kresy was engraved as a Polish landscape in the works of Polish artists, writers, painters and musicians (Galusek and Jurecki 2007, 32). For Poles, this became not simply a borderland, but a “land’s end of the self”, beyond which begins the world of others, and ‘Asia’. “Kresy created Polish culture, but only for itself, and only for itself it also named it” (Kolbuszewski 2002, 204). This suggests that ‘Kresy’ is a Polish concept of the region, not shared by Ukrainians. Galicia, which is part of Kresy, refers to a region that was part of the Habsburg Empire and played a crucial role in preserving Polish identity during the Polish partitions (Nance 2008, 135). Here the city of Lwów, with its townscape of church towers representing different rites, is nowadays a symbol of Polish Kresy (Galusek and Jurecki 2007, 40); but the concept of Kresy also causes aversion, as “proof of Polish imperialism” (Kolbuszewski 2002, 206-208).

In November 1918 an independent Polish Republic was declared. Poland wanted to control the pre-partition Polish territory, and a conflict erupted between Poles,

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104 The Union of Brest (1596) resulted in a new form of Catholic Christianity in Poland-Lithuania, known as the Greek Catholic Church (or Uniate Church); it followed the Eastern rite but in full communion with the Pope in Rome.

105 Established at the Union of Lublin (1569), it lasted until it was partitioned by its powerful neighbors (Austria, Prussia and Russia) at the end of the eighteenth century.

Russians and Ukrainians. The Polish-Bolshevik war in 1919-1920 was a conflict between Communism and anti-Communism, between Moscow and Warsaw, which Poland won (Snyder 2005, xiv). An attempt to create a West Ukrainian Republic (1918-1919) was defeated by the Polish army, confirming the view of Ukrainian nationalists that Poland was the greatest enemy of the Ukrainian cause (Snyder 2003, 142). In the Treaty of Riga (1921), Poles won a Poland larger than anyone had imagined possible. The border between Soviet Union and Poland divided 'Kresy' at the local level; the socialist economic space was to be separated from the capitalist one. Crossing the border to Soviet Kresy could be regarded as smuggling and espionage. Already the tsarist regime had seen Poles as the chief enemy, and this view was continued by the Soviets. In the 1930s the local population felt the true effect of Soviet rule, in the form of collectivization, mass deportations, purges and the Great Famine.(Brown 2003, 4-5) At first the Soviets aimed at organizing territory by nationality, which required the transformation of identities as 'national' (ibid. 9). In 1935-1936 the deportation of 'national minorities' was also carried out; rather than ethnicity, however, these were about deporting people with suspicious connections.<sup>106</sup> The deported were replaced by Ukrainians, who seemed to ethnically fit the demographic map of western Ukraine (ibid. 147-148).

After 1918, Poland started to adopt policies based on the idea of ethnic Polishness. The Polish Orthodox Church was established in 1924, to accommodate the Orthodox people in the eastern part of the state. Poles also applied a policy that sought to diminish the power of Greek Catholics.(Snyder 2003, 134) Ukrainian schools became bilingual, Polish migrants were given farmland in Ukrainian regions on preferential terms, and all new public officials were to be Polish (Remy 2004, 285). Kresy had already earlier become a national myth, similar to the myth of Poland as the chosen nation of God. It was a heroic myth of defending the nation, but after Polish independence it became a myth of offense rather than defense (Kolbuszewski 2002, 205). In the interwar period it was a 'patriotic' act to visit for example the backward region of Volhynia (Galusek and Jurecki 2007, 32). Interwar Kresy was a matter of everyday reality as well as a myth. Interwar Volhynia was a borderland ruled by Poles, but one in which Ukrainians formed the majority and the towns were occupied by Jews (Eberhardt 1998). Most local Poles spoke Ukrainian and some were former Greek Catholics, now Orthodox as a result of Russian rule. 'Fatherland' still referred to 'patrimony', the property inherited from one's father.(Snyder 2003, 146) However, in Volhynia Poland also attempted to preserve the native Ukrainian-Polish-Jewish social order. This option was soon overruled by nationalism and communism. In the 1930s policies shifted to the right, which was also a result of the 'ethnic cleansings' of Poles that took place in Soviet Ukraine.(Snyder 2005, xiv-xv) Borders were permeable, and the Volhynian population came under influences from Ukrainian communists and Galician Ukrainian nationalists. The Polish army took over; Orthodox churches were destroyed and their property confiscated.(Snyder 2003, 149)

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106 This was part of a wider Soviet border zone regime; in the north too Finnic peoples were deported from the border zone of Leningrad.

Even in 1939, however, national juxtapositions were not part of local social reality. In Lwów, the center of Ukrainian nationalism in Galicia, the main languages spoken were Polish and Yiddish. People knew who was Polish or Ukrainian, but their own village or province was more important than some larger nation. (Snyder 2003, 152-153) It took a total war to change this local reality, but this past too is recollected as part of recent border crossings. After the Second World War, 'Kresy' became a legend in the PRL (Polish People's Republic); but the word itself was prohibited and writers had to rely on paraphrase (Kolbuszewski 2002, 206-208). Despite some similarities<sup>107</sup> to the Finnish-Russian/Soviet case, we can see differences in the way the border became important, not only politically and ideologically but also symbolically and culturally.

The border between (Swedish) Finland and Russia was marked out and defined on the ground after the Stolbova Peace Treaty of 1617, but the inhabitants living along the border could still create their own systems of 'border peace' (*rajarauha, gränsfred*). These aimed at maintaining order and interaction, even during an eventual wartime, in the form of mutual help (Katajala 2010, 9). In the eighteenth century the border was still an economic issue rather than one dividing cultures, languages or nations. When Finland came under Russian rule in 1809, the border between Tsarist Russia and the Grand Duchy of Finland was moved more or less to the line of the Stolbova Treaty, in the south to a line defined as early as 1323. Trade across the border to St. Petersburg reached new heights. (Ibid. 18-19; Kaukiainen 1998, 148) The border was not simply an administrative border, but a customs one. (Katajala 2010, 19) This border, however, was not yet imagined as a cultural one, and it allowed the movement of customs and of material innovations (Valonen 1972, 61). Finnish attitudes toward the Russians were warmer than those of many other countries bordering on Russia, although the many Finns who migrated to the multinational city of Petersburg almost never mixed with others (Lähtenmäki 2007, 188, 193).

In the nineteenth century, however, **Karelia** became part of the construction of Finnishness, when folk narratives were collected (mainly) in the area of White Sea Karelia and were shaped into the Finnish national epic, the Kalevala (Nieminen 1998, 280-281). In the interwar period research in this region had an even stronger leaning towards nationalism (Wilson 1985). Inspired by the Kalevala, Finnish interest in Karelia extended to regions located entirely on the Russian side of the border, and grew to support not only Finnish independence but the creation of a 'Greater Finland'. (Fingerroos 2008, 235ff) The image of Russia as the arch-enemy of Finland developed at the beginning of the twentieth century, a time of forced Russification. After the Revolution of 1917 and the achievement of Finnish independence, the image of Russia merely changed from tsarist to bolshevist. Even Finnish morality was seen as under threat on the Karelian Isthmus (Vuorinen 2004, 246), and the Russification of the peasants was feared especially on the Karelian Isthmus and in Border

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107 Kresy thus seems to have meaning similar to Finnish political Karelianism, which in its most extreme form supported the creation of a Greater Finland. See Fingerroos 2008.

Karelia<sup>108</sup> (Hämynen 1998, 167). During 1918-1944 an image of Russia was created in Finland as the obverse of the Finnish self-image: an inferior race and a threat to western civilization (Klinge 1972). In Border Karelia Finnish and Russian nationalisms competed. In 1918 a 'Finnish Greek Catholic Church' (Orthodox) was established, under the Patriarchate of Constantinople (rather than Moscow). In 1925 the center of the Finnish Orthodox Church was moved from Viipuri to Sortavala, in order to emphasize its Finnishness. In 1939 mixed marriages between Orthodox believers and Lutherans were still rare here, but in practice the customs of others were respected (Laitila 1998, 406). Until 1939 the original, Orthodox, Karelian speakers remained a uniform population only in some parishes in Border Karelia (Talve 1997, 22).

The interwar Finnish-Soviet border became a wall between two mistrusting and even hostile states. For Finns its location was 'right', although some Finns still had dreams of creating a Greater Finland, incorporating all Finnish- or Karelian-speaking regions (Katajala 2010, 30). The Border River<sup>109</sup> between the Grand Duchy of Finland and Russia on the Karelian Isthmus became a highly symbolic national divider: a border between the communist and capitalist systems and a protector of national identity. The border was more or less closed, emphasizing its role as a cultural divide (Raivo 1998, 11). Crossing the border took on a moral and political character. Finns who had moved to Soviet Karelia during 1918-1935 were seen as ideologically biased: they were either 'political migrants' after the Finnish Civil War in 1918, 'illegal persons' without permission to cross the border or 'North American settlers'<sup>110</sup> (Lähteenmäki 2007, 189). All in all some 20,000 Finns emigrated to Soviet Karelia and the Leningrad region (Lähteenmäki 2007, 145ff); these people are still often regarded as defectors in Finland today (Kangaspuro 1996, 279). In 1933, measures against Finnish leaders<sup>111</sup> in Soviet Karelia increased (Laine 1998, 227). As in Poland, the year 1937 meant greatly increased and harsher repression, following Party Resolutions on the elimination of dangerous minorities (ethnic groups bordering the USSR); of these, Order No. 00485, relating to Poles, was applied to Finns as well (although Finns were not explicitly mentioned). 1500 Finns received the death penalty, and 'White Finns' were deported from the republic. (Takala 2007, 202-203) By 1939, these ethnically

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108 Throughout history, the Karelian Isthmus in the south and Border Karelia in the north of Lake Ladoga have been alternately under Swedish (Finnish) and Russian rule (in contrast, White Sea Karelia has never been part of Finland). Under the Grand Duchy of Finland and in the interwar period of independent Finland, Border Karelia was part of Finland. It had a strong Orthodox Karelian heritage and was subject to policies that strove to emphasize its Finnishness. At the time, however, the Karelian Isthmus was already integrated into Finland and Finnish culture.

109 This narrow river formed a natural border between Sweden and Russia from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century and from 1812 to 1940. In Finnish it is known as the Border River or as Siestarjoki (Sestra River).

110 These settlers include people who had ideological reasons to move to Soviet Karelia. Their attempt to take part in constructing a new type of society in Soviet Karelia often soon ended in disappointment. Soviet Karelian leaders also tried to attract a work force for forest work and factories.

111 The 'Red Finns', political emigrants from Finland after the 1919 Civil War in Finland, formed the political elite in Soviet Karelia. There was an emphasis on using the Finnish language (of which Karelian was seen as a mere dialect), but this did not differ specifically from contemporary Soviet linguistic policies of using Russian and the national languages in general. (Takala 2007, 195)

focused measures had more or less removed the Finnish population from Soviet Karelia.(Lähtenmäki 2007, 199) In the Finnish case there is a focus on ethnic Finnishness that is strongly connected with territorial boundaries, with the border, and with morally grounded perceptions of the other. When Finland lost most of Karelia to the Soviet Union, and with the Kalevala mythology validating the Finnishness of the whole of Karelia, the ceded region became proof of the moral inferiority of Russians (Nieminen 1998, 280-281).

At this point, we need to take a look at the way borderland materiality and people were moved and displaced as a result of border changes. This effectively aligned differences and ‘cultures’ with the border.

### *Moving people and materiality*

After the Second World War both Soviet and western statesmen became convinced that European ethno-linguistic boundaries should coincide with political ones, since minorities were seen to bring with them political instability and a potential military conflict. Movement of borders and people across borders was a European-wide phenomenon.<sup>112</sup> Already during the war 15.4 million people were displaced (fleeing a German invasion or forced to work in Germany). Of these, 1.9 million people were intentionally moved during the war and permanently resettled so as to bring ethnolinguistic boundaries into alignment with political ones. In the aftermath of the war, between 1944 and 1948, it is estimated that 31 million people were resettled within and beyond Central Europe.(Magocsi 2002a, 189) The movements of people and materiality in the Finnish-Soviet and Polish-Soviet borderlands had different outcomes, with different effects on present-day understandings of difference and border crossings.

In Poland, 3.5 million Poles from central Poland were resettled in the ‘Recovered Lands’ acquired from a defeated Germany.<sup>113</sup> Here were also settled many of the 1.7 million Poles removed from the Soviet Union, as well as the 150 000 Ukrainians and Rusyns expelled from southeastern Poland in 1947 by the Polish authorities (the so called ‘Akcja Wisła’). Poles and Jews had disappeared during the war from what had been prewar eastern Poland as a result of German/or Russian terror, or were expelled to Poland after the war between 1944 and 1947, when an estimated 200,000 Jews moved and almost 1.3 million Poles were ‘repatriated’.<sup>114</sup> These regions became part of the

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112 In Central Europe, broadly defined, only the borders of Austria and Albania remained the same after the war as they had been in the interwar period. When it comes to other than Finnish and Polish borders with the Soviet heartland, we might here mention the former Czechoslovak province of Subcarpathian Rus, which became the Transcarpathian region of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic; in the case of Romania, northern Bukovina also became part of the Ukrainian SSR and most of Bessarabia part of the Moldavian SSR.

113 Over 3 million Germans still residing here after the war, were transferred to the newly constituted Germany. Similarly in the case of Czechoslovakia over three million Germans were transferred from the Sudetenland to Germany.

114 ‘Repatriation’, as a term for population movements from former Polish Kresy, was used officially and in public in referring to these people. It served to hide the involuntary nature of the resettlement, as well as

Soviet Republics of Lithuania, Ukraine and Belorussia; here likewise came Ukrainians who were moved from Poland, although a greater part of the new population, including ethnic Russians, came from remote eastern areas of the Soviet Union.(Magocsi 2002a, 189-193) It is estimated that as a result of the various border shifts, over two million Poles were 'repatriated' from former Polish territories and 500 000 'Ukrainians' were moved to the Soviet Union. During 1955-1958, after Stalin's death, a second wave of 'Poles' moved from the Soviet Union to Poland.(Eberhardt 1998) When the Kresy was a forbidden topic, the memory of the region and the experiences of the 'repatriates' could likewise not be mentioned in public.<sup>115</sup> What is specific here is the way large numbers of 'Ukrainians' were also moved to within the boundaries of Poland and thus remained within Poland. In the Finnish case, the movements of people were more a matter of crossing the border. In both cases people often had to resettle in environments not familiar to them, but in the Polish case the signs of these others persisted in the local materiality of many borderland localities.

After a 'heroic' but lost Winter War, an agreement on military collaboration was entered into by Finland and Germany in 1940, and Finns soon also crossed the old border into Russian Karelia (Lähteenmäki 2007, 163). In this 'Continuation War' (1941-1944), Finland ended up losing not only the old border, but also access to the Arctic Ocean. In the Peace Treaty of 1944, Finland ceded ten percent of its territory to the Soviet Union; some 420 000 Finns from the ceded areas were transferred to within Finland.(Katajala 2010, 30) In the borderland context it was difficult to define national affiliation (Pimiä 2009, 275), but none of the inhabitants had any alternative but to leave the area before the Soviets took over. In some cases the Karelians settled in more or less uninhabited areas in Finland, but Orthodox Karelians needed to be accommodated culturally as well. Among the 'evacuated' Karelians, who were settled all over Finland, any association with Russians was a threat (Sallinen-Gimpl 1994). In the Finnish case, organizations were soon established to support the evacuated people, such as the Finnish Karelian League, which first focused on economic support and then on protecting the Karelian heritage (see Finnish Karelian League 4.3.2012). On the Soviet side, the former Finnish territory received people all over the Soviet Union, who had to adjust to an unfamiliar environment and to places with a material heritage strange to them, often still intact after the war (Hakamies 2006, 31ff; 2005, 91ff). After the war Finland had to return the more than 60 000 evacuated Ingrians<sup>116</sup> to the Soviet

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their 'foreign' destinations, such as the formerly German Breslau, which became the present-day Polish Wrocław.(Davies and Moorhouse 2003, 412)

115 For example the first Kresy associations (in Poland) were allowed and established only in 1989. Until then the memories of the repatriated were mentioned only in small groups and in private.(Davies and Moorhouse 2003, 485) Basically these have focused on cultural activities, but some also seek economic compensation for the wrongs experienced by those who had to move from Kresy (See Związek Wypędzonych z Kresów Wschodnich RP 28.5.2007). The eastern border can apparently be seen as wrongly formed, but there is no attempt to change it; especially since Germans could also claim their regions from Poland.

116 When Finland was part of the Swedish empire, the Lutheran Finnish people moved in the seventeenth century to areas on the southeast shores of the Gulf of Finland. They are known as Ingrian Finns. The original population had consisted of speakers of Finnic languages: Orthodox Ingrians (Izhorians) and Votes. After the 1917 revolution in Russia the Ingrians seemed to do well as a nationality, but the end of

Union. The Ingrians had been influenced, in terms of education, religion and culture, by the Finnish ‘national awakening’ of the nineteenth century. In the Soviet Union, before the war, many of them were transported to labor camps. After the war, when most of them were ‘repatriated’ back to the Soviet Union, they were scattered around the country. Only in the 1950s were they allowed to return to their former homes, where they were now outnumbered by Russians.(Räsänen 1999, 9-17) From the early 1990s a second Ingrian ‘repatriation’, this time to Finland, was allowed. As a result, some 20 000 Ingrian Finns, now mainly Russian-speaking, have moved to Finland (Takala 2007, 203-204).

The Finnish and Polish borderlands differ in terms of their material character as well. The Finns succeeded in relocating their museum collections. During the war, Finnish ethnologists had a role to play in East Karelia in terms finding ethnographic materials supporting the search for the nation’s past (Pimiä 2009, 30ff). The objects collected were regarded as a ‘rescued’ cultural heritage, testifying to the idea of a Greater Finland, but their return was later demanded by the Soviet Union. After the war these items were silenced and thus reflect the museum as a place of remembering and forgetting.(Pimiä 2009, 247-250). During the war there was an emphasis on protecting art and culture,<sup>117</sup> which also took on a political function when their purpose was to integrate the Karelian regions with Finland. In the Continuation war, when Finland gained regions in East Karelia (beyond the old border), the predecessor of Finland’s Board of Antiquities recognized the need to protect the Orthodox Church heritage as it had done in the Lutheran case. Many orthodox icons from East Karelia ended up in Finland (in diverse ways, often carried by individual soldiers), but in 1944 most of them were returned to the Soviet Union.(Husso 2011, 47-50)

It can be noted that the current collections representing Finnish national culture involve many objects of Karelian origin; it can even be said that Finland is represented by Karelian objects. The Sortavala Museum, with 1000 museum objects, became part of the Museum of North Karelia in Joensuu. The Viipuri Museum, with some 500 objects, was moved to the Lahti City Museum. The Käkisalmi Museum, with 715 objects, became part of the Museum of South Karelia.(Sihvo, P. 1998, 310-314) These collections have supported the relocation of ‘Karelia’ and its memory to Finland, and exchanges of museum objects have remained limited. Exhibitions have focused on Karelia as a historical and cultural territory and entity (see Pohjois-Karjalan museo 19.8.2005).

A new materiality, however, also emerged on the Finnish side when the Finnish Orthodox Church had to rebuild their churches, a task completed in the 1960s.<sup>118</sup> Here Orthodox objects from the east also provided a basis for reconstructing the Finnish

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the 1920s saw the beginning of deportation and repression, and in 1937 Finnish schools and churches were closed down.(Kurs 1994, 107-113)

117 Cultural and religious objects had been evacuated from the ceded areas already during the Winter War.

118 Only in Ilomantsi, Liperi, Polvijärvi and Sotkuma did old churches exist that were ready for use.



Orthodox Church.(Husso 2011, 55) The ‘Finnishness’ of Orthodoxy was emphasized and the role of the Russian Church was obliterated. Orthodox Border Karelia came to be regarded as a region which had been ‘most genuinely Karelian’ and free from Russian influence. In the 1970s the eastern part of Finland was redefined as ‘Karelian’; thus Orthodox Karelia was in a way once again present on the Finnish side of the border (Laitila 1998, 415). Karelia was transferred both materially and to some extent mentally to the Finnish side. Only the immobile heritage remained in place<sup>119</sup> on the Russian side of the border; apart from the Karelian Isthmus, the old Finnish place-names often still persist, although now written in Cyrillic (Laine 1998, 234).

In the case of Poland, museum collections and archives from the regions ceded to the Soviet Union were evacuated only to some extent. It was symbolically important to recover the ‘Kresy Madonna’ statues, which highlight Kresy as a protection against the East, but many museum collections, which are considered as more or less Polish, are still located in Ukrainian museums (Galusek and Jurecki 2007, 267). These offer a basis for frequent exchanges of objects (see article 2). Thus not only the immobile heritage but also mobile objects seem to be displaced and subject to claims by others. This can be an important resource when it comes to cooperation across the border.<sup>120</sup>

In both the Finnish and the Polish case, for example, former churches that were left behind, if not destroyed in the war, were adopted for other uses: as museums, warehouses or cinemas. In the case of Poland, the difference is that here the material heritage, left behind by its actual users, such as Jews and Greek Catholics, is still present in communities on the Polish side of the border. Under the Communist regime Poles lived their lives within the material remains of churches and cemeteries of ‘others’, but any interest in them was taboo. As a drastic result of the war, almost no Jews survived in the region; many synagogues were adopted for public use or fell into ruin. The Jewish heritage was also deliberately forgotten.(Gross 2000, 74ff) The Roman Catholic Church gained possession of churches that had belonged to the Greek Catholics. In the Polish case, the historical borders come to be reflected in the materiality of the borderland. We can detect here for example the nineteenth-century border, based on the partition between Russian and Austro-Hungarian rule; in regions under Russian rule in the nineteenth century, the eastern rite churches are Orthodox rather than Greek Catholic, as for instance in the town of Chełm.<sup>121</sup>

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119 An exception here was the Viipuri Provincial Archive, of which approximately half was evacuated to Finland; most of what was left behind now survives as part of Russian archives (see National Archives Service 2.8.2012).

120 For example in the Polish case archives were often not evacuated and cooperation between archives has provided one of the ‘best examples’ of border crossing networking among professionals. As a result, the Ossolineum library in Polish Wrocław has had access to Polish collections in Lwów since 2003.(Klekot and Kosiewski 2006)

121 This is the location not only of the historical borders, but also of the fiercest fights in 1943 between the Polish AK (the Home Army: a resistance movement in German-occupied Poland during WWII) and the Ukrainian UPA (Ukrainians who fought against Soviets and Nazis as well as against Communist Poland and the AK).(Antoniak, Chodor, and Slobodian 2005, 9) This ‘border’ also more or less coincides

In Poland, Communist propaganda relied on demonizing the Ukrainians, but descriptions of conflicts were always situated within what was now the territory of the PRL. Communist policies also renamed streets and public institutions. Old monuments were destroyed and new ones erected. Many buildings survived the Communist period and remain part of the local public space, an issue that continues to produce awkwardness in many localities. Since 1989 the Roman Catholic Church has handed over churches to Greek Catholics, for example in Korczmin, Uhnów and Belz. In some cases disputes have arisen, as in the case of Przemysl. After the fall of Communism, minorities in the borderlands organized cultural activities and raised cultural monuments. (Kisielowska-Lipman 2002, 141) Recently, Soviet-era monuments have given rise to heated debate in the media (23.5.2007, TYKL/SPA/1149:33), since they do not reflect 'true historical events'.<sup>122</sup> In post-socialist countries disparate meanings can be constructed by diverse groups and individuals, diverging from those that glorify the past, and can give validity to the life course of those who condemn the past. (Buchowski 2012, 80) What was suggested by my informants was that people also know how to interpret for example past monuments in a border locality, and that there is thus no local need to remove them (see article 4).

What is suggested here, and discussed in the articles forming this thesis, is that during the period of closed borders which followed the border shifts during and after the Second War and lasted until the Soviet collapse, we find two different scenarios. In the case of Poland otherness was stored in materiality, but this is also mobile in the sense that it can now be targeted in terms of a right to a displaced heritage. The ownership and possession of mobile objects can be subject to diverse claims (articles 3 and 4). In other words, at the EU border they may now become engaged in border crossings. In the case of Finland, materiality is an issue of immobile materiality and the memory of places across the border. This heritage is strongly connected with territoriality, but its national setting is fixed and cannot be subject to negotiation in cross-border relations. Recollections of the past seem to offer little support in negotiating the Finnish-Russian boundary, unless in terms of economic exchange (article 1). It is often noted that the former Finnish town of Viipuri (Vyborg) was 'multicultural', but this does not transform into a heritage addressing the national boundary or the border itself, and remains a symbol of difficult relations (see chapter on Places and identity). It is the discourses, rhetoric and symbolism of 'cooperation' and 'reconciliation' that suggest different ways in which this materiality is used by diverse border-crossing actors.

## **Cooperation and reconciliation**

In the last two decades the 'grand narratives' in these borderlands have emphasized the meaning of regional cooperation/development and national reconciliation in cross-

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with the present-day regional administrative border between the Podkarpackie and Lubelskie regions and the Euroregions of Bug and Karpacki. See also Judson 2012.

<sup>122</sup> This was also suggested by my informant, a museum director in a regional center (TYKL/SPA/1149:23).

border relations. The latter has been characteristic of the Polish-Ukrainian case, where actors at the national level have been active in addressing the memory of past conflicts, and where the symbolic negotiation of heritage has taken place in political relations as well. As a result, culture has become situated differently in Finnish-Russian and Polish-Ukrainian relationships, as part of discourses which cross the border rather easily, but which may have difficulty in gaining local significance at the border.

Finnish attitudes towards Russians were politicized in a new way after the Second World War, when both official utterances and the mass media began to be marked by expressions of friendship and trust. This development was based on the principle of self-censorship, resulting in a certain guardedness in speaking and writing publicly about Russians and the Soviet Union. (Raittila 2003, 153-154) There was no public discussion of the ceded Karelian territory (Sihvo, H. 1998, 449). This strong caution with regard to Russia was evident and affected Finnish ways of doing things on many levels. Finland was strongly linked with the Soviet Union by its Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance (1948-1992). Only in the 1960s did the border start to open up, with some organized tourism as well as business contacts. And it was only in the 1990s, when the economic systems of the two countries became similar, that actual border-crossing activities began to increase and diversify (Katajala 2010, 30). In the 1980s and 90s ethnic consciousness in Russia was revitalized to some extent, but only in the Kalevala (Uhtua) and Aunus districts were Karelians still a majority (Laine 1998, 245). The 1990s saw the planning of development strategies for the border regions (Regional Council of North Karelia 1995). Even though the region is multiethnic and its popular culture overwhelmingly Russian, the new designation of Soviet Karelia as the Karelian Republic provided a basis for cooperation with Finnish organizations,<sup>123</sup> since the Republic also became a more autonomous region and had more control over its own external relationships. Here critical voices<sup>124</sup> also became part of the public debate over relations with Finns. (Verigin, Solomests, and Arefjeva 2004, 78-96)

The permeability of the border has increased, but its meaning as a cultural divide seems to remain. As a result of Finnish EU membership no official territorial claims are possible.<sup>125</sup> Especially the Finnish side has had greater prejudice and suspicions, but border crossing has also become important for local and regional development (Paasi 2000, 96). Border crossings have been related to commerce, employment, nostalgia and administrative cooperation. In short-term visits, local petty trade (alcohol, gasoline, tobacco) and tourism are important. In the twenty-first century, formal cross-border cooperation, such as 'cultural and educational exchanges' and 'humanitarian assistance', has gained importance. (Scott and Matzeit 2006, 54) Border

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123 See for example Leppänen 2005.

124 These concerned the way Russian officials travelled to Finland to learn how things are done there, but also the way that Finnish interests (nostalgia and economic activity) in Russian Karelia seemed to do little for local well-being.

125 Opinion polls (see Helsingin Sanomat 22.8.2005a) indicate that some 39 percent of Finns give strong or moderate support for the return of the lost Karelia.

crossings are imagined in terms of co-operational networking, trade and nostalgia. This is reflected in the use of culture in these relations. Down to the mid-1990s Finnish-Russian cultural relations were still understood in terms of official delegations and festivals. The ‘Treaty on the Basis for Relations’<sup>126</sup> between Finland and Russia notes that both states are obligated to protect each other’s languages, cultures and historical monuments. According to the ‘Agreement on Co-operation in the Fields of Culture, Education and Research’,<sup>127</sup> both countries are expected to help safeguard the heritage and monuments of Finno-Ugric peoples in Russia and the heritage of Russians in Finland. At the same time the Finnish national initiative on Neighbourhood Area cooperation has targeted social problems on the Russian side of the border and thus is considered to bypass communities on the Finnish side (TYKL/SPA/1149:2). Local identity can be seen as threatened when national policies are implemented in Finnish-Russian trade relations.(Jukarainen 2001, 227)

For ideological reasons, the boundary between Finland and Russia was at one time emphasized in ethnic, cultural and religious terms; nowadays, however, it seems more common to point out that the border is ‘socially produced’ and that in the past it was commonly crossed in everyday life.(Lähteenmäki 2007, 167) The Finnish EU initiative on the ‘Northern Dimension’ also includes ‘culture’, and is part of the Finnish-Russian Culture Forum (article 1). Here ‘heritage’ and objects of art are placed in the economic context of cultural exchanges and a further emphasis on regions and regional actors is seen as an opportunity for increased cooperation (Finnish Ministry of Education 2005, 17). These approaches to cooperation tend to emphasize networking and thus ignore the border. However, the Finnish-Russian border still seems to carry meanings which are crucial for local identity (Scott and Matzeit 2006, 6). Due to the experience of the transferred population, the imagined geography of Karelia has had a very national attention; knowledge, agency and ideological contexts are often not reflected, even in current research (Fingerroos and Loipponen 2007, 7ff). There is a need to look at how actors and cooperation relate to the materiality of the borderland and how they negotiate the border. In terms of border crossings, Finns have restored their cemeteries and churches on the other side of the border (Laitila 1998, 415), and have searched for the lost graves of Finnish soldiers killed in the war. Monuments have been raised, with official patriotic speeches, but the neutrality of these monuments creates a space for interpretations by the local Russian population. For practical reasons, Finnish organizations seem to tend to bypass difficult memories.(Parot 2007, 57)

One aspect of Finnish actualizations of the past of the ceded Karelia is the way that its nature and culture tend to merge. Nature can become more significant than the surviving Finnish buildings, now inhabited by Russians (Korjonen-Kuusipuro and Kohvakka 2010, 87). Cultural and natural aspects of the region also seem to merge for

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126 See article 10 in the Treaty on the basis of relations (Asetus Venäjän federaation kanssa suhteiden perusteista tehdyn sopimuksen voimaansaattamisesta 63/1992).

127 See Article 4 in Agreement on co-operation in the fields of culture, education and research (Suomen tasavallan hallituksen ja Venäjän federaation hallituksen välinen sopimus yhteistyöstä kulttuurin, opetuksen ja tutkimuksen alalla 100/1992).

example in official Finnish reports (Lintunen et al. 1998, 11). The Orthodox heritage seems to have border-crossing potential,<sup>128</sup> but it is a local and regional resource rather than one for cross-border relations (article 5). Finnish museums may emphasize their collections relating to Orthodox Karelia, but this does not mean that they have active relationships there (TYKL/SPA/1149:4). It is rather the Russians who make claims about the collections ‘saved’ by Finns, such as Orthodox icons. However, even loaning objects seems difficult – not least because, as one Finnish museum professional (TYKL/SPA/1149:4) put it, “What if they don’t give them back?” In comparison, the Polish-Ukrainian case tells a different story:

It is difficult to recognize that we too made mistakes. (Polish priest, TYKL/SPA/1149:29)

Polish-Ukrainian relations have also been affected by the Communist era, when Polish official propaganda celebrated ‘fraternal’ cooperation with the Soviet Republics but individual border crossings were discouraged. The national emphasis was a means to create support for socialism in the PRL, and Ukrainians were presented as ‘fascists’ and as the ‘natural enemies’ of Poles. (Tumolska 2007, 257; Wnuk 2004, 1) Minorities were controlled, but they also managed to preserve their cultures. In the borderlands, local people were worried that the former inhabitants would come back to reclaim their property. (Kisielowska-Lipman 2002, 141) In the Ukrainian Soviet Republic the Greek Catholic Church<sup>129</sup> was abolished in 1946. Cultural life was to be “Ukrainian in form, but socialist in content” (Magocsi 2002b, 35). In the western Soviet Ukraine there was a specific interest in Poland, because it was seen as a “bridge beyond the Iron Curtain” (TYKL/SPA/1149:23). In Poland the intellectuals did not forget Ukraine, but in everyday consciousness Ukraine began to be erased from the ethnographic map of Europe. The closed borders did not allow memories of past ‘Polish-Ukrainian’ conflicts to be thoroughly contested, but even after the Soviet collapse these were not to interfere with Polish-Ukrainian relations. (Snyder 2005, 252)

Poland was the first country to recognize an independent Ukraine in 1991, but for a long time these relations remained merely a matter of high-level symbolic declarations. In Ukraine the role of Polish culture as a bridge beyond the Curtain was replaced by political and commercial interests. (Bortnik 2004, 248-249) Visa freedom was in place from 1991 until 1 October 2003, when a visa became obligatory as Poland prepared for its EU membership. In the 1990s Polish nostalgia-tourism to western Ukraine increased and churches across the border were restored. Within the framework of cooperation, the past has come to mean the ‘common enemies’ of Poland and Ukraine, in other words Russia. Here the European context of cooperation has become specifically important, and western Ukraine has been seen as an area open for glocalization processes. (Riabczuk 2004) Cooperation started with ‘barter trading’; more recently

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128 Also mentioned in Neighbourhood Programme documents (Council of Oulu Region 2005, 30).

129 The Greek Catholic Church uses the Byzantine Rite but is in full communion with the Church of Rome. In the Union of Brest (1595), strongly supported by the King of Poland, the Ruthenian Church, formerly under Constantinople, came under the Bishop of Rome. Within the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the nineteenth century, Greek Catholics could maintain their religion and their material heritage.

too, private entrepreneurs have been most active (Scott and Matzeit 2006, 74). Migration across the Polish-Ukrainian border has consisted mainly of Ukrainians working in Poland, but migrant work is important for survival on both sides of the border (Zowczak 2010, 11ff). Poles have been active in alleviating the effects of their 2004 EU membership for border crossings. There were fears that Polish-Ukrainian relations would suffer from the new external border of the EU between them. Poland also proposed the EU initiative on the Eastern Dimension, with the aim of political and economic integration of Ukraine with the EU.<sup>130</sup>

On the national level, culture was emphasized in 2004, when Ukraine held the Year of Poland, and in 2005 with the Year of Ukraine in Poland. The programs tended to focus on ministerial projects and ‘sophisticated audiences’ (Bortnik 2004, 245-253). A specific grass-roots connection between Poles and Ukrainians has come to be imagined since the Orange Revolution in Ukraine in 2004. In Poland too diverse national and local cultural events were organized in support of Ukrainians (article 2). The national myth of Poland as the ‘Christ of nations’<sup>131</sup> was transferred to the Ukraine, as Poland as a whole seemed to support the national struggle of Ukrainians. For Poles this was also an opportunity to recall how they had felt in 1981, when martial law was declared in the country.(Berdychowska 2006, 39-40) Now, in 2004, hundreds of thousands of Poles went to concerts and especially young people wore the symbols of a ‘European Ukraine’, an orange flag and ribbons, in public places (TYKL/SPA/1149:7). This has not been hampered even by the nationalist emphasis on the Ukrainian side, where Ukrainians tend to “fetishize all culture as national” (Riabczuk 2004, 185).



*Figure 5. In Polish Rzeszów, a conference on the EU’s Neighborhood Policy was held in 2006. One of the Ukrainian presenters spoke movingly of the Orange Revolution and handed out small orange flags of the Nasza Ukraina party (electoral bloc) to the audience. For her ‘Ukraine has always existed’, but the earlier system meant ‘slavery of people’ (Field notes 7.6.2006, TYKL/SPA/1149:33).*

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130 Following the Polish (Swedish) initiative, the EU policy of Eastern Partnership (part of the European Neighbourhood Policy) is directed to strategically important neighbors of the EU, but does not include Russia. One of its aims is to seek visa liberalization. A specific Culture Programme has also been established, focusing on the cultural sector and culture policy reform.(European Commission 2012, 1, 14)

131 This basically means the idea proposed by the poet Adam Mickiewicz in the nineteenth century, when Poland was divided by its neighbors. It suggests a nation destined to return to glory and bring light to other struggling nations.(Nance 2008, 164)



*Figure 6. In 2006, at the Maidan Square in Kiev some of the tents of the supporters of the Orange revolution in 2004 were still in place in July 2006. Kiev, Kiiskinen.*

Apart from representing these ‘spontaneous’ people’s relations, memorials and monuments have also become important as symbols of national reconciliation. The material heritage has been subject to disputes, as in the case of the Eaglet (War) Cemetery in Lwów. This cemetery contains the graves of Poles, known as Eaglets (*Orleta*), who in 1919 fought for the freedom of Poland against the Ukrainians. (Remy 2004, 288; Kisielowska-Lipman 2002, 143) The ‘Kresy’ heritage too has come to be seen as a “common heritage for Poland and Ukraine” (Galusek and Jurecki 2007, 267). In a European context, ‘the myth of Kresy’ means a “longing for the past world of values, not a longing for lost territory” (Purchla 2007, 7). It suggests ‘borderland creativity’; the future of the material heritage depends on its valid interpretation in terms of its place in the ‘Central European cultural space’. (Ibid.) Here border crossings suggest ideas of reciprocity and parity. It is recognized that Poles and Ukrainians have the same right to remember their former villages across the border (Berdychowska 2006, 99). Here the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, with its emphasis on dialogue and reconciliation, has been active (Melnik 2003, 83). Likewise John Paul II, the Polish Pope who died in April 2005, is cited in co-operational publications (Kawalko and Miszczuk 2005, 8); he declared that secular communities need to recognize that there is no “cooperation without mutual openness”, and that the future has to be constructed without “the predetermination of history, accumulated distrust, without prejudice or violence” (Pope John Paul II 2003, 10).

Already the Polish-Ukrainian treaty of 1992 stated that both parties were expected to maintain each other's monuments and objects as well as safeguard access to them (Kowalski 2005, 166), but in 2003 Poland and Ukraine enacted a protocol according to which the exchange of objects can take place following the principle of parity.<sup>132</sup> One example: Orthodox Church bells located in present-day Polish territory, but belonging to the 'Ukrainian cultural heritage', can be exchanged for historic objects of the 'Polish cultural heritage' now situated in Ukraine. Polish claims can concern objects of a specifically national character or ones that were donated by private persons to the Polish nation.<sup>133</sup> Some of these objects were returned to Poland after the war as 'gifts from the Ukrainian, Belorussian and Lithuanian Peoples'. These included for example part of the Ossolineum library from Lwów and the Panorama Raclawicka,<sup>134</sup> now both situated in the "city with many names", the former German Breslau and current Wrocław, also known as the 'new Lwów' since it was transformed from a German city to a Polish one largely by the 'Lwowianie' who had to move from Lwów (Cieślińska-Lobkowicz 2006, 280; Davies and Moorhouse 2003, 429). Ideas of restitution are also difficult when Poles reject German claims over the Prussian library and Ukrainians demand the return of the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society archives in Warsaw (Kot 2006, 298-299).

While the Finnish-Russian and Polish-Ukrainian borderlands are both part of ceded territories, the discourses of increased interaction seem to connect differently with borderland heritage. In the Finnish case the emphasis on cooperation seldom means a focus on cooperative practices as such. In the Polish case the European dimension (political and economic transformation), together with ideas of national reconciliation, connect with the borderland heritage in ways that shape practices of border crossing. In Poland in general, changes in property relations seem to be accepted as a result of territorial change, and the region across the eastern border is seen as having a multiethnic character as part of a European heritage (Purchla 2007, 7). While heritage becomes engaged in cooperation, it is another question how borderland heritage actually becomes part of the doing of border-crossings by local people. For example: despite the many exhibitions organized in Poland based on Ukrainian collections (Cieślińska-Lobkowicz 2006, 285), the local public still tends to see them as strongly Polish. Exchanges are also based on economic exchanges and an economic asymmetry. The Polish partner also pays a fee for each loaned object (TYKL/SPA/1149:7). However, even this does not seem to prevent the exchange of objects and further negotiation of this heritage as a basis for border crossing (see article 2). Here we need to look at how borderland heritage is used as part of imagining right or 'sustainable' ways of doing border crossings.

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132 See article 16 in Protokół o współpracy między Ministrem Kultury Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Ministerstwem Kultury i Sztuki Ukrainy na lata 2003-2005.

133 The Lubomirski museum and the Ossolineum library were established in Lwów in the nineteenth century, at a time when public support of the Polish nation was prohibited. In the interwar years these institutions possessed some of the most valuable collections in Poland (Cieślińska-Lobkowicz 2006, 266).

134 Panorama Raclawicka, a huge painting, depicts the Polish defeat of Russia in 1794. It was transferred from Lwów after the war, but was opened to public only in 1985, since under Communism this theme was highly 'incorrect' (Davies and Moorhouse 2003, 481).



## *Sustainability and culture(s)*

We have very good cooperation... on a day-by-day basis... it is good cooperation, and any historic, eh, problems are not relevant to this, this kind of cooperation.(A Polish program official, TYKL/SPA/1149:12)

Cross-border cooperation is constructed within diverse discourses, to the extent that these discourses may “gradually create the reality they are describing or suggesting” (Paasi 2002, 805). These borderlands are affected by development discourses which emphasize the future, such as increased European integration. Here sustainable development and cooperation provide narratives that focus on the future and also suggest the different culture concepts used for border crossings. The perspective of many European and national institutions is that cooperation in social and cultural matters has a positive impact. In the European Union culture has been used to promote integration and unification. Culture is a policy goal and a means for facilitating other policies.(Shore 2000, 257) Here ‘Europeanization’ has suggested the manageability of culture, a ‘metaculture’ manifested in documents, metaphors, images and offering moral and ethical perspectives on doing things.(During and van Dam 2007, 170) It seems, however, that the outcomes can be rather different, even when a sustainable European future is imagined.

In cross-border cooperation culture is both a commodity and a resource for identity construction. In the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), “sustainable development in all aspects” is promoted and in terms of heritage the objective is to protect it, but also to promote its ‘development potential, including trough tourism’(European Parliament and the Council of the European Union 2006a, 3-4) In the ENP ‘people-to-people contacts’ are also seen to provide a ‘human face’ for the EU, which means that the “citizens of the EU and of the neighboring countries should have more opportunities to interact, and to learn more about each others’ societies and understand better each others’ cultures.”(Commission of the European Communities 2006, 6) In the border-crossing regional development program the Karelia ENPI (European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument), ‘cultural sustainability’ is regarded as “enabling free intellectual activities and the conservation and development of cultural diversity and cultural heritage.” (Council of Oulu Region 2008, 21-24) In the actual projects, sustainability tends to refer to environmental sustainability (tourism, recycling), but it is also suggested that principles of sustainability should be applied in the development and restoration of heritage in Karelian villages in order to support local entrepreneurship and tourism (Council of Oulu Region 2009, 78, 134, 176, 179). In the earlier program, the Euregio Karelia Neighbourhood Programme, culture is mentioned as a development sector, but there is also a strong emphasis on networking and economic development; for example border know-how and cultural entrepreneurship, in other words the use of ‘common cultural heritage’ as a basis for product development:

The purpose is to create products based on the common culture heritage of the programme area’s regions and the Karelian Republic and at the same time improve employment and create cultural

entrepreneurship. The future information sectors, technology and media are both products of the culture and instruments of its transmission.(Council of Oulu Region 2004, 64)

All in all, culture is seen as a strength in a cooperation in need of “further development” (Council of Oulu Region 2005, 33).<sup>135</sup> It seems, as my informants also suggested (TYKL/SPA/1149:2, TYKL/SPA/1149:3), that this has hardly meant an emphasis on cultural projects, and that the idea of a common cultural heritage seems strange to local actors.

As noted in articles 1, 3 and 4, culture as a resource for cooperation tends to be used as a basis for social capital for networking. It seems that what these borderlands suggest is development based on imagining a ‘future heritage’ (Beck 2002, 27), i.e. a situation in which the future becomes as much a source of values as the past. Here the role of the border is different in these borderlands. As the regional ‘Europe strategy’ in the Finnish Northern Karelia strategy puts it: ”North Karelia’s specific feature is the border, due to which the region has for centuries functioned in the interaction between western and eastern culture.”(Regional Council of North Karelia 2004, 9)<sup>136</sup> Specific (cultural) agency seems to be ascribed to the border itself in this European context as well. The Poland-Ukraine-Belarus cooperation program (2007-2013) focuses on cultural cooperation, cultural diversity and local community initiatives as a means of preventing “the emergence of new dividing lines between the EU and its neighbors” (European Commission 2008). The Polish-Belarusian-Ukrainian Cross-border Cooperation Program 2007-2013 has a focus (similar to the Karelia ENPI) on the ‘development of cultural diversity’, but interestingly here minorities are also mentioned as a focus of support (Ministerstwo Rozwoju Regionalnego 2008, 17).<sup>137</sup>

The development of multi-layer cooperation, including educational and cultural, will enhance knowledge of the region and promote its cultural and economic diversity, leading to the further integration of local communities.(Ministerstwo Rozwoju Regionalnego 2008, 30)

In the Finnish-Russian case, Finnish initiatives have included ideas of sustainable development in the case of cultural tourism to Russian Karelia: such tourism should be economically sustainable and should not endanger the local heritage or those values and aspects of the local environment that contribute to well-being (Finnish Ministry of Education 2003b, 35). This has been an initiative coming from the state administration. Likewise in EU-funded projects sustainability is often mentioned as a principle of development (Council of Oulu Region 2009). All in all, the concept of cultural

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135 Another project selection criterion was “Strengthening of the area’s image and cultural identity” (Council of Oulu Region 2005, 31). It is, however, not defined what this ‘area’ actually is and how this aspect is to be evaluated.

136 The same in Finnish: ”Pohjois-Karjalan erityispiirre on raja, jonka vuoksi maakunta on vuosisatojen ajan toiminut läntisen ja itäisen kulttuurin välisessä vuorovaikutuksessa.”

137 Instead of the focus on an idealized past and protecting material heritage in the previous EU program period (2004-2006), see Ministerstwo Rozwoju Regionalnego 2004, 16-18. In this thesis the realization of these earlier projects has been in focus, but here is reflected a more or less simultaneous process taking place on the program development level.

sustainability remains a complex, even contradictory one, as also suggested in the way sustainability culture can be understood in terms of bordering (see Conclusions).

Policies also seem to react to these complexities of sustainability and culture. In the Karelia ENPI for 2007-2013, 'culture' is defined as an opportunity to deepen cooperation, but it also says that it is "hard to define a single approach on cultural cooperation in a development program"; It should, however, be something that *can be used* for development activities.(Council of Oulu Region 2008, 29) This aspect of pronounced obscurity seems to be a new phenomenon. However, since these projects have started to be implemented only in 2010, they fall outside the scope of this thesis.

## 4. Relations, materiality and border figures

Here I discuss certain theoretical and analytical concepts used in this thesis and in the individual articles. In ethnological research it is important not to impose prefabricated, or implicit, theoretical models on the rich complexity of everyday life. It is important to show the explicit relation between observations and theory (Siivonen 2008, 124). In the case of border crossings, this concerns especially the diverse concepts of ‘border’ and ‘agency’. The issue here is how to understand the role of borders for the diverse human and material relations that cross not only national borders and the external border of the EU, but also boundaries between the local and the global. A basis for this discussion is the recent academic debate over borders, in particular the way they emerge from observable facts. These concepts suggest that the interpretation of every border crossing as a negotiation of the border (Schimanski and Wolfe 2010, 39-49) may resonate with the construction of cross-border relations, as suggested in the rhetoric of cooperation and reconciliation, but that these may also dissociate themselves from ‘systems’ that negotiate the border. Policies, projects and actors reflect the ways of representing and imagining relationships between culture and borderland heritage. Here the ethnographic object is also located differently in terms of cultural concepts and material borderlands (Schimanski and Wolfe 2007; Sandberg 2009). Culture does not explain or dictate action, nor is it as such directed by European institutions (Kennard 2010, 194-198), but the diverse relations that may suggest these affect cultural change. Thus, apart from noting the border terminology related to this study, I also discuss the related notion of agency as a means for understanding how diverse imagined borderlands come to suggest diverse resources for realizing them. Here borders affect the way culture and bordering processes, such as EU funded cross-border projects, can empower and disempower people. The way I use cultural agency draws upon conceptions of both border and agency suggested in other studies of borderlands (discussed below), but this is defined in the Conclusions.

### **Borders, boundaries, frontiers**

The anthropology of borders emerged in the 1990s. Boundaries were divided into ‘social and symbolic boundaries’, ‘geopolitical and state boundaries’, and ‘cultural and postmodern borderlands’. Social and symbolic boundaries turned attention to the ‘inside’, usually in peripheral communities rather than structures extending beyond the locality. It was noted that state boundaries are always cultural and symbolic, but that cultural and symbolic boundaries are not always spatial. (Donnan and Wilson 1999, 26) As a metaphor, ‘border’ was used in research on the cultural borderlands of the cosmopolitan world. Here the notion of ‘borderland’ is simultaneously both a zone of cultural play and experimentation and one of domination and control. Borders can be empowering.<sup>138</sup> The use of ‘border’ as metaphorically extended to all situations characterized by contradiction and contest has been criticized for sometimes distracting

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<sup>138</sup> Identifying borders as an experimental region of culture, the anthropologist Ulf Hannerz (1997, 541) has applied a scheme of ‘culture+culture’ rather than ‘culture/culture’ to reflect borders as areas where cultures can be “unpacked” in a visible way.

attention from the 'real' problems of state borders. Analysis of symbolical and cultural borders are highly useful in borderlands, but one needs to recognize that these may minimize the role of the state and the nation, and even of the state border itself.(Donnan and Wilson 1999, 36)

Over thirty years ago, at the 1975 Finno-Ugric Congress, Kustaa Viikuna stressed that "political, linguistic, and cultural borders are not congruent, but porous and shifting" (Räsänen 1995, 9ff). Since the nineteenth century borderlines drawn on maps have not fit easily with socio-cultural realities. In the era of nationalism, national borders often became metaphoric contours of the Self, a 'second skin'.(Schippers 2001, 174) In recent decades European borders have faced ontological changes, which also affect the ethno-national taxonomies on which people rely. The changing permeability of borders affects the perception of self and others.(Ibid. 173-174; Schippers 1999, 26-27) The self-evident nature of outer limits came under question with globalization, but we should not draw generalizations about the situation; "there is no general Postmodern Man, no unilinear development towards displacement, homelessness or deterritorialization."(Löfgren 1996, 165)<sup>139</sup> As a result, boundaries are now found everywhere as "sedimented in collective identity narratives" (Paasi 2002, 807). Recent border concepts suggest the increased openness and negotiation of borders, their process-like character. State borders too are seen as human-made social constructions; rather than borders as such, it is the process of bordering that is the object of interest.(Newman 2007, 27ff)

Ethnologists have faced the limitations of classifications by imposing their own, *etic* categories, or by borrowing *emic* categories from the people they study (Schippers 2001, 176). In ethnological studies, state borders are increasingly seen as opportunities to observe local, national and transnational processes as well as sites for rethinking ethnological categories such as agency, cultural borders, identity and performativity.(Haller 2000, 9ff) Borders also suggest a need to rethink ethnological concepts such as culture and ethnicity. In the case of the Polish-Ukrainian borderland, studies of ethnicity (religion and language) have come to suggest its objective rather than subjective characteristics (Straczuk 2006, 146-150); as a result, the focus has been on studying 'inter-ethnic rivalry'(Kisielowska-Lipman 2002, 134). It was noted in the 1990s that ethnic differences perceived by local people also seemed to imply differences in ways of being human beings (Hann 1998b, 840-863). Recent border crossings would suggest that this role of differences has changed in cross-border relations, if the recent emphasis on cooperation over culture, national reconciliation and the solving of disputes over symbols (Berdychowska 2006, 96-100), have changed perceptions of the other. It is possible that there is now greater symmetry across borders, and the question can increasingly be one of the 'nature of discontinuities' (Hannerz 1997, 539). As one museum director put it: "There are political borders ... but culturally they [Ukrainians] belong, have to be seen as one European whole... people

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139 The concept of globalization is a problematic one. It is not simply a transcultural historical process, as a set of local places and global forces, but needs to be analyzed in terms of people's understanding of the transnational and of the practices with which it is intertwined (Tsing 2008, 83).

are open ... [and Poles] spend their vacations in Ukraine, in the most beautiful mountains of Europe' (TYKL/SPA/1149:23).

Border terminology may also suggest changes in the role of borders for understanding cultural change. In many languages the terminology is limited, and border terms carry specific historic and symbolic loads.(Hannerz 1997, 538) In American usage, the term 'frontier' has the denotation of the far edge of settlement: a line between settled and unsettled areas, similarly to the Germanic 'Mark'. In British usage 'frontier' has connotations of movement and the blurring of state borders, an 'interface area'.(Kockel 1999, 7) Etymologically, a 'boundary' is inward-oriented, a definite line of separation; a 'frontier' is outward-oriented, a zone of contact. State borders are spaces not only of encounter and controversy, but also of possibility and cultural mixing. State borders have become 'ethnic frontiers': Here, rather than being defined by a 'burden of past heritage', 'culture' has meaning for identities, as a more individual and morally engaging issue that also transforms social relations (Kockel 1999, 281). Finnish offers no option for the fuzziness of borders. The Finnish word for boundary, 'raja', is suggested to be related to the Swedish 'rå' and 'rågång', referring to the enclosing of a homestead or estate, in medieval times by a pole or cairn marking territorial ownership; related words in Finnish are 'rajankäynti', the setting or demarcation of boundaries', and 'rajapyykki', a boundary marker (Lundén 2004, 14).<sup>140</sup> Helena Ruotsala (2003, 121) notes that the area between the Sami region proper and Finnish regions is usually called by the abstract term *Rajamaa*, 'frontier'; she prefers 'fringe', in reference to its role as an 'overlapping cultural area', "a space where... people have changed their ethnic group for various pragmatic reasons" (ibid.).

In German the term 'Grenze' ('border' or 'boundary') is familiar from the border areas between Germanic and Slavic speakers; it actually derives from the Polish 'granica'. In terms of territory, the Polish 'pogranicza' (borderland) denotes a wider borderland region; it also includes cultural phenomena, such as bilingualism and the merging of ethnic or national cultures.(Buchowski 2004, 9) In the Polish borderlands people tend to contrast 'linia granicza/granica' with 'pogranicza'; the latter is seen as representing the popular recognition of the social and cultural role of the border and its diverse real and symbolic effects on the area (Kurczewska 2005, 367).<sup>141</sup> Interestingly, the name 'Ukraina' itself means 'borderland' or 'on the edge' (Reid 1997, 1), related to the Russian 'krai'. The Polish name for their former eastern territories was 'Kresy', also meaning a 'borderland' or 'Borderland' (ethnic), but its territorial connections are vague.(Kolbuszewski 2002, 257) However, the emerging social and cultural spaces have suggested a move from the study of 'borderlands' to that of 'transborderness' (Kurcz 2009, 9). Attention now turns to the meaning of border crossings for identity construction.

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140 The Finnish word 'raja' has also been connected with Russian word 'kraj' ('land', 'area', 'edge').(Häkkinen 2004)

141 'Pogranicze' has also been translated as 'frontier' in situations where 'on the other side' there is no distinctly separated political or cultural formation (Babiński 1997; 1996, 21).

It is easy for state borders to slip into the background of the analysis. For Fredrik Barth (1969), 'boundary' and 'ethnicity' are not spatial phenomena but an aspect of intergroup relations. Barth focused on boundary maintenance rather than on cultural features, or 'cultural stuff', as markers of discontinuity. 'Ethnicity' denotes a social process whereby members of a group categorize themselves and others through concrete practices in contact situations. This 'Barthian' approach has come to include the use of culture as well (Anttonen 1999, 224). In the chapter on Translocal fields, I referred to Barth's suggestion of three levels (micro, middle and macro) in analyzing ethnicity processes. This allows us to hear multiple voices in the field (Ruotsala 2003, 125). Sometimes frequent interaction takes place between the micro- and middle level, and ethnic borders are drawn when differences have meaning in interaction. (Siivonen 2011, 47ff; 2008; Ruotsala 2003, 126; Barth 1994)<sup>142</sup> In the case of borderlands, it can be problematic if the analysis of cultural borders focuses on ethnicity; it locates boundaries within certain variables, such as language, religion and nationality, which may not suffice to reveal the heterogeneity of Europeanization processes and European borders.

Changes in EU borders seem to allow the redefinition of socially important 'differences'. Here an analysis of the intersections between symbolic and state boundaries needs to move beyond 'ethnic boundaries'. For the purpose of group distinctions, in interaction people may stress some cultural traits but ignore others; these cannot be predicted in advance. (Barth 1969) Ethnic groups are best understood not as result of cultural differences, but the outcome of organizational work that differentiates between 'us' and 'them' (Donnan and Wilson 1999, 22). Thus ethnic boundaries may not tell how much is shared across the border, or within the group itself. Some cultural traits may also not be distributed in ways that would create a culture-culture type of borders, but arrange themselves in specific ways. (Hannerz 1997, 539) Cultural diversity has not disappeared anywhere, but as Ulf Hannerz (1997, 539) puts it, "ideas, practices and artifacts may spread through social contacts across the surface of the earth according to quite diverse logics, accumulating very different histories". Here we need to include, as Michael Herzfeld (2001, 137) suggests, the way the technological, economic and political factors affect the way that taxonomies, reified categories of culture and society, as well as 'large scale decisions', affect social lives.

Another critique of ethnic boundaries has concerned the way they fail to reveal people's real problems. Barth, for example, has focused on the internal identifications of groups; these may not take into account external constraints, such as wider structures and the state. (Donnan and Wilson 1999, 25) It has been pointed out that anthropologists cannot see the state as an 'actor just off stage', as an objectified unitary structure (Wilson and Donnan 2005, 2). Again, "[e]ven where a state border has figured in the lives of those studied by anthropologists, it has rarely been

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142 This can occur in particular between when culture is addressed by different middle level organizations, in their practices also as a tacit knowledge. (Siivonen 2008, 352) This often means knowledge only revealed in practices and hard to convey explicitly.

problematized as a primary focus for empirical investigation or theoretical reflection” (Donnan and Wilson 1999, 26). At EU borders there is a need to assess the multiple voices that can be heard in cross-border relations, without minimizing the power relations which contribute to present-day bordering. In this context one can understand the actors: why they act the way they do, and how the border is negotiated. Here the differences, as part of diverse relations, suggest different bordering (see chapter on Bordering and border figures). State boundaries are complex human artifacts, although they are imagined as simple and natural as a result of the way political communities of the nineteenth and twentieth century enhanced themselves through cultural bordering (Löfgren 2008a, 197).<sup>143</sup> Daphne Berdahl (1999, 19) has studied a village at the border which divided Germany until 1989. Here the dynamic construction of identity and memory was linked to both geopolitical and metaphorical borders and borderlands. She observed that the everyday actions of villagers at the former border challenged the limits of what was possible in the socialist system; but this subversion also came to reproduce the state. It is similarly not a simple matter to assess agency at the external border of the EU. Any subversion of the system or the border may at the same time impose it.

### *Agency: competence, relations, materiality*

It has been claimed that in late-modern societies social agency is constructed with the help of transnational networks, resources and discourses (Schiller 2006, 5). People work out their own strategies and self-understandings in terms of paths in time and space. We need to assess the wider networks of coercion and exchange within which territories and communities are embedded. (Kalb 2002, 324) In European borderlands culture and identity are faced with issues of governance, by the state and by the EU. The metacultural aspect of cross-border programming and Europeanization has been seen as meaning that project actors can rely on networking and the discourses of cooperation as a means of choosing between good and bad practices (During and van Dam 2007, 168). Obviously, any ethnography of border crossing needs to address more than project agency. In borderlands, such factors as kinship, work, religion and leisure time result in networks and cooperation, which in turn can lead to shared values and beliefs (Donnan and Wilson 1999; Alvarez 1995, 447ff). Transborder communities test the notions and limits of ‘national cultures’ (Donnan and Haller 2000, 14).

Early twentieth century ethnologists focused on things as ‘evidence’, as “trace elements in studies of distribution”, in the evolutionist and diffusionist spirit of the times (Löfgren 2008b, 119-132). The idea was that there exists a more or less ‘causal’ relationship between cultural structures and the practices of everyday visual and material life. Since the emergence of postmodern approaches, ‘culture’ is not regarded as a factor that affects people in some unconscious or simple way. On the other hand, the idea persists that the meaning of reality is something other than textual, and

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143 For interactions between everyday life mobility and the creation of state borders as ethnic borders in the 19th century, see Lehnert (2011, 117ff). For further discussion on Barth and agency, see chapter ‘Sustainability, culture and heritage’.



attention is turned to the actors (Åström 2006, 80-88). Project activities are also to be studied as part of what is essentially global culture, where the analysis includes both the material and immaterial culture. (Siivonen 2008, 55-56) Despite the recent emphasis on projects in the Polish borderlands, these are not to be seen as the ‘whole culture’ or ‘local culture’. (Wojakowski 2006, 127ff) We need to address the meaning attached by border-crossing actors to the material environment.

In these borderlands, with their deep socio-political-economic and structural asymmetries, ‘culture’ connects to bordering processes in many ways. Here the actors’ position is far from simply following EU guidelines or national ideologies. In this setting, I therefore argue that ‘agency’ and ‘relations’ constitute a kind of mid-level theory,<sup>144</sup> analogous to identity or ethnicity, explaining both empirical observations and the wider theoretical framework. Here critical understanding and empathy need to be accommodated: but how?

Tom O’Dell (O’Dell 2003, 31ff) has applied the concept of ‘regionaut’ in discussing the skills and competencies of border-crossing actors between Sweden and Denmark. Here the ‘Sound Bridge’ linking the two countries across the Øresund, as a material construction, becomes an important framework. In the unofficial opening event of the bridge, the cyclists who were the first people to cross the bridge became subject to metonymic displacement. They were intended to represent the political trajectory of their nations of origin, in which the bridge would unify the people and geography of Øresund, but actually it was the national and cultural differences that came to be emphasized (O’Dell 2003, 36). At the same time these ‘micro-projects’ framed border crossings alternatively “in relation to local, national, and transnational arenas ... theirs was a movement into a new hybrid constellation of all of them” (O’Dell 2003, 46).

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144 See also Åström 2005, 30, and Siivonen 2008, 124.



*Figure 7. The Øresund Bridge under construction in 1999. Malmö, Sweden, Kiiskinen.*

Local actors adopt diverse cultural resources and competences in crossing borders (O'Dell 2003, 31ff; Buchowski 2004, 7-11; Löfgren 2008a, 195ff). As a regionaut one has to possess 'cultural capital': the knowledge and skills, attitudes and values that shape people's perception and use of a border region. These ways of making a region may not follow the intentions of planners and policy makers (Löfgren 2008a, 5). These competencies mean that they are shared and learned with other people. Here it is not 'identity' but strategies and ways of doing border crossing that form paths that come under focus. In terms of the 'processes that make routines', institutions, regulations and community planning may result in 'path dependency': it becomes common to rely on paths previously used (Löfgren 2010, 97).

Ina-Maria Greverus (2002, 26) has regarded hybridization as "a consequence of the dissolution of nationally, culturally and ethnically dominated distinctions between master and slave (and especially master and slavey), the distinctions which structure the relationships between the sexes, between individuals and between nations." This suggests a need for cultural capital, such as educated elites, who, "since they cannot be understood as belonging to any one culture, they cannot have recourse to the everyday logic of inclusion and exclusion and must therefore draw on new paradigms, namely that of collage"(Greverus 2002, 25-26). Greverus (2002, 21) has described border-crossing actors as transcultural mediators who can provide an alternative to fieldwork approach, similarly to journalists or artists. A 'hybrid actor' does not necessarily rely on the everyday logic of inclusion or exclusion and "does not allow herself to be shackled by boundaries" (Greverus 2002, 26). In the cases studied on this thesis, relations, border crossings and 'system' suggest these new collages.

At the Polish-Ukrainian borderline rock concerts have been organized, even though since December 2007 the border has been a strictly guarded border of the Schengen area. Rather than the (lack of) long-lasting effects of such events, it is interesting to see how the border is negotiated and contributes to bordering. In the Finnish-Russian case it is also claimed that ‘prejudices’ and images of Russia as the ‘enemy’ are outdated; we need to look at what is actually done by local actors and what resources they rely on. At the external border of the EU, everyday border crossings on the local level are not only few as such, but also offer only a narrow picture of the phenomenon of cultural sharing and ways of cultural bordering. Everyday life is “managed and formed within frameworks that are ... shaped by particular agencies” (Linde-Laursen 2010, 191) that lead us to take part in bordering practices even unconsciously. Social structures, relationships and processes produce cultural forms that in turn shape individual consciousness and practices (Cerwonka 2007, 14). Here the cultural is not assumed as *a priori* ‘local’. The idea of relations helps to understand larger processes (globalization etc.) by studying their local forms; these show how they are shaped by local realities and the agency of particular groups. For me, the idea is to have sensitivity to the emerging cultural forms and practices that do not easily fit into old ones. In terms of agency, it is important to note how cultural agency is formed, that is how actors relate to the diverse ‘cultures’ involved in border crossings.

The metaphor of a ‘network’ implies “ordered heterogenic, internally related points or connections, with no surrounding borders” (Sandberg 2009, 59) and seems to have some obvious benefits for actors. Actor-network theory (ANT) has emphasized relations and networks, regarding objects as mediators necessary for understanding action (Latour 2005, 75). The idea is not to give subjectivity to objects, but to follow actor-networks, with their human and other components, and to show that neither of these form completely sovereign subjects. Within ANT, materiality is seen as part of networks in that there is no “sovereign creating or acting subject behind it” (Damsholt and Simonsen 2009, 15). Everything is relational (people, things) and a study should not privilege anyone or anything (Sandberg 2009, 52; Law 1994, 10). When people live with and use things they also create themselves in the process (Tilley 2006). A common approach to things among ethnologists, the phenomenological approach, has looked at what things do to *bodily worlds*; within the approaches created in ANT, in contrast, the focus is on what things do *in the world*, in the sense that the analysis does not necessarily focus on a human subject (Damsholt and Simonsen 2009, 13). In the case of cross-border networking, materiality has come to be considered as a ‘boundary object’. For example Jouni Häkli (Häkli 2009, 205ff) has discussed the border river between Finland and Sweden as a “trust-building boundary object” in cross-border cooperation. In such an epistemological approach to ANT, communication between cultures and professionals is a way to form a shared cultural space. In ontological approaches to ANT, it is considered that accounts of reality also produce it (Damsholt and Simonsen 2009, 9ff; Law and Singleton 2005, 342). In the case of the Polish-German border, the idea of ‘multiple borders’ has meant that the border is continuously faced with “stabilizing and destabilizing of networks, ambivalent patterns between presences and absences of the border as well as many spatial topologies”(Sandberg

2009, 208). Tensions arise because there are many ways of ordering the border or and some topologies can be taken over by others (Sandberg 2009, 207-214).

The ‘border multiple’, the EU borders affected by policies, cooperation practices and experienced in everyday life are discussed in a recent book (Jagetic Andersen, Klatt, and Sandberg 2012, 257). I discuss this border multiple in the Conclusions; here, however, it can be noted that the cultural agency of local actors discussed in this study suggests how they relate to the border, the practices of cooperation and to communities; in other words, how imaginary and material borderlands come to shape border crossings and may suggest hybridization as an effect of the EU border. Notions of national cultures and the border itself tend to be imposed, even if alternatives are suggested in bordering narratives. In the case of national borders, even if people actively seek to provide an alternative, they tend to reaffirm their idea of national borders, although they manage to position themselves at the center of their narrative (Linde-Laursen 2010, 187). Placing the human subject at the center may thus not provide the best understanding of the forms taken by cross-border relations. Due to processes of bordering and the need to establish a critical understanding, we need to assess how borderland materiality, for example in the form of mobilized ‘heritage’, becomes part of agency. This requires a specific ethical awareness. Although it seems tempting to reject the distinction between “active, social and researching subjects” and “passive, natural research objects” ethnologists tend to emphasize the moral difference between things and people (Hallberg 2001, 36).

As I see it, the focus on cultural agency in relations, the role of borderland materiality for such agency, may also be beneficial in terms of ethical reflections. It uncovers the ways in which recent processes of bordering, often based on networking, engage communities in different ways, affecting not only cultural sharing and exclusion but also ways of addressing sustainability, i.e. local well-being (see especially articles 4 and 5).

### ***Sustainability, culture and heritage***

In a research context, ‘culture’ and ‘sustainability’ have been combined in diverse ways and there is in fact no one way to do it.<sup>145</sup> Basically, culture is here a creative and interactional process. It is “globally continuous although not homogeneous” and “differentially distributed”. Culture can be both individualized and challenged, and does not mean sharing as such.(Hannerz 1996, 35; Hannerz 1997, 544) Culture refers to ‘ideas and modes of thought’ (meanings, concepts and their handling; these may efficiently avert both societal and academic attempts to manage them. Culture also refers to its externalized forms (speech, the human-made environment, media technologies);<sup>146</sup> a third dimension of culture involves the distribution of meanings and

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145 Place-based culture has also been seen as a basis for cultural sustainability (Birkeland 2007, 82-112).

146 Such as material borderlands and the border.

ideas, and the forms this takes in complex cultures.(Hannerz 1992, 7-9)<sup>147</sup> The focus turns to the effects of cultural distribution and exchanges, sharing and non-sharing (Hannerz 1996). The hermeneutic concept of culture, with its emphasis on inter-subjectivity, may also shed light on the increasing extent and significance of practices that affect meaning making (Fornäs 2012, 33).<sup>148</sup> When the starting point is the individual and his/her actions, an ethnographic description that may reveal the cultural ordering of phenomena without any a priori connection to some territorially delimited group or origin.(Siivonen 2011, 50-51; 2008, 41)

Siivonen (2011, 48) has noted that UNESCO has been an important forum for the discussion of cultural sustainability, with an increasing focus on tangible, changing and individual elements of culture, which are difficult to include in local development work. She notes that creativity and everyday life are part of culture: on the one hand quotidian routines include creativity, but diverse organized forms of action which seek to maintain symbols may also become a self-evident, invisible part of everyday life (Siivonen 2008, 65).<sup>149</sup> This also suggests current ways of empowering and disempowering people, where for example the role of diverse organizations can be observed. As Siivonen (ibid. p. 68) points out, one way to become aware of power aspects is offered by Fredrik Barth (Barth 1994), who distinguishes between the micro (everyday interactions), middle (institutions and organizations), and macro levels (states, international organizations) levels of analysis. These suggest for example how ideas of bounded cultures are used instrumentally in different power structures. These analytical levels are intertwined and individuals can act on all three. As an example, Siivonen (2008, 352-356; 2006, 18) notes how, in case of Finnish regional development policies, tensions can be noted between individual, dynamic everyday culture, with its heterogeneous and variable basis, and for example the cultural constructs, symbols and practices constructed in policies and by diverse organizations. Here, in terms of micro-level interaction processes, it can thus happen that everyday identifications (also as practices one is not conscious or able to define) not only interact but can also contradict with those present in project practices. Here cultural sustainability would mean that projects support the development of everyday cultural identifications.

As I see it, for people located at a political-juridical border, which strongly inhibits interactions and movement as a territorial divide, the effects of the border require different attention. The cultural complexity of these borderlands also means a conscious rejection of purely local and national frameworks in thinking about the

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147 In this thesis these forms of distribution include the projects and the media as well as diverse networks and relations.

148 Hermeneutically understood, culture is basically a meaning-making process that is not only about individual-society relations, the subjective and the objective, or relativism and universalism. Rather, meaning is something intersubjective, based on interaction among subjects, things and texts in different contexts (Fornäs 2012, 38).

149 Referring to such a process, Siivonen uses the notion of anthroposemiosis. She parallels this process with the concept of 'tradition' when it comes to the cultural content which changes in constant interactions between people and their environment (Siivonen 2008, 59).

social organization of meaning.<sup>150</sup> An analysis based on the micro-middle-macro approach can shed light on borderlands as well, but I have focused on the way distinctions between the local and global can collapse in border crossings and negotiations of culture(s). For me, cultural sustainability means local knowledge of relations and the way bordering processes affect local agency. In borderlands the symbolic space thickens when diverse ideas of cooperation across borders are imagined and realized (see chapter on Cooperation and reconciliation). Here culture as an aesthetic field is also foregrounded, along with culture as a life-world. In other words, the ethnographic object is also located differently when the uses of culture and heritage suggest diverse bordering processes where different practices of meaning-making come to the fore. In the Finnish-Russian case, for example, ‘cooperation’ seems to focus on ‘de-traditionalization’ (article 1); the question is, whom does this serve and where is the individual and where are the everyday cultural identifications in all this? A hermeneutical concept of culture is also crucial for the critical analysis of cultural sustainability, such as the diverse uses of culture concepts in bordering.

Culture can be integrated with social sustainability, it can be used instrumentally, or one can speak of the sustainability of culture.<sup>151</sup> As I see it, a wide spectrum of culture-sustainability relations can be seen as reflected in the way cross-border relations and cultural agency are formed in these borderlands. On the one hand it means the imagining of ‘right’ ways of doing border crossings; the need to confront systemic change (such as the meaning of projects, the border and European practices), and the right way of addressing things and people in diverse relations and places (articles 3 and 4). This connects heritage with a feature of borderland culture which is seemingly self-evident but is difficult to capture: the effect of the border on people and vice versa. Here we can observe the diverse ways that culture is managed and remains a creative process shaping European borderlands. The relations between manageable and dynamic culture are illustrated in the way culture becomes a means for negotiating the border and processes of bordering (see article 4 and 5). It is irrelevant whether heritage and tradition are ‘invented’ or communities ‘imagined’, if these imaginations affect the environment and people (Kockel 2010, 192). Local actors can also suggest a (moral) necessity to act within the European cultural space, not simply the opportunity (based on funding) to do so. Here we need to look at how local-European relations are formed.

In terms of local-European relations, the wider political setting also comes to the fore. In 2003, when ideas for this study first came up, the local emphasis was on future hopes and fears related to ‘joining Europe’. By the time the research started, Poland had become part of the European Union and local actors had come to realize what this actually means. The experience of the systemic framework (the doing of border crossing), and changes in the border also affect the location of the ethnographic object to be put under the analytical microscope. Basically, cultural movement challenges

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150 For the case of the archipelago of Southwest Finland, see Siivonen 2008, 63.

151 ‘Sustainable culture’ has been discussed in a publication by the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs: “A sustainable culture is understood as one that incorporates environmental sustainability and promotes human dignity for all” (Ulvila and Pasanen 2009, 6).

notions of bounded culture, such as a national culture related to a territory as well as to other boundaries, but mobility can also lead to stability and prevent change (Löfgren 1996, 164-165). In the case of border crossings, the symbols of new forms of 'constructed culture' may be subverted by individuals taking part in border crossings and exploring their new geographies (O'Dell 2003, 44). As one Polish project actor in a local house of culture, who managed local cultural projects, put it, "you have to look at people [such as artists], not the system".(TYKL/SPA/1149:31.)

In the 1990s and the early twenty-first century, 'transition' was used in the post-Communist countries as a term to describe the political and economic changeover to a capitalist system. It suggested a change from something 'strange' into something familiar. Anthropology has been correcting this 'transitology', and ethnographic studies have also pointed out the important continuity between socialist and postsocialist societies (Buzalka 2008, 757-771; Berdahl 1999, 10; Hann 2002b, 1). The countries themselves have often preferred the concept of 'transformation', in order to emphasize a less abrupt change (Giordano and Kostova 2002, 74). In studies of transition, Polish people have come to play a secondary role when Poles are categorized into 'winners' and 'losers'. This suggests a kind of orientalizing process, with the 'other' located within Poland, such as the poor, the unemployed, peasants and workers (Buchowski 2006, 475). This objectifying of subjects according to categories has not represented the continuity and stability felt by people. In Poland the systemic change is still present in the way actors relate to systems, such as the border and 'cooperation'.(Scott and Matzeit 2006, 153) Here ideas of sustainability, discussed in article 5, also seem to suggest cultural agency that addresses diverse bordering processes.

Ethnologists can challenge the interests behind the fixation of heritages (Kockel 2007, 31). They can emphasize the difference between 'heritage' on the one hand as a commodity and resource, on the other its close link with 'tradition' as a "continuous creative process linking past, present and future in a meaningful trajectory" (ibid. p. 31).<sup>152</sup> The sustainability of traditions could mean the "handing on of knowledge and practices for appropriate future use", while 'heritage' would relate to objects and practices that have become fixed and would be outside these processes of transmission (Kockel 2010, 138). Similar ideas have been presented as distinctions between heritage and what is actually inherited. In the case of regional development policies, tensions between individual and collective notions of 'culture' have been noted, calling for a more participatory process of defining heritage (Siivonen 2006, 18, 22). Here what seems crucial is how actors use borderland materiality and assess the contradictory values that diverse actors place on heritage. In academia, this has meant reflection on the ethics and methods of representing heritage (Nic Craith 2007, 5). There is also a need (in research) for a better way to understand the 'authenticity' of heritage (article 5). One way is to understand it as a "cultural 'strategy' of mapping themes on the agenda and into discourse" (Kaschuba 2008, 33). The question, not only for scholars

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152 See also Siivonen 2008, 59.

but also for individuals and diverse actors crossing the border, seems to be twofold: who it is that uses culture and in what ways, and does the emphasis on the development and protection of heritage ultimately lead to local well-being.

In particular the articles in this thesis on the Polish case suggest the role of individuals in border crossings, in which ideas of ‘right’ ways of crossing the border in terms of culture and heritage/tradition are foregrounded. This suggests that the distribution of ideas of culture and heritage becomes a complex issue when it is affected by diverse processes and structures, which seek to ‘manage culture’ as means to safeguard local well-being. In projects, meanings are externalized and distributed in different ways. Some actors may place greater emphasis on the system while others emphasize people.<sup>153</sup> Ideas of sharing practices and symbols of common heritage are here a case in point (see article 3). ‘Heritage’ can suggest bounded culture in places and a resource for networks as well as be part of the imagining and doing of diverse relations that suggest cultural agency also as a counterflow to cultures that cross borders easily, but may omit not only local needs and cultural identifications but also local ways of perceiving the border (discussed in the Conclusions).

### **Bordering and border figures**

I do not here analyze the structures of individual narratives or stories. When actors talk about their projects, I look at how these relate to the border and bordering processes. I avoid making a distinction between narratives and discourses of cooperation, but seek an approach that will show how these become joined together in the doing of border crossings. Apart from interviews, there are also other sites for presenting borders and border crossings, and these affect the situating of the ethnographic object. It is here that diverse opportunities for an “ethnographic revival”<sup>154</sup> might be observed when relations across the border are constructed in multiple ways. We need to look at individual stories but seek opportunities for comparison, since these allow us to note how the border, materiality, places, regions, and people become engaged in negotiations of differences in different ways. Anecdotes can still be revealing in terms of bordering, as they may point to important issues for the actors as part of their border crossings. Although the way something is told does matter, what counts is rather the relations between the issues that are told: representations, symbols, ideas and material objects. It is these that also allow the way that local agency is affected by Europeanization.

In border studies the concept of bordering has been developed as a means for “analyzing and contextualizing patterns of everyday practices – whether concretely

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153 Comparative studies on European borderlands have noted for example that in the Finnish-Russian case, cross-border cooperation projects and practices offer a strong and well established framework for thinking about border crossings and its institutionalization. (Scott and Matzeit 2006, 153)

154 This is to contrast ‘ethnographic death’, used by Kate Brown (2003, 228) to suggest the way nation-spaces for modern governance were created in the interwar period in Soviet Kresy and how the resulting national taxonomies, modernizing dichotomies and categorizations are still difficult to elude. Here the breaking of taxonomies is suggested; see Conclusions, article 4, also Herzfeld 2001, 137.



performed or only imagined”, and as the analysis of ‘empowering practices’ and increased possibilities for identification (van Houtum, Kramsch, and Zierhofer 2005, 1). A border is seen as a process rather than as a dividing line. As part of diverse bordering narratives, borders are differently demarcated and managed. There is a close link between demarcation, which sets criteria of inclusion and exclusion, and management, such as border controls and guards (Newman 2007, 35). ‘B/order’ is an active verb. It “is not so much an object or a material artifact as a belief, an imagination that creates and shapes a world, a social reality” and thus it “only becomes concrete, objectified and real in our everyday social practices” (van Houtum, Kramsch, and Zierhofer 2005, 3). Borders are not just Janus-faced, facing in two directions at once, but can be widened to look in many directions at once (ibid, 12). Borders have become conceived as “narratives and rhetorical strategies used by different forms of elite to regulate and discipline” (Schimanski and Wolfe 2007, 14).

Ethnological research has not focused on actual state borders. As I see it, the concept of ‘bordering’ may support the ethnological task of revealing multivocality as well as challenging the triviality of borders.<sup>155</sup> Anders Linde-Laursen (2010, 5) has discussed ‘bordering’ as means of understanding cultural change in terms of processes of border crossing and transnational flows. These are not to be seen as trends or as superficial if these ‘cultures’ are considered real by people. A cultural researcher should not simply claim that an assessment of globalization in terms of flows is wrong. We should try to understand “how bordering, as a cultural practice of making sense of and manipulating everyday lives and experiences, is adapted and performed by individuals and groups” (Linde-Laursen 2010, 5). This analysis of bordering as cultural practice requires a multi-sited approach, because these practices are performed in different situations and contexts.

It is important that symbols and metaphors ‘open our eyes’ to key issues in the culture we study. In the borderland context we are faced with national and ethnic symbols (Ehn and Löfgren 2001, 22; Ruotsala 2011, 139-147, Löfgren 2000). These also become differently situated when local ideologies, such as the Polish ‘little fatherland’,<sup>156</sup> resonate with European institutions and diverse processes of bordering take place. Symbolic space thickens; it is a challenge to contextualize these symbols amidst the many options available. Certain social relations may well cross borders, although in other practices the border may remain ‘an element of difference’, even far away from the border itself. Borders can have symbolic power in everyday life (Paasi and Prokkola 2008, 27). People who undertake cooperation may “reproduce the idea of the border as a marker of the natural order” (Prokkola 2008, 51). One can say that practices of border crossing (such as EU-funded cooperation) emphasize social networking and institutions in ways that lead to a situation where culture(s) and heritages are negotiated by individuals in different ways and also suggest different bordering.

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155 Ethnology has been defined as the study of the trivial (Nic Craith 2008, 4; Löfgren 2008b, 119ff).

156 See chapter on ‘Places and identity’. This is also discussed in article 4.

Every border crossing can be seen as a negotiation of the border. Here culture(s) are also in dialogue with material borderlands. Bordering which involves state and legal power is built on the idea of ‘trace’: borders are legitimized by appealing to a precedent that is found in the form of evidence (archives, maps, folklore, storytelling, old markers or the physical landscape). Representations of borders in diverse media can also be traces, narrating past borders in the present.(Schimanski and Wolfe 2010, 39-40) At the external EU border, ‘borders’ can be suggested by diverse institutions and actors. Here ‘everyday life’ still counts, but rather as a border figure in bordering narratives. Similarly to heritage, it becomes a symbol for practices, places and institutions. Here the ‘doing’ of border crossing is to be analyzed. Territorial borders take form through narrative and symbolic presentations. On the one hand we have the removal and construction of borders, ‘border formation’; on the other ‘border figures’, such as bridges and borderlands, which relativize the territorial divide as a contact zone (Schimanski and Wolfe 2007, 14). Here ‘border figures’ suggest the border as a divide as well as a contact zone. People active in ‘cultural production’, based on the way they create imaginary borderlands, can negotiate borders by providing new visions of them and of what they should or should not be (Schimanski and Wolfe 2010, 39). This is also what I see as the basis of cultural agency (discussed in the Conclusions), which suggests how flexible and hybrid identities flourish at the EU-external border as well.

In the next chapter, I present some of those ‘border figures’<sup>157</sup> which have emerged out of my empirical material. These categorizations of border figures do not present the empirical material or the theoretical and analytical conceptual apparatus as such; they can be seen as a kind of hybrid of emic and etic perspectives. Thus they reflect both voices in the field and theoretical frameworks. They are close to analytical concepts, in that they derive from the research material and make it visible (Åström 2005, 32-33). These figures have emerged in the course of the research in a more or less pragmatic way, but they also suggest the possibility of a kind of ‘thought experiment’, with different concepts important for ethnological research process and for understanding the role of culture in society, “the tensions between culture and societal structures, between individual experience and general pattern, between private and collective as well as between what people say and what they do” (Ehn and Löfgren 2001, 13). These ‘border figures’ here serve as a means of representing such tensions, as well as making visible the research materials in a more broad and analytic manner than is possible in the actual articles.

### ***Practices, metaphors and stereotypes***

The ‘world of projects’ allows the tackling of similarities and differences, but ways of interacting can objectify the other side/partner/culture. Some Polish local actors consider petty trade or smuggling as bringing people together better than any other

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157 A metaphor or metonym denoting the border, creating connotations as to how the border is conceived.(Schimanski and Wolfe 2007, 14ff)

actions.<sup>158</sup> At the same time, morally preferable, co-operational practices are needed to solve the problem of semi-illegal border-crossing practices (Huhti 2005). In the case of EU-funded projects, “only their finances seem to be checked” and “there is no analysis of what is actually done” (TYKL/SPA/1149:29). Some actors who run the projects may only be responsible for practical issues, while the underlying idea is supposed to be discussed with others (Field notes 18.5.2007, TYKL/SPA /1149:33). In other words, the projects are very much about administration; the idea may remain obscure even to the project actors themselves (the very question seems like something of a joke). The effects of actions are hardly an issue beyond project implementation. In this context, metaphors are convenient as part of imagining border crossings. There is, however, not only the risk of empty rhetoric, but that some border crossings will be emphasized more than others, which may result in tensions (Löfgren Orvar 2000, 53). This tension seems to mean what is seen as ‘good’ interaction by diverse actors.

In the Finnish-Russian Neighbourhood Program, the ‘common cultural and natural heritage’ is seen as a ‘mental bridge’ (Council of Oulu Region 2005, 15). Heritage here is a symbol that accepts imaginings of cooperation and development between civil society organizations as socially meaningful. As one program actor noted, it relates rather to the shared ‘peripheral location’ of the borderland (TYKL/SPA/1149:2). Russians ‘know’ the Finns’ interests and have no difficulty in playing the game.<sup>159</sup> Apart from a culture of cooperation (sharing practices required for co-operating in projects),<sup>160</sup> this reflects the focus on ‘cooperation on culture’, centered on issues of ‘mutual and differential culture’, i.e. music, dance, literature, drama and sports, as well as attempts to support ‘traditional’, folk, popular, local or national cultures (Anderson, O’Dowd, and Wilson 2003, 24). Culture is seen as a resource in co-operational practices, an object of commodification and instrumental use. In the Polish case it is noted that culture is “mainstreamed into economic transformations” (Kosiewski 2005, 271). In the economic context of tourism, for example, heritage is imagined in terms of metaphors of ‘routes’ and ‘trails’.<sup>161</sup> In local tourism strategies, ‘multiculturality’ refers to trade routes that existed in the region centuries ago.<sup>162</sup> These metaphors suggest the

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158 “Like the small trade in cigarettes and alcohol: nothing else has done so much to bring Poles and Ukrainians closer together. Since it showed that Ukrainians, they do not want to murder Poles all the time, and that Poles are not people who want to show their superiority all the time ... They are just ordinary people who act together, cooperate in different areas” (a local NGO actor, TYKL/SPA/1149:8).

159 In Finland the metaphors include such terms as ‘partnership’ and ‘forum’ (article 1); in Poland ‘bridges’ are seldom mentioned (article 4).

160 Also in the form of handbooks for ‘regional actors’ (Regional Council of North Karelia 2006, 66) and in terms of requirements for project (and EU) promotion (Ministerstwo Gospodarki i Pracy 2007). In reference to the media it is pointed out that “Informing about the project is as important as managing it” (Ministerstwo Gospodarki i Pracy 2007; Ministerstwo Gospodarki i Pracy 2004, 6).

161 Projects plan for example border-crossing tourism routes (see Urząd Gminy Bełżec 5.11.2009) and cycling trails projects by Gmina Janów Lubelski and Miasto Lublin (Ministerstwo Rozwoju Regionalnego. 2009). In the Finnish-Russian case the Road of Epic and Border (see Runon ja Rajan tie ry. 6.3.2012) is an example, although it ended up comprising only the road on the Finnish side, alongside the Russian border (Council of Oulu Region 2009, 47).

162 These ‘routes’ were the core of a presentation of regional tourism strategy in Lublin (Field notes 18.5.2007, TYKL/SPA/1149:33). Here a local handicrafts market (Jarmark Jagiellonski) was also started

joining together of places once separated by the border. In the Finnish-Russian case, metaphors such as 'bridges' and 'gates' (Regional Council of North Karelia 2003b), suggesting not only flows but also control, seem to be more common than in the Polish-Ukrainian case.

The issue of differences is reflected in the use of stereotypes. Defining things and people requires categories and stereotypes. The power of stereotypes lies in their ability to simplify, clarify and connect things (Löfgren 2007, 92). Stereotypes are an economical way to communicate difference; they seem to be activated when the 'other' becomes somehow too similar to oneself. Stereotypes contribute to cultural bordering in ways that may differ from real developments in these relations, and a focus on integration may "unleash the bordering potentials that the border brings with it" (Linde-Laursen 2010, 183). A nationalizing gaze makes the other side of the border a site for cultural projections and exoticization (Löfgren 2008a, 5). Everyday life practices can become symbols of national difference. However, people mirror themselves in other people who are not too different (Löfgren 2007, 91). In cooperation at the external border of the EU, stereotypes can be a 'problem' dealt with in projects (by providing 'proper' information; article 2), but they can also be absent.

In the Polish case the doing of border crossings may be based on the recollection of good and bad examples of border-crossing actors. From a historical perspective, some people can be seen to carry with them "the alternative image of the twentieth [century]" in relation to the national and communist systems (Snyder 2005, 262). Such persons seem to be without national religious prejudices and "are part of the national memory of Kresy" (Gazeta Wyborcza Lublin 4.5.2010). In the Finnish case, such examples of border-crossing actors do not seem to exist or be recollected. Even actors who come from Russia are expected to have some distance to Russian culture (TYKL/SPA/1149:6). In the Finnish-Russian case, stereotypes as such are not a problem addressed in projects; they are seen by local project actors as something the Finns have ostensibly already "managed to get rid of", although the Russians still seem to have their "incomprehensible Russian soul" (TYKL/SPA/1149:2).

Polish-Ukrainian projects do target stereotypes, but at the same time the 'systemic background' is important (Scott and Matzeit 2006, 72). Diverse 'Ukrainian cultural groups' have become normalized in Poland (TYKL/SPA/1149:31).<sup>163</sup> The representations of folklore and archaic music seem to imply nationalism in Ukraine (TYKL/SPA/1149:24; TYKL/SPA/1149:30; TYKL/SPA/1149:31), but these differences are not actualized in relations between individuals. 'Ukrainians' were also

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with Interreg funding in 2007, aiming at bringing skilled handicrafts to the market from across the border as well (see Warsztaty Kultury 1.5.2009).

163 In the Polish case, stereotypes also concern local Polish-Jewish relations (Jews have usually not been present in communities since WWII). Now people say that "Jews steal", but they also 'remember' that local Polish and Jewish children used to play together, suggesting that the local undermines the power of ethnic stereotypes. This was suggested by a project manager in a local house of culture (TYKL/SPA/1149:31).

expelled from the Polish side, so they can be part of recollecting the border (TYKL/SPA/1149:29). Poles can ‘understand’ the Ukrainian national emphasis in projects in terms of the systemic change in Ukraine, where the past communist structures seem to prevail (TYKL/SPA/1149:28; TYKL/SPA/1149:30).<sup>164</sup> Ukrainians can be seen as fetishizing all culture as national (Riabczuk 2004). In this ideological setting, where Nazis and communists also come up,<sup>165</sup> Polish actors can realize how much they have both achieved and lost, and achieve some distance from national actors. “Ten years ago the condition of objects was the same...bad...on both sides of the border” (TYKL/SPA/1149:29). Project applications may be ‘idiotic’ and ‘national’, but they are seen as “invented by Poles themselves ... I am an ordinary citizen, and on the other side the authorities, it’s a nightmare” (TYKL/SPA/1149:32). Polish NGO actors understand politicization across the border as due to the “conflict between democratic and anti-democratic forces” (TYKL/SPA/1149:8). Here EU programs are necessary in order to ensure that “Europe does not lose Ukraine” (TYKL/SPA/1149:25). This political framework is important for understanding stereotypes of others across the border.

One part of this interactional setting consists of the media, which today form many of the translocal connections (Hannerz 2001, 7ff). As a disseminator of ideas and images, the media tend to objectify the other (Ekecrantz 2004, 43ff). As one NGO actor noted: “It is easy to write about Russia even if one knows nothing about it. And you see that often...” (TYKL/SPA/1149:5). In addition, the local media seldom write about matters across the border. In the Finnish case, media reports have suggested that in the twenty-first century ‘cultural cooperation’ has become less a matter of local people; it has become more institutionalized and the debate has shifted to national and international actors (Juntunen 2004, 155). This may reflect an actual change, or a need to place more emphasis on the role of local actors. Importantly, especially in the Polish case, the media also affect border-crossing actors in terms of project promotion (TYKL/SPA/1149:19; TYKL/SPA/1149:8). The local media seem to find an interest in border-crossing material objects; here too attention turns to the practices of border crossing. Especially the displaced material objects of the ceded borderlands seem to imply a (continuing) boundedness of culture that is interesting for museum actors since they offer opportunities for distinguishing between museums in the competition for funding and drawing visitors, similarly to transnational cultural objects (art). These draw the attention even of the regional and national media to the ‘periphery’ (see article 2). Project actors may become celebrated local media figures, which has made them guard their private lives; they sometimes have to answer a reporter’s questions on diverse local matters outside their professional roles (TYKL/SPA/1149:25).

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164 One local actor noted that the Ukrainians have not ‘surrendered to Americanization’ (TYKL/SPA/1149:24).

165 In an exhibition at a local house of culture included photographs from the 1930s, showing a Polish bishop and a Jewish rabbi. Next to it were photographs from the Nazi occupation and the Communist period. These were specific pictures for the local actor engaged in cross-border projects. (Field notes 28.05.2009, TYKL/SPA/1149:33)

## *Institutions and values*

For different groups of people ‘culture’ can be a source of values that is used for political purposes as a foundation for mobilization, even a synonym for identity (Hannerz 1996, 30). European policies, such as the European Neighborhood Policy, have emphasized shared values in order to ‘avoid drawing new dividing lines in Europe’ (Scott and Matzeit 2006, 25). In a border-crossing context diverse institutions have been considered as examples of the revival of ‘old cultures’, that is, the way they rely on ideas of the ‘intermingling’ of cultures in the period before the Second World War. (Kennard 2010, 198)

In the early 1990s it would still have been impossible to establish a ‘Polish-Ukrainian’ institution (TYKL/SPA/1149:13), but since Polish accession to the EU diverse cooperational centers have been established all around the borderland. A ‘center for Polish-Ukrainian dialogue’ has even been constructed in a border village (TYKL/SPA/1149:29). For institutions, a ‘common culture’ is important for border crossing, even, in the Polish case, for the overall survival of local cultural institutions, such as museums and local houses of culture (these ‘dom kulturalny’ were developed under the Polish People’s Republic). In 2007 the craft market Jarmark Jagiellonski (in Lublin) was first supported by Interreg funding. It resulted in the creation of a local cultural center that relies on project funding (TYKL/SPA/1149:24). Funding also implies quality and internationality (TYKL/SPA/1149:21), ‘European standards’ (TYKL/SPA/1149:25). Tensions arise among colleagues when tourism projects are not seen as something “museums should do” (TYKL/SPA/1149:17). Even in institutions, individuals are crucial. They can have a “purely human” and “emotional engagement” (TYKL/SPA/1149:25; TYKL/SPA/1149:27); as “cultured people”, they are contrasted with the internet, where people “totally lack culture” (TYKL/SPA/1149:30). What is here suggested is the importance ascribed to institutions as safeguarding what is valuable for people.

‘Cultural borders’ are fluid and flexible, and rarely coincide with political ones (Donnan and Wilson 1999). It can be tempting to ignore borders as a means of local adaptation to Europeanization and globalization, but the border still remains (Linde-Laursen 2010, 255). Attention is drawn to the way cultural borders can function as tools for exclusion and labeling (Hannerz 1997, 537-548). For institutional actors heritage implies values; this allows new spatial imaginings of cultural borders as a means of bypassing geopolitical borders. This is reflected in the Polish case. In the Finnish case there is no benefit in suggesting the existence of a cultural border, since it is imagined as coinciding with the state border.<sup>166</sup> In the case of Poland this is an elite discourse (for local cultural institutions and local politicians/leaders), but it may also

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166 In general, in the Finnish-Russian case it is considered a problem that “commercial and cultural relations are still in many ways state-level relations” (Regional Council of North Karelia 2006, 28). In terms of border crossings culture, heritage has not become materialized even as a value that could negotiate the border on the local level. This may be denied by local actors, but rather in terms of emphasizing a local, Karelian identity. It is not about finding ‘multiculturality’ at home, as it can be in the case of Poland.

draw together local, national and European imaginations. One can observe a certain emphasis on the authenticity of heritage and doing. In heritage markets and in international art, for example the authenticity of objects and doing is what counts: no plastic or industrial products are allowed (TYKL/SPA/1149:24). Similarly, Ukrainian ‘folk music’ is special due to its ‘authenticity’ as a living tradition (TYKL/SPA/1149:31). The Polish heritage in Ukraine is a ‘memento’ which requires a ‘historical distance’ (TYKL/SPA/1149:28). It is ‘in the service of other nations’ (Kolbuszewski 2002, 215). It seems to be the ‘fate of history’ to cooperate with Ukrainians (TYKL/SPA/1149:28). A Polish museum worker sees that some 90 percent of museum collections in Lwów are seen as originally ‘Polish’, but at the same time she sees that Ukrainians have problems in presenting a national story by means of objects (TYKL/SPA/1149:17). Thus Polish museum actors were able to help when Ukrainian colleagues “got the order to create Ukrainian national exhibitions, [but] did not have anything to present”.<sup>167</sup> A specific community of professionals is suggested.

For Polish cultural institutions, it seems to be more of a challenge to address heritage at home. Local cultural institutions have adopted ideas of multiculturalism,<sup>168</sup> for example in local cultural events and festivals, even though real minorities are absent (Bieniecki 2005, 199ff). Here this material heritage becomes engaged as part of diverse relations, where the issue seems to be whether the materiality left behind by the former inhabitants of the community (such as the Jewish and Orthodox heritage) is to remain a trace of the past, representing past values,<sup>169</sup> or become part of the active heritage, a resource for negotiating differences in the present. (Article 4) There has been a tendency in Poland to regard multiculturalism anachronistically (Hann 1998a, 151-168) and in apolitical form (Straczuk 2006, 145ff). Even in localities with a real Ukrainian minority, in local politics tolerance and freedom seem to be idealized as Polish traditions (Buzalka 2008, 757ff). Already before Polish accession to the EU this suggested a closeness to Europe (Wolczuk 2002, 211). The emphasis has been on ‘representing’ local materiality with EU funding (TYKL/SPA/1149:13; TYKL/SPA/1149:32) and the ‘traces of multiculturalism’ (TYKL/SPA/1149:29). In larger towns with new minorities, such as Lublin, there is a certain revival of ‘multiculturalism’; this is also discussed in article 4.

### ***Regions imagined and made***

Regions are human constructions (Paasi 2002, 802-811; Mikkeli 2009, 25-51). However, imaginings of border-crossing regions seem to be more concrete than ideas of cultural borders. Border-crossing regions are emphasized by the term ‘a Europe of regions’ (Mikkeli 2009, 42-43). The EU has triggered identity-building processes not

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167 At the same time, for Polish museum directors, the protection of heritage as ‘timeless’ (TYKL/SPA/1149:28) and the international museum structures, such as ICOM, suggest a distance from politics (TYKL/SPA/1149:23).

168 For a Finnish example of using Orthodox heritage as a basis for imagining border crossings and cultural borders, see article 5.

169 Associated locally with meanings of ethnic otherness since the Second World War (see chapter ‘Moving people and materiality’).

only of ‘deterritorialization’ and ‘dehistorization’, but also of reterritorialization (Löfgren 1996, 157).<sup>170</sup> The ‘culture of local everyday life’ can be seen as in tension with the ‘construct of cultures’ suggested in regional development.(Siivonen 2011, 47) Regions and places seem to be suitable sites for transnational culture-building, as they have acquired an image of being in opposition to national centers (Shore 2000, 257; Frykman 1999, 16). A transnational region seems to become real when the border is one that is easy to cross and one whose existence is substantiated by everyday life practices (Löfgren and Nilsson 2010, 223). Some people, such as immigrants, may through their practices ‘perform’ the region without necessarily having any interest or knowledge of on-going bordering, and may not be interested in bordering based on any national or regional ideas of spatiality (Linde-Laursen 2010, 257). Cartographic presentations of border crossing regions reflect the way the future of a ‘region’ is imagined.<sup>171</sup> The maps 3-5 suggest how, in case of Poland-Ukraine, representations of border-crossing regions can be used to suggest recent border and heritage-related border crossings, but that these representations have their limitations especially in case of borderland heritage.

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170 For an analysis of territoriality and re-territorialization as an aspect of a translocal field and as a reality for local people in Gibraltar, see Haller 2000, 348.

171 See also the cross-border cooperation program areas where EU funding has been applied (annex 1 and 2).

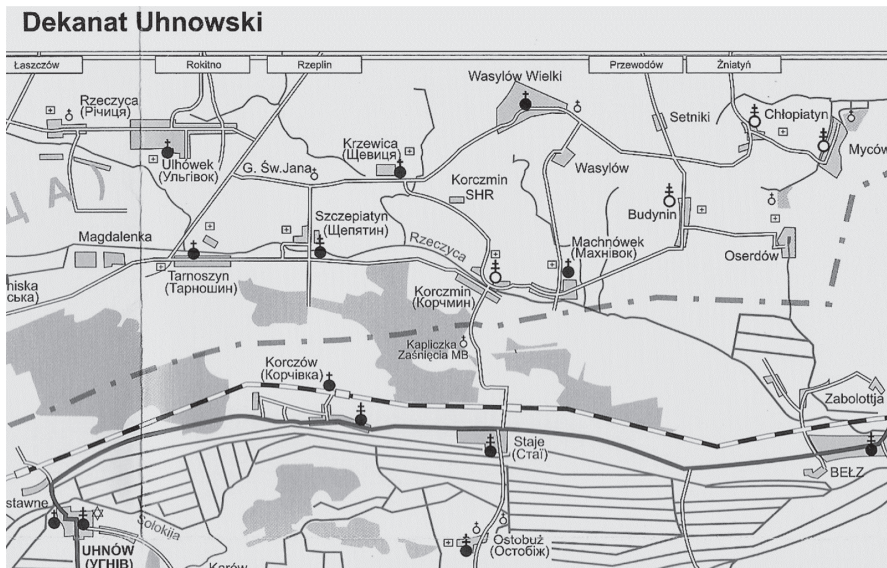


# POLISH-UKRAINIAN COMMON CROSS-BORDER CO-OPERATION STRATEGY

## CULTURAL HERITAGE



Map 3. Cooperational maps typically focus on representing existing and planned roads, railways, border crossings and national parks. A map showing the abundance of cultural heritage is included in the 'Common Polish-Ukrainian Cross-border Cooperation Strategy' produced by a regional development organization (Langiewicz and Goleman 2005). Here too the border between Poland and Ukraine is barely visible. A border crossing road is suggested in Włodawa, but actually there is no border crossing point. No synagogues are mentioned and no distinction is made between Orthodox and Greek Catholic heritage.



Map 4. A map fragment showing the local churches in the Polish-Ukrainian borderland (up is Poland, below is Ukraine), produced by a Greek Catholic organization with project funding from the Polish Ministry of Education. Former synagogues are pointed out, but any clear distinctions between Catholic/Orthodox/Greek Catholic churches seem hard to attain which can be noted based on the explanatory texts of each locality (see Antoniuk, Chodor and Slobodian 2005). In case of the church marked in Uhniv/Uhnów this map also contradicts with the information on map 3. This complexity is not surprising due to the wars and population movements: many sacred buildings have had different denominations using them and this still happens between the Orthodox and Greek Catholics on the Ukrainian side. It seems this map focuses on the still existing wooden churches (white symbol) of this borderland and how they are used/safeguarded by Greek Catholics/Orthodox (see also article 4).



Map 5. A map fragment showing part of the 'Local border traffic zone' between Poland and Ukraine (see Polish Border Guard 24.6.2009), the area where borderland inhabitants are eligible for border crossing based on a specific permit since July 2009. Curved lines on both sides of the border suggest the 30 and 50 km (measured from the border) zones in which a visa free border crossing is possible for the locals; the grey color points out the Polish municipalities included.

The imaginings of cross-border regions in these borderlands also suggest historical/cultural border crossings. In the Polish case, Kresy has not been a territorially delimited concept, but rather connects to places (see further in chapter ‘Places and identity’). In the southern part of the borderland the historical region of Galicia has been referred to as a ‘cultural region’ and a ‘European region’ (Galusek and Jurecki 2007, 255). It is a regional metaphor which suggests the ‘mixing’ of western and eastern cultures, based on its role in the Habsburg Empire. Here the Greek Catholic churches are a European heritage. In the northern Polish-Ukrainian borderland, once ruled by the Russian Empire, the regions of Volhynia and Polesia (‘woodland’) suggest border-crossing regions, but do not seem to be very useful for imagining present border-crossing regions. Volhynia faced the fiercest battles during the Second World War, while Polesia is imagined as a ‘traditional cultural area’,<sup>172</sup> a ‘kraina’, a ‘region’ which provides material only for folkloristic events. It is, however, sometimes suggested that people in Polesia have not only relatives across the border but also ‘similar traditions’. “Here it once was a common land, here are three beautiful religions, three beautiful cultures, it all merges, it is a cultural melting pot in our region” (TYKL/SPA/1149:17). It is “one ‘kraina’ [‘land’] ... it is just the river that is a border” (TYKL/SPA/1149:32). Here ‘traditions’ seem to be a plausible resource for some border-crossing actors. However, rather than similarity, it is difference that is articulated when a similar ‘tradition’ across the border is actually seen as part of everyday life, (TYKL/SPA/1149:32), while on the Polish side it merely represents one stage.

The specific co-operational structures, the Euroregions, have been considered interesting in terms of the relations they give rise to between culture, politics and identity (Kappus, 205, 215). Within the scope of this study are the Euregio Karelia and the Euroregion Bug. In the Polish case these historical/cultural regions are not part of recent co-operational institutions.<sup>173</sup> In the Finnish-Russian case ‘Karelia’ is a common denominator for numerous projects and organizations. It occurs in the titles of EU funded programs<sup>174</sup> and in their governing and funding body, ‘Euregio Karelia’. Historically, Karelia has been located ‘at the border’ between western and eastern cultures (Kirkinen 1998, 41-42). In present-day cooperation it means a common *territory* for realizing projects, and seems to be firmly located at this border. It does not imply a shared history and heritage. As one Finnish museum professional (TYKL/SPA/1149:4) said about the former Finnish regions across the border: “Russians do not connect with the history of the region.”

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172 On the Polish side ‘Polesia’ is used as an image in tourism and regional promotion (see Stowarzyszenie Poleska 1.10.2007). A ‘Polesie national park’ is also located close to the border, where the biosphere areas in Ukraine and Belarus are its neighbors. Together their biosphere status (gained in 2002 from UNESCO) is seen as a proof of their “huge importance in European and world strategies for nature protection and sustainable development” (see Poleski Park Narodowy 10.8.2012).

173 ‘Kresy’ is not a concept shared by Ukrainians. This is not a concept that can be placed on maps easily. To place Karelia on maps is easier, but the problem is that there are actually many Karelias. See chapter ‘Kresy and Karelia’.

174 Interreg Karelia II, III and Karelia ENPI CBC Program.

In regional strategies on the Finnish side ‘culture’ has become emphasized as a regional resource,<sup>175</sup> located between west and east, between the EU and Russia (Regional Council of North Karelia 2003b; Regional Council of North Karelia 2003a). In the strategy for a regional Europe, a strong regional cultural identity (within a ‘multicultural environment’) is seen as a strength and ‘culture’ as offering an opportunity to increase internationalization and tourism (Regional Council of North Karelia 2004, 17-18). The culture of the region is seen as a border-crossing resource, but it is another matter whether this becomes part of the doing of border crossings, or whether it rather suggests a national gaze at Russian Karelia (Field notes 24.11.2005, TYKL/SPA/1149:33).

*‘Border know-how’ and ‘trans-border mentality’*

**Euregio Karelia** was founded in the year 2000 (see map 1). This ‘Euregio’<sup>176</sup> was seen as implying a 360° view of the world for its citizens; it also suggests that “common histories and cultures are allowed to form spatial structures” (Cronberg 2000, 182). History delimits the development of a ‘transnational identity’ (Virtanen 2004, 131), but a territorial approach seems to be a way of distancing oneself from the ‘cultural border’. In the Neighbourhood Programme Euregio Karelia (Council of Oulu Region 2004),<sup>177</sup> ‘everyday border crossings’ have been a category of pragmatic cooperation (Council of Oulu Region 2005; Liikanen 2004, 7). In practice, activities have targeted public-sector actors and formal organizations (Scott and Matzeit 2006, 6-7; Polevstikova 2004, 98-112). For Finns this ‘Euregio’ has meant the exporting of ‘border know-how’ to other European borderlands (Scott and Matzeit 2006, 50). Culture, if it is addressed, is seen as a matter of institutional cooperation, in the form for example of joint, EU-funded projects in music, in theater and in heritage documentation. As part of working on a project one gets to know “the way of living and being, and operating, in the other country, which is a kind of culture too” (TYKL/SPA/1149:2). Actors are seen as people with a specific ‘trans-border mentality’ (‘ylirajainen mielenlaatu’), who “recognize the existence of a trans-border region” (Scott and Matzeit 2006, 54). Everyday life thus becomes a border figure in imagining co-operational practices. The focus is on competences in an institutional context rather than cultural competences addressing communities. One of my informants pointed out that there seems to be a lack of dialogue as to what Karelia here means (TYKL/SPA/1149:3). It is perhaps symptomatic of its role simply as a funding organization that the new Karelia ENPI (European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument) program (2007-2013) no longer relates to ‘Euregio Karelia’, which is now

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175 The emphasis on culture at the regional level has also been evident in national cultural policy. In the case of Russia, border crossing are suggested in terms of networking between diverse actors. (Finnish Ministry of Education 2003a, 11)

176 It includes three Finnish provinces (North Karelia, Kainuu and North Ostrobothnia) and the Republic of Karelia on the Russian side, as well as a 700 km stretch of the EU border. The mean population density in the area is 5.31 inhabitants per square km. In 2001-2007, funding for the cross-border cooperation (CBC) was 74.2 million EUR. (Regional Council of North Karelia 2006, 66)

177 Project partners could now apply with a single application both INTERREG and Tacis funding, which was seen to support the way that activities could be extended on both sides of the border.

simply an ‘operational model’, a ‘cooperation area’ and a lobbying organization (see Euroregio Karelia 25.10.2010).

*‘Culture’, ‘kupę kasy’ and ‘exploitation’*

**Euroregion Bug** started in 1995 as an organization aimed at supporting local-international cooperation. This association is sustained by the fees paid by local self-governments in Poland, Ukraine and Belarus (see Euroregion Bug 2.4.2009).<sup>178</sup> Here many EU-funded projects have been based on the ‘historical and cultural overlap’ and new institutions, such as Euroregions have been seen as a bottom-up approach by local actors to reduce the divisive effects of the border and EU funding as an opportunity to revive ‘old cultures’ (Kennard 2010, 115, 194, 198). Already pre-accession funding (Phare) was used for cultural projects (traditional handicraft markets, museums, youth exchanges and tourism). Even when there has been a break in EU funding, the ‘Euroregion Bug’ has granted funding: in 2009, for example, some 450000 euros of EEA grants (European Economic Area; minimum project 5000, maximum 35000 euros). Many of these are small cultural projects, but even 50000 euros is ‘big money’ for a local cultural institution (TYKL/SPA/1149:32). When you have 100000 euros, ‘kupę kasy’ (‘piles of cash’), you can do a lot (TYKL/SPA/1149:31). This Euroregion is also connected with local politics and the related struggles are also discussed in the local media (article 2). NGOs accuse it of being political (TYKL/SPA/1149:8) and officials too see it as a ‘victim of politics’ when it is headed by politicians (TYKL/SPA/1149:10). This aspect of open public controversy is lacking in the case of Euroregio Karelia. This has consequences for actors who look for alternative forms of border crossing. Project planning can be a straitjacket for actors, as they cannot ‘improvise’ during the implementation of the project (TYKL/SPA/1149:20). Alternative funding (American)<sup>179</sup> may also allow money transfers outside Poland, which helps to imagine other than simply ‘friendly relations’ (TYKL/SPA/1149:14; TYKL/SPA/1149:7). Most EU-funded projects have only had a ‘transborder character’ (TYKL/SPA/1149:12), and Ukrainians were treated instrumentally: “such projects you can realize once or twice, but the other side feels that it is being exploited” (TYKL/SPA/1149:29).<sup>180</sup>

***Places and identity***

In politics and social life an attempt can be observed to present place and identity as equivalent (Massey 2008, 124). It can be asked whether places still retain their particularity, and if so, how such specificity of place is constructed. When cultures were seen as local, an identity was attached to a particular place and did not seem to

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178 Here the EU border extends for 528 kilometers; the mean population density is 61.49 inhabitants per square km. Between 2004 and 2006, Interreg funding for micro projects was 1.38 million euros. 75 percent of project costs were eligible for refunding, the minimum amount being 5000 and the maximum 50000 euros.

179 See Przemiany w regionie (RITA) program (see Polish-American Freedom Foundation 2.8.2012).

180 The aim of creating ‘symmetrical’ projects is mentioned in the new ENPI (Ministerstwo Rozwoju Regionalnego 2008, 54).

change (Ruotsala 2009, 186). 'Europe' has been suggested as a way of place-making rather than region-making. Not only is the Europe of the European Union defining 'European places'; these places also come to determine what Europe is (Frykman 1999, 13-14). It has been claimed that the mobilization of cultural heritage is strongest in the interaction between Europeanization and localization. Here cultural heritage can suggest a 'local Europe', the making of 'European places'. This means not only the presence of the EU, but that these places become charged with symbolic meaning and European content (Johler 2002, 7). Borders can be seen as 'non-places' (Augé 1995), i.e. as spaces of transit which do not sustain social life, but in some case they seem to become at least 'sites' containing different spatial configurations (Coleman and Collins 2006, 7). This is discussed in article 4. The way place and identity merge in these borderlands seem to imply a localizing approach, adopted by many local actors. At the same time places seem to be opened up in new ways. This can mean, as one Polish museum director put it, "places closed by history" (TYKL/SPA/1149:28). The 'local' cannot be seen simply as excluding or xenophobic, but as having new force due both to globalizing processes and to its 'doability'. It is also an opportunity to counterbalance an excessive emphasis on people as meaning-handling and rather focus on their actions. (Frykman 1999, 19-22)<sup>181</sup> It may 'bridge' the cultural diversity of the past, confined to a locality, to become part of present relations across borders. Public identities (and local fatherlands) are activated in the EU context. The new ideas of 'local fatherlands' (related to the German 'Heimat')<sup>182</sup> may also be based on a dynamic of force (Greverus 2006).

Recent research on Karelia has emphasized the coexistence of past and present in both concrete and mental places (Fingerroos and Loipponen 2007, 7). For the 'evacuated' (transferred, exiled, resettled) people and their children, localities across the border serve as places of memory (Lähteenmäki 2007, 166; Fingerroos 2008, 235ff). In rural regions traces of a Finnish past are gradually disappearing (Hakamies 2005, 108; Hakamies, Liikanen, and Simola 2001), but the 'new inhabitants' who migrated there from other parts of the Soviet Union after the war still face problems in connecting to former "Finnish" places and materiality (Hakamies 2004, 23). In Finnish-Russian cooperation there is an emphasis on everyday life (see previous chapter), but here the Karelia across the border rather means closed places for Finns, which, if not a resource for tourism or reviving Karelian villages, remains a Finnish resource. The Finnish Viipuri Centre, since 2001 in the formerly Finnish city of Viipuri (Vyborg), presents itself as "tangible evidence of cross-border cooperation", aiming at arousing "interest among the present inhabitants of the area in the past of their present home district and to offer models of public activity in order to contribute to the social, economic and cultural well-being of the area." (see Finnish Karelian League 4.3.2012, Helsingin Sanomat 22.8.2005b), although the aim of the main organization behind it,

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181 Cooperation across borders is often claimed to take place on a 'local level', but here 'local' can actually mean the regional level and can simply involve institutional actors. As a value it is a way of situating actions and actors. 'Locality' as such suggests a place, a town or village. A relation to place can be 'localistic' (Massey 2008, 239).

182 For a discussion of Heimat in a study of Europe 'from below', see Kockel 1999, 284-294.

the Finnish Karelian League, since the 1940s has been to have Karelia returned to Finland (see Finnish Karelian League 7.11.2007, 11). In Finnish publications on the former Karelia, the Viipuri Province is still discussed in terms of wondering if the ‘new inhabitants’, the people that came there after the Finns had left, can transfer “their own cultural heritage to a place which has been developed in a historical milieu with which they have had no contact before” (Kaukiainen 2010, 9).

Karelian identity was targeted in regional development policies already in the 1990s (Regional Council of North Karelia 1998, 8).<sup>183</sup> A regional cultural strategy from 2003 defines culture as a regional resource; the ‘Northern Karelian identity’ is presented as a characteristic of local people. ‘Cultural heritage’ is strongly connected to the ‘homeland’ (kotiseutu) as something to be presented to all Finns in cultural events (Regional Council of North Karelia 2003a, 5-12). The Karelian identity is cherished as a public identity, but it is also seen as a “matter of everyday life” which “does not need to be emphasized” (TYKL/SPA/1149:3). Local policies of multiculturalism focus on making migrants “feel at home” (TYKL/SPA/1149:1), and on enabling interaction between local Russian migrants and local people: “there is no need to cross the border” (TYKL/SPA/1149:5).

In the case of the western Polish borderland, the idea of the ‘small’ or local fatherland (mala ojczyzna) supports the understanding of present-day local conditions through local history. It can be seen as a pro-European option, as it seems to bypass the national level (Twardochleb 2006). It can both support subjectivity and reflect values, such as freedom, human rights and the ‘common good’ (Wieruszewska 1997, 77; Dudziak 2003; Theiss 2005). People can create their own local fatherlands, which transcend ethnic and historical divisions (Buchowski 2004, 11). This connects to imaginings of cultural diversity and the Polish tradition of autonomous small-scale communities (Kłoczowski and Łukasiewicz 2003, 22). The ‘local’ may connect simply with ‘local elites’ (TYKL/SPA/1149:8). In the case of the eastern Polish borderland, the ideology of the ‘small fatherland’ connects to the myth of ‘Kresy’ (Tumolska 2007, 21),<sup>184</sup> at the same time becoming a means for border crossing.

In the Polish case, identities defined in terms of place connect with imaginings of the borderland. The self-identification of the ‘borderlander’ as ‘one from here’, *tutejszy*, has emphasized place, locality, rather than the nation (Kockel 2010, 225). This ideology of preferring the local may take different forms. It can suggest ‘hybridized subjects’ who resist the idea of borders (Greverus 2002, 26-27). Borders can be crossed without moving ‘from here’, which also means that any politically motivated ‘cultural

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183 Plans for ‘Juminkeko houses’ in Finnish Kuhmo and Russian Kostamus were mentioned already in 1995 (Regional Council of North Karelia 1995, 67) Later on, the Juminkeko Foundation (Juminkeko Foundation 27.2.2008) runs “the Information Centre for the Kalevala and Karelian Culture” and it has realized many EU funded border-crossing projects. For example, “The first phase of Kalevala into the New Millennium project: Viekkäamme syville verkot – etemmä ehättäkäämme” (Council of Oulu Region 2009, 129).

184 Kresy is the myth of a national Borderland for Poles, written with a capital B (Galusek and Jurecki 2007, 258, 263).

minority event' gains little support.(Blavascunas 2007, 241) Heritage is subordinated to the places where people live. Here places across the border count too, but "relationships between sites may become more important than the relationships within them" (Hannerz 2003, 127). Places can adopt translocal features. In the case of Lwów, the 'little Paris', it is "the people who live there now, it is they who create their future in that place" (TYKL/SPA/1149:14); but Lwów can also be 'transferred' to Lublin, as a place where the tradition of the Lublin Union of 1569 lives on (TYKL/SPA/1149:11). In a Polish village, people can see local old mansions deteriorating, but they may also see them used by outsiders in the wrong way, by people not connecting with village life: a mansion may be used as a private home by city commuters (TYKL/SPA/1149:18). Actors living in regional or national centers (Lublin, Warsaw), and abroad may also carry out projects concerned with 'multicultural heritage' in the borderlands; in other words, a heritage may be intentionally ignored by locals, but is now engaged in diverse development projects (article 4).

Diverse ways of locating identity, on a regional, national and European level, can also co-exist.<sup>185</sup> Local actors can also address the locality as a site for the national and European heritage without any actual projects realized. They can celebrate every national event at the local-national Kosciuszko monument in front of the House of Culture (3 May and 11 November) or organize an international folk festival, which since 1991 has begun with the European anthem, the 'Ode to Joy' from the final movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony<sup>186</sup> – now seen by local project actors as "a symptom of what was coming" (TYKL/SPA/1149:32): the future of Poland and local heritage in the European Union. At the border, even Soviet monuments, if not a valued heritage, are interpreted within a local context, which may imply a local relation to the ideologies shaping borderlands.<sup>187</sup>

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185 See Sinner 2011, 197-198.

186 Adopted as the official anthem of the European Union in 1985 (at the time European Community).

187 „S: Aha, that's a statue, of Second World War... I am, I don't feel sentiment towards it, because that Red Army, what it did... heheh. On one hand liberation of Poland, on the other hand, it meant 45 years of occupation, would you like that? KK: Well, but it's still there this statue... S: It can stay there, heh, I am happy that Russia liberated Berlin, but later...where this idea of statue came from..." (TYKL/SPA/1149:32).





*Figure 8. A massive Soviet-era monument in the border town of Włodawa commemorates the Red Army as ‘liberators’, but also refers to 45 years of occupation. Locals are not planning to remove it, but it is also apparent that this ‘false’ monument is in bad condition and thus may not reflect a locally valued heritage. Włodawa, Kiiskinen.*

### ***Heritage and authenticity***

In the 1980s the European Community noted that simple ‘functional spillovers’ from the integration of economies and laws do not lead to political or social integration (Shore 2000, 257; 1999, 57). The focus was placed on promoting a ‘shared European heritage’, the new symbols being for example the Euro and heritage protection. The history of Europe was presented as a moral success story. This was based on ideas of culture as a fixed, unitary and bounded whole. In other words, the ideology of nationalism was merely replaced by that of Europeanism. (Shore 1999, 59) The idea has been that new forms of governance would also result in new senses of belonging (Andersen and Sandberg 2008). The EU has promoted flexible political and territorial identities that coexist with national and local interpretations of Europe. Project actors should take advantage of “a common historical and cultural/ethnic identity” (Scott and Matzeit 2006, 21). Culture and identity are something manageable. In both research and policies there is an emphasis on representations and public identities that support a ‘common Europe’, as reflected in EU policies on heritage (Kockel 2010, 225). Heritage can be mobilized in ways that suggest connections between regions and countries (Ruotsala 2009, 192). At the same time, identity and culture<sup>188</sup> can be constituted simply by living with and using material objects (Damsholt and Simonsen 2009, 18).

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188 See also Siivonen 2008, 348-351.

The scholarly debate has dealt with questions as to the ownership and authenticity of heritage (Kockel 2010, 193-194; Nic Craith 2007, 13-15). Heritage can mean cultural patterns, practices and objects that are no longer handed down in everyday life, or are “used in ways significantly removed from their historical trajectory”(Kockel 2007, 21). What is more crucial for a tradition than an emphasis on unchangeability and ‘authenticity’ is that the related skills and knowledge are handed on in a meaningful way. As I see it also in the case of borderland heritage this can suggest continuity, ‘tradition’<sup>189</sup> as a ‘creative process’, or a ‘fixation of tradition’ when it is used for purposes outside the sphere of everyday life (Kockel 2007, 27). Both of these may have the effect of excluding people. In other words, it is not necessary to focus on the possible ‘invented’ nature of heritage if it has an actual effect in specific situations and relations.<sup>190</sup> This suggests a need to analyze borderland heritage as a border figure.

In the Polish case the intangible and tangible heritage is addressed by diverse actors, but how these connect with everyday life is another matter. The diverse uses of heritage are suggested not least in professional networking based on ideas of ‘common heritage’(Klekot and Kosiewski 2006; Klekot 2007, 164-167). Cultural heritage seems to have a power derived from its twofold symbolic dimension: it is at the same time sacred and commodified (Purchla 2005, 7ff). Restitutions of ‘heritage’ from across the border, even talk of it, can now be conceived as an unethical ‘cultural cleansing’, contravening the idea of a ‘common European heritage’ (article 3). The traditional performances of groups from across the border are seen as a lived tradition, and thus authentic. Ukrainian women from Polesia sing in traditional costumes (TYKL/SPA/1149:32). They are ‘on stage’ here but not there (TYKL/SPA/1149:30). It is suggested that although they are similar, they also live the tradition, which is seen as particularly important. Across the border Ukrainians have “similar traditional costumes” (TYKL/SPA/1149:23) and sing the same Christmas carols (TYKL/SPA/1149:32). Other actors note that the Ukrainians only come here for the money, to present their culture. The same ‘shared’ Christmas tradition (the traditional *vertep* includes a Christmas play) can be used to increase the cohesion of the Ukrainian minority in Poland (TYKL/SPA/1149:20).<sup>191</sup>

Here ‘authenticity’ is a border metaphor which may suggest certain ‘right’ ways doing border crossing (article 4). For museums, independent research is a guarantee of ‘authenticity’ (Field notes 20.5.2009, TYKL/SPA /1149:33). One’s own standards of work come to the fore, instead of some local Polish way of doing things, which is seen as reflecting ‘trends’ and ‘fashion’. As one director of a house of culture put it, “I think

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189 Or ‘culture’ in order to understand those “mechanisms that tend to create the boundaries, homogeneity and stability of culture” (Siivonen 2011, 51).

190 It should be noted that ‘identities’ are not problematic as affirmations of what one is and is not; what is critical is how this distinction is used.(Kockel 2007, 28) Individuals involved in transnational migration seem to have increased reflexivity towards ‘traditions’, but they can also commodify tradition as a kind of “fixed ensemble of customs and artifacts, handed down unchanged from generation to generation” (Welz 2000, 10).

191 The Association of Ukrainians in Lublin was previously an association for caring for the graves of Ukrainian soldiers, but has also adopted these other ways of supporting Ukrainian community in the area.

the Union does not want to finance only historical things, but also things in the present” (TYKL/SPA/1149:21). The division between ‘traditional’ and popular culture becomes significant in terms of doing. It suggests the actors’ level of engagement. “People who want to do ... something more ambitious” (TYKL/SPA/1149:20), deal with heritage. Here a concert of Ukrainian popular music (such as Ruslana)<sup>192</sup> can be considered as too Russian, and what is ‘Ukrainian’ means more ambitious doing. At the same time a pop concert, when combined with a visit to Poland of children from the Chernobyl area, can take on a specific meaning for these children and for the local organizer with roots across the border (TYKL/SPA/1149:22). All in all, the ‘authenticity of heritage’ (article 5), is to be seen as a complex border figure, which implies a strategy of putting things on the agenda (Kaschuba 2008, 33), but also something which, as a kind of “European heritage” (in article 5), may imply ‘cultural belonging as a democratic right’ (Svensson 2002, 220).

In the Finnish case, a ‘Karelian identity’ has been suggested as a ‘common heritage’, as a tool for survival on both sides of the border (Kirkinen 1998, 54), but actors do not seem to reflect upon heritage and there is little dialogue. In the Polish-Ukrainian case, the ‘common cultural heritage’ is a flexible symbol of cooperation used by (professional) communities (Klekot 2007, 164-167). It reflects a situational approach to heritage. It is not a symbol, like for example the national flag, nor is it an everyday practice; it tends to be less emotional, something that is reflected upon and utilized as a tool. For many “it remains a theory only” (TYKL/SPA/1149:29), except that the myth of ‘common heritage’ may become more tangible when actors negotiate borderland materiality and the border (article 4). For an actor of Ukrainian origin, border crossings suggest similarities in customs, food, leisure occupations, language etc., while ‘national cultures’ suggest different ‘traditions’ (TYKL/SPA/1149:8). A Polish actor can ‘feel at home’ on the Ukrainian side of the border (TYKL/SPA/1149:24). ‘Common heritage’ can relate to ‘trends’ that develop across the border, such as local rock music (TYKL/SPA/1149:21). The idea of a ‘modern Kresy’ can mean “similarities in the culture of the Euroregion”, such as contemporary and Latin-American dances (TYKL/SPA/1149:21).

### ***Borders and experience***

Studies on cross-border cooperation have noted that ‘culture’ can both hinder and support cooperation when it is affected by a sense of belonging and identity relating to the border; in other words, by cultural practices, values and ethnic relations (Anderson, O’Dowd, and Wilson 2003, 26). Memory and experience also affect interaction, and are important for the conceptualization of European borders (Wilson and Donnan 2005, 1-30; Wilson 2009, 1-9). Both internal (national) and external EU borders affect the lives of many, and provide a symbolic basis for new border crossings. The EU can affect the way national/ethnic taxonomies are replaced. EU cultural policy has come to celebrate the idea of Europe as consisting of different nations, languages, regions, ethnic groups and religions (Sandberg 2009, 215). This is expressed in the motto,

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192 Ukrainian winner of the Eurovision Song Contest in 2004.

‘unity in diversity’, and promises the formation of the EU as a multi-cultural society (Johler 2002, 7). At the external border ‘unity in diversity’ can become problematic: the EU border is a divider, and the EU itself needs delimitation. In the Polish-Ukrainian case this paradox of European borders is based on an idealization of past multiculturalism and tolerance (Białasiewicz 2003, 38).

Although the metaphor of border crossing seems to imply an ease of movement, crossings may also be shadowed by imposed identities. (Povrzanovic-Frykman 2001, 45-66) Border crossings remain specific moments, and not only for those with specific memories. The experience of border crossing may or may not be expected to be similar among most people who cross borders, but even statistics or experience are not changing hegemonic narratives; for example the stereotypes that Danes have of Swedes and vice versa. If new hegemonic narratives emerge, these are often associated with events of important symbolic significance. (Linde-Laursen 2010, 183ff.) In the Polish-Ukrainian case, the Orange revolution was one such symbolic event. In this thesis I am not comparing the borderlands, and I am hardly aiming at drawing definite conclusions concerning inter-national relations; but what seems to emerge is that in cultural cooperation Poles mirror themselves against Ukrainians (helping them to recognize what they have gained and what their role is in Europe), whereas Finns do not seem to have a similar use for Russians, who are located behind a ‘cultural border’ and lack the prospect of becoming part of the EU. Local Finnish actors may describe the border as ‘not a cultural border’ (article 5), although further away from the border the reverse is a common perception.<sup>193</sup> Here the imaginary or socially constructed borderlands tend to ignore the border. At the same time, the act of border crossing itself may involve tension and emotional suspense (Lähteenmäki 2007, 166). In the Soviet era it was a ‘moral obligation’ to stop the intrusion of Soviet propaganda, and the border was rebuilt as a personal moral boundary (Parot 2007, 53). This may still hold true: “it is good if the Soviet time is not part of one’s personal history” (TYKL/SPA/1149:5).

In the Polish case, the location of its eastern border is not questioned but its cultural role is now targeted.<sup>194</sup> Poles living at the border can say the border “does not exist anymore”, as they have the possibility of crossing it. At the same time, from the perspective of ‘national cooperation’, problems seem to be located in places at the border, with their stored memories of past conflicts (TYKL/SPA/1149:7). Thus making the border a site for cultural events is “a crazy idea” (TYKL/SPA/1149:29), both locally and nationally. It rather reflects the European heritage (article 4), which is needed to communicate the “absurd local experience”, a multidimensional phenomenon which cannot be sensed from afar, for instance from Warsaw or Kiev (TYKL/SPA/1149:29). Similar feelings occur when Poles visit the primeval Bialowieza forest, which crosses the Polish-Belarusian border. Here border crossings

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193 Despite increased cooperation, the Finnish-Russian border is increasingly perceived as a cultural barrier (Scott and Matzeit 2006, 51).

194 In 2008, Poland started to grant ‘Poles’ living in the east the possibility of obtaining a card allowing easier access to Polish services, such as education in Poland (Babiński 2010, 31-44).

serve as an “act of claiming Polish identity as ‘European’, linking Belorussian, non-European ‘poverty’ with ‘beautiful nature’” (Blavascunas 2007, 248). It can be claimed that “People should meet, laugh and get invited across the border and fix things (zalatwic) in personal discussions, eye to eye” (TYKL/SPA/1149:32), but this can also be backed up with experience of the local material heritage (see article 4). In the past, for example, the Greek Catholic Church had been a sign of the enemy for Poles, but now it represents ‘borderland religiosity’ (TYKL/SPA/1149:29), with an emphasis on people ‘from here’(Field notes 26.5.2009, TYKL/SPA/1149:33). Here, surprisingly, the border itself can become a border figure in local representational strategies concerning it, addressing the border as part of local heritage and experience. “For many years, everything was done to ... build such a wall, in the psychological, cultural, religious sense” TYKL/SPA/1149:29; now, if someone comes to tear the wall down, this is hard for local people to adapt to. With regard to these bordering narratives (discussed in article 4), we can define the role of the European Union as an actor: it is to define the border (TYKL/SPA/1149:29). Experience of borders, however, also suggests a space for negotiation between the self and the European.

## **II CONCLUSIONS**

## 5. Avoiding ethnographic death at the border

Ethnological studies have become increasingly aware of the need to regard and analyze relations as a means for understanding how transnational processes and institutions shape local lives, heritage practices, and identities (Sandberg 2009; Siivonen 2008; Turtinen 2006; O'Dell 1997, 256). As areas of 'unpacking culture', diverse uses of culture concepts, as well as imagining macro-level processes, provide opportunities for analyzing the way borders contribute in shaping human lives. (Hannerz 1997, 541, 546-547) In the borderlands discussed in this thesis, European and national institutions not only initiate but also seek to address the effects of the changing status and practices of cooperation at the EU border. These suggest Europeanization as a kind of meta-culture, with a more or less direct impact on development and local well-being (in terms of rules, policies, project practices, funding; see chapter on Europeanization and the interdisciplinary setting). In this thesis, however, local actors negotiate these changes as part of their everyday lives and their doing of border crossings. Here a research focus on place and identity-making, while it opens up interesting views on "local strategies of survival" (Zowczak 2010, 13), may ignore the way that culture is shared – or not. In other words, it is easy to lose sight of the ethnographic object (the phenomenon studied) in these borderlands, when 'culture' becomes part of social imaginary in diverse border crossing actions which can be initiated far from the actual sites where they are realized.

The historian-anthropologist Kate Brown (Brown 2003, 228) has, in case of the former Polish eastern territories, used the notion of 'ethnographic death'<sup>195</sup> to suggest the way nation-spaces for modern governance were created in the interwar period. She uses it to shed light on the way that the resulting national taxonomies, modernizing dichotomies and categorizations, are still difficult to elude.<sup>196</sup> As I see it, however, borders also suggest border crossings as 'materialized taxonomic breakpoints' (Herzfeld 2001, 137). In the case of the Finnish and Polish ceded borderlands, it is the repeated past forced movement and violent removal of people (in the context of the Second World War) which resulted in narratives with little space for alternative negotiations of national boundaries: Histories, monuments and exhibitions suggest ethnographic death when these situate the traditions of local identifications out of sight. Although Brown's study focused on the former Soviet Kresy, a region located eastward of what in the interwar period became the Polish-Soviet border, I use this concept to address the way that borderlands are affected in diverse projects and cross-border relations that actualize the past, and to suggest ways of re-organizing territory

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195 Kate Brown (2003, 228) adopted this notion from Nancy Mann, who wrote about nineteenth and twentieth century museums as not only preserving and saving but also constricting and enclosing contemporary life. Mann also referred to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1991) idea of the museum as 'a tomb with a view'. The role of objects in museum representations in the Polish context was discussed in my MA thesis (Kiiskinen 2003), in terms of Polish museum representations of Roma ethnicity as a resource for ethnopolitics.

196 "Only memory and landscapes can provide hope for tracking the past in the former Soviet Kresy" (Brown 2003, 228). It could, however, be asked whether border-crossing projects can do this too.

and belongings, i.e. of avoiding ethnographic death. In the interwar period, when one who identified oneself as local, Volhynian or Polesian was re-identified as a Pole or Ukrainian, as well as ‘backward’, that person also became an object in need of education and economic elevation, which served to control these people. Now the issue is how European projects and ideas of Europeanness affect these taxonomies and the border which secured them, and provide agency for people in the borderland.

One aspect of ‘ethnographic death’ concerns the focus of ethnological research. My search for the ‘local knowledge of relations’ involves the danger that ‘local knowledge’ will be used to claim that reality is simply local or translocal as such (i.e. heritage projects without social context); this would result in research that is culturally relativist or localizing in its outcome (“culture does not recognize borders”, or an “emphasis on local ways of doing things”). The inclusion in the analysis of the border, or bordering, brings culture to the analysis of Europeanization as the negotiation of belonging and border-crossing agency. In a borderland setting, actors may rely on safe (national) narratives that provide “a refuge for ethnographic objects” (Linde-Laursen 2010, 195). Here discourses of cross-border cooperation and national reconciliation suggest opportunities for local actors, in terms of locating identities and cultures in ways that can be seen to intertwine with ideas of a local-European present and even possibilities of a shared future across the external border of the European Union. Here it is a challenge not to lose sight of the ethnographic object.

Research approaches to cross-border cooperation have focused on culture in terms of ‘cooperation on culture’, ‘culture of cooperation’, and ‘culture as matter of enabling and inhibiting cooperation.’ (O’Dell 2003, 31ff; Anderson, O’Dowd, and Wilson 2003, 23-26) Although, these options form a focal point for my analysis of border crossings as well, these practices may not be enough to reveal how some actors (and objects) contribute to the defining of border crossings, and may suggest cultural sharing and non-sharing.<sup>197</sup> As Johan Fornäs (Fornäs 2012, 36-37) puts it, the power of the hermeneutic concept of culture allows us to observe how cultural processes, in principle, are no less or more changing than are social, political, economic or technological processes. It can also shed light on relations between other concepts of culture. Any analysis of ‘cultural complexity’ (Hannerz 1996, 8, 42-43; 1992, 7) faces the question of defining the cultural wholes which are at stake and accessible through research materials (Siivonen 2008, 41). It is possible to understand cultural change<sup>198</sup> if one combines anthropological notions of culture and the use of culture in the social imagination (such as art, heritage, life-worlds) in a hermeneutic analysis of culture, where meaning is constructed in interaction among subjects, things and texts in different contexts (Fornäs 2012, 38).

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197 Here the focus is on culture in terms of relations between ‘hard to manage’ ideas and modes thought as well as ‘easier to manage’ externalizations of culture (Hannerz 1992, 332). The latter include objectified culture, heritage and local and border-crossing projects.

198 As I see it, multi-sitedness also supports the communication of research outside ethnological or anthropological audiences, the researcher’s ‘own ranks’ (Eriksen 2005, 145).



This is by no means an exhaustive analysis of local culture in these borderlands, but it allows us to better understand what is continuing and what is changing in the ‘cultural horizons’ (Kockel 1999, 281-283, see also 100-104), and how. These are European border/lands, where the border remains a barrier in many aspects of life; but it is also increasingly made by local people as well as by practices proposed and adopted by outsiders. On the one hand, culture is used to support other policy aims, and is streamlined to meet the needs to economic exchange; but it is also something else. As I see it, here cultural agency is an important aspect of local and translocal agency: it shows how people relate to systems and to everyday life. They negotiate cultures for which borderland materiality, the border, and local ideologies may provide diverse alternatives.

Cross-cultural comparison has been regarded as a necessity in an interconnected world, which can mean that not only adaptation to global flows, but also ‘counterflows’ can be assessed by mobile research (Greverus 2002, 36-43). To observe and avoid eventual ethnographic death, I adopted a multi-sited fieldwork approach (Marcus 1998, 275; Falzon 2009, 1ff; Marcus 1995, 95ff; Hannerz 2003, 201ff). This choice allowed me to observe the diversity of relations and the ethnographic object. While social-constructivist and place-bound approaches to these borderlands (see chapter on ‘Europeanization and the interdisciplinary setting’)<sup>199</sup> seem to flourish, this analysis shows how borderland materiality may complement them in terms of avoiding ethnographic death. This takes place when I observe how local actors suggest borderland heritage to point out a right to cultural belonging and agency. In complex cultures, the cultural whole of analysis is no longer a complete way of life. Cultural practices are to be seen as combinations of doing and communication (Sinner 2011, 26). My research questions concerned the way that local actors and projects address cultural diversity and practices of border crossing, but also how they relate to their local community and to media images of border crossings. In terms of doing border crossings, local actors are not limiting their actions to project practices or funding, but address local and glocal culture in different ways. What this means is for example that actors can relate to cultural heritage as a symbol of co-operational practices, but can also recognize its role and preconditions for communities within and across borders. Here also such mid-level theories as agency and heritage support the analysis of cultural bordering; Local actors’ negotiations of similarity and difference suggest how the ‘culturalization of European space’ (Johler 2006, 153ff) is taking place.<sup>200</sup>

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199 On some social constructionist approaches, see Newman 2007, 27ff; Paasi 1996; Paasi and Prokkola 2008, 13ff.

200 In the post-socialist context, it is not socialist habits and cultural patterns but global transformations that need to be addressed, in ways that mobilize people’s potential as social agents. It is here that I see my approach to Europeanization, and the inclusion of Polish scholars and the multivocality of the borderland, as making a possible contribution to bridging what is still considered an East-West divide in European anthropological research perspectives. (Buchowski 2012, 82) In this respect Swedish researchers have also been active; see Lindelöf 2006, Wolanik Boström 2005.

The first two articles described the way in which culture, as an aspect of cross-border co-operation, can become defined in a relatively narrow sense, referring to interests, abstract ideas of shared values, and economic practices/benefit (article 1 and 2). At the same time, for Poles and Finns these ceded borderland areas, with their specific heritage, which have been significant in imagining the boundedness of national cultures, mean that border crossings are not simply about exchanges, and interaction takes place not only with the “other”, but with one’s ‘own’ national past.



*Figure 9. European funding for regional development and local development is strongly promoted in the Polish public sphere. In Polish newspapers, as well as during my field trips traveling on Polish roads, I often came across advertisements for various forms of European Union Funding. This poster in the city of Lublin, along the road leading to Belarus, describes EU funding as an engine speeding up development in the region. It is useful, however, to seek the meaning of Europe beyond such simple economic logic.*

In border-crossing and local projects, as the articles suggest, the idea of ‘ethnographic death’ is not limited to idealizations of the past; unlike for example museum displays, where objects are framed by national narratives that allow no questioning of the past. At or close to the border, past monuments, such as those from the Soviet era, can be negotiated again, as a means of identifying local agency within the systemic/ideological framework (article 4). Ethnographic death, however, is also part of the way of representing and doing border crossing. Local actors’ ways of using and reflecting heritage and culture, both local and glocal and the system, with its cooperational projects, suggest ways in which the power of past and present alignments of differences and cultures along with borders are addressed in the present. Here relations constructed beyond localities acquire specific meaning, particularly when they connect with experience of places and materiality and with ideas of local, national and European heritage. As I see it, a focus on relations, discussed further in the next chapter, can shed critical light on the bordering taking place at the external border of

the EU. Eventually this can suggest the presence of a ‘local Europe’ (Johler 2002, 7-18), but also ‘localistic’ and ‘excluding’ (Massey 1991, 24-29) place-bound identities.

This thesis suggests two distinctive but closely interrelated ways of perceiving **ethnographic death as means of** assessing the cultural dimension of Europeanization. The first relates to the need for multi-sited fieldwork in the ethnological study of Europeaness. This means the problem of observing what cultural changes are taking place in the borderlands, and how. My focus on the analysis of relations seeks to trace the novel and the marginal, the multivocality of border crossings. This means a need to trace the local knowledge of relations, placing local-European relations in focus. This is a way to avoid reductionism and culture relativism in the analysis. Here the contexts where intersubjective meanings are created come to the fore. The EU border brings with it diverse practices that suggest opportunities for diverse networking across the border; these need to be assessed in terms of the actual doing they involve and the bordering to which they contribute. These practices affect and are affected by culture as a meaning-making process.

The emphasis on a close relationship with empirical data, in other words the need to observe the uses of culture and heritage in different sites, led me to analyze uses of the local material heritage and of the border itself. The **second suggested use of ethnographic death** is seen in my use of the concept of **cultural agency** to assess how the largely EU-initiated culturalization of European space becomes a reality: in other words, how the emphasis on similarity and difference across Europe affects border crossings and ways of negotiating differences in borderlands. I argue that processes of Europeanization also result in a doing that seems to avoid ethnographic death. Local actors have diverse resources, opportunities and constraints for border crossings, and they negotiate these as part of their doing such crossings. My informants used cultures in their doing of cross-border projects; in analyzing their use of cultures as a means of bordering, the hermeneutic concept of culture is valuable. In terms of avoiding ethnographic death, the issue is: when, and in what way, does bordering – ways of relativizing and imposing the border – contribute to cultural bordering?

The articles themselves do not directly discuss the role of multi-sitedness in this thesis. I therefore place this discussion here. My purpose is to show that this thesis is not a comparison among ‘cultures’, ‘places’ and ‘borderlands’, but rather a study of relations and ‘border crossings’ as a means of avoiding ethnographic death.

### **Multiple sites and relations: beyond areas and places**

Already the titles of the articles suggest a research process in which relations gradually become more important for tracing the ethnographic object. Research is a hybrid, a “manifestation of our current circumstances” (Greverus 2002, 27). In multi-sited anthropological research the analysis tends to be characterized in terms of breadth rather than depth (Horst 2009, 125-127). This can be problematic for ethnological analysis as well. I could rely in part on my experiences of living and working in the research area before I started the research (see chapter on Journeys to places and

relations). With a multi-sited approach, knowledge can be obtained by contextualizing materials, projects, discussions and interviews with different people in different local, material, organizational and media environments. For me, it has been a process in itself to gain distance from a project networking approach focusing on project realization and funding; this, however, was important, as it provided a basis for reassessing materials and the networks in terms of the relations and agency they contribute to. This means that my focus was not limited to projects; I conceptualized them as part of the relations that affect cultural sharing in these borderlands. In terms of analyzing similarity and difference, in the case of transnational regions it can be problematic if analysis is too focused on ‘identities’, since these are engaged by diverse actors and the media: one option is to focus on how regions are made in everyday life practices and to look for the cultural capital involved (Löfgren 2010, 96-97), the ‘regionauts’ with skills and competences for border-crossing actions that may or may not follow the intentions of planners (O'Dell 2003, 36). At the border, a focus on the national as an ‘imagined community’ (Anderson 1991) is a focus on difference; such approaches may fail to consider not only the border, but also the role of shared cultures at the external border of the European Union. The study of the national means an analysis of identities but also of cultures in order to provide a context that is able to explain both similarities and differences (Linde-Laursen 2010, 144).<sup>201</sup>

Rather than focusing on discourse (for a particular regional identity construction) in diverse cultural practices, my emphasis has been on the way that negotiations of diversity take place in constructing local-European relations at the external border of the EU. This suggests not only parameters of identity building, for example in terms of Polish discourses of ‘becoming like Europe’ (Lindelöf 2006, 36), but also what it is to be a European. In the Polish case, transnational processes seem to have more potential to affect local lives (see also the chapter on Redirections and obstacles). Here a multi-sited, sensitive and temporally quick approach was required to capture the ethnographic objects addressed in diverse projects, in the context of not only Polish EU accession in 2004 but also of the Ukrainian Orange revolution, with its appeal for local people and media (article 2). For me, multi-sitedness is here a means to capture the multivocality and temporality of relations and border crossings. In a regional setting, for example, regional ideas of multicultural regions and for example of Karelian identity continue as important identity constructions, but local-European relations may also suggest how regional and national boundaries are transcended in ways that point to other than national, regional and place-bound approaches to Europeanization. This means an assessment of the ways in which ‘local Europe’ is a reality for many and a credible ethnological topic (Johler 2002, 9).<sup>202</sup> The analysis of culture change here means not only interaction between localization and Europeanization, not only the presence of designations, symbols of an EU-Europe in places, but negotiations of borders and heritage in diverse relations.

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201 The self-identity of local actors is not necessarily tied to administrative and formal borders; national and transnational forms of identity do not exclude each other (Sinner 2011, 27, 198).

202 Here we see the paradoxicality of my analysis of these borderlands and their cross-border projects: my focus is chiefly on actors residing on the EU side of the border.

Rather than regionauts, it is ‘borderonauts’ (or ‘Euronauts’) that are suggested in the articles forming this thesis. The latter means that individuals are exploring not only the border, but the very ideas and practices of Europeanness. For this purpose the border, and the practices it comes with, offer interesting options for many. These contextualize a setting where individuals also *can* realize their border crossings. Like ‘border figures’ (Schimanski and Wolfe 2010, 39-49), which imply diverse orderings of border crossing relations, ‘everyday life’ and ‘heritage’ suggest recent ways of bordering of communities and cultures (article 5). As part of doing and representing ‘border crossings’ (the metaphor I have followed in different sites), borderland materiality is crucial for understanding the conditions of cultural change (article 4).

Border-crossing projects actors (people and organizations) can be seen as defining culture, as realizing their imaginary borderlands. The individuals involved suggest ways of collapsing distinctions between the global and the local level in ways that also point to the agency and organizing power of the ethnographer. (Coleman and Collins 2006, 7; Marcus 1995, 98) A long-term stay in one particular locality can provide material for assessing a local culture and how its internal relations and differences are categorized socially, but here the focus is on interaction with the processes affecting these borderlands. At the outset this appears to be a comparative study of geographical areas, of two borderlands, but what this thesis claims is that such territorialities can be insufficient as boundaries of research in a comparative study of Europeanization. The sites<sup>203</sup> I have chosen are only some of the many possible, unsurprisingly in a field characterized by ‘translocal relations’ (Hannerz 2003, 206-207; 2001, 11-14). As Jan Turtinen (2006, 183) points out in his multi-sited study on transnational heritage institutions, researchers need to be aware not only of how history affects the present, but also of how local conditions are affected by what happens spatially far away. In my case this is not simply a matter of project decisions and programs but of the emergence of new ways of doing things (see chapter ‘Traces of Europe, traces border/land sustainability’). Cross-border cooperation documents have had the role of enabling access to the field<sup>204</sup> and some of the ideas presented in these documents, especially concerning ‘culture’ and ‘cultural heritage’, have been important in interviewing informants. In this respect changes in the programs can also be observed: on the one hand we find an increased obscurity of ‘culture’, on the other a focus on cultural borders when it comes to minority support (see chapter ‘Sustainability and culture[s]’).<sup>205</sup>

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203 Apart from project actors I also interviewed program officials in Joensuu, Warsaw, Lublin and Rzeszow, as well as actors in local cultural institutions and in diverse organizations for whom EU funded projects had no financial importance, but who were otherwise engaged in these border crossing relations.

204 Especially microprojects realized in the Euroregion Bug area in 2004-2006, and projects funded in the same area by the Neighborhood program but managed from a regional or national center (see articles 2 and 3). For other funding used by the projects analyzed see the chapter on ‘Local and border crossing projects’ and the chapter on ‘The five articles’.

205 The official documents of the Polish-Belarus-Ukraine Neighbourhood Programme (2004-2006) did not include a Ukrainian language version, but only Polish, Russian and English. Ukrainian was included only in the period 2007-2013.

The focus on relations also means, in the Polish case, that the field extended southward from my original focus on actors in the Lubelskie region to the Podkarpackie region. There the present regional division coincides with the nineteenth-century border between parts of Poland ruled by Russia and Austria-Hungary (in the north Greek Catholics could not maintain their churches, while in the south they could). The present uses of this heritage are crucial for understanding borderland cultural diversity in a systemic setting, suggested by the ‘local knowledge’ of relations (Marcus 1995, 111), or the ‘translocal knowledge’ (Welz 2002, 154) that local people rely on in doing their border crossings (article 4). Here it is not only actors that are part of diverse relations; objects too can direct the ways that border crossings are actually done and differences are negotiated. In the Finnish case too, even if the former Finnish city of Vyborg was distant from the cross-border area where the actors I interviewed were located, the Vyborg library was a symbol that defined heritage relations with Russians. In the Polish case the former Polish town of Lwow had a similar – though also different – role when it came to imagining a shared heritage across the border (article 5). While it had a Polish past, the local heritage was also the basis for a Ukrainian future in Europe (article 3).

My temporally dispersed fieldwork also included important arrivals and departures, which can be seen as contributing to the process of interpreting relations, alerting me to ethical issues. The journeys to Poland took on a specific meaning in themselves, with familiar routines as well as moments for reflections. The returns to sites and places elicited earlier experiences in the field and suggest this study as an ‘anthropological voyage’ (Greverus 2002, 38-43).<sup>206</sup> I was similarly distant from local lives in these borderlands, but never completely disconnected due to the media and electronic connections.<sup>207</sup> Through the media and project websites I knew something about the projects and the informants already before the interviews. This helped me to carry the discussion to deeper level despite the obvious time limits, but it could also be problematic if my interests were interpreted as a shared interest in realizing projects in the future (Field notes 21.5.2009, TYKL/SPA/1149:33). I was also presented with project ideas, and from my researcher perspective I found this type of engagement in projects somewhat problematic. Later on, I realized that this actually revealed important aspects of the projects and actors: the similarity of the knowledge I was after and that applied in creating new projects. In practice contradictions also seemed evident, i.e. the way projects included individuals who seemed to approach the

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206 Doing fieldwork involves a different state of mind, as an experience of physical and cultural relocation. This seemed to be a more or less automatic process (Field notes 17.5.2009, TYKL/SPA/1149:33). In terms of experiencing relationships, in the case of the Finnish town of Joensuu I could visit the regional museum and ask about objects my relatives had once donated there. I could also feel irritation when I met noisy Poles on the plane. They may well actually be noisy, but I assume this is also part of heightened awareness one has during fieldwork.

207 For me the distances from the sites in these borderlands were actually rather similar in socio-cultural terms, despite their differences. Apart from the socio-cultural distance I felt from these sites, in physical and temporal terms too the night train from Turku to Joensuu, still available in 2005, actually took longer than travelling by bus, air and train from Turku to Polish Lublin.

borderland heritage in rather different ways.<sup>208</sup> In terms of the relations forming the translocal field, a paradox emerged, since my focus on border crossings meant that my fieldwork took place (mainly) on the EU side of the border. This reflects the point that places are still important for analysis, but rather as part of diverse relations where the negotiation of differences and heritage (or the border) is the outcome not only of local culture but of diverse networks and connections. At the same time, project meetings and conferences, as well as my visits to ruined Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches, German cemeteries and restored synagogues, as well as fully renovated ‘houses of culture’ and even completely new museums (article 2), suggested the diverse effects of European funding for local heritage practices, which also contribute to cultural bordering (see chapter ‘Heritage as bordering’).

### ***Representing and doing border-crossings***

Already in the first articles cross-border relations come up in terms of the rhetoric of ‘cultural cooperation’, but at the time my approach to ‘networking’ in the transnational co-operational setting was still a rather unreflecting one.<sup>209</sup> At the outset the discussion was framed by co-operational discourses, symbolic boundaries and national cultures: Finnish, Russian, Polish and Ukrainian. The meaning of projects and co-operational discourses may coincide and cross-border networking in border-crossing projects may trivialize both interactions and the border itself. In the later articles I focused on culture as a resource for defining relations, places and, finally, the EU border itself. Here different patterns of local engagement and participation in border crossings can be observed. This focusing was a result of my engagement in different project and co-operational events.<sup>210</sup> These suggested a need to address what is ‘represented’ and what is actually ‘done’ in co-operational practices and ‘cultural cooperation’.

I found that diverse actors may suggest that cross-border relations are an ‘everyday matter’ for them, with no specific meaning for the community. They might also question the economic benefit of project work “when the other side is poor” (article 1; TYKL/SPA/1149:33). The focus on everydayness can also be found in co-operational programs that emphasize ‘everyday life’.<sup>211</sup> Similarly, actors may relate to the ideas of cultural diversity and heritage suggested in national and European programs for cooperation across borders, such as ideas of a ‘common heritage’ (Klekot 2007, 164-

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208 This had to do with the way that cultures seemed to become objectified in projects when projects seemed tailored only to meet the criteria for funding. One potential partner would note a “regrettable lack of focus on culture and heritage” in development programs, while another actor saw it as important not to focus too much on ‘problematic heritage’, since it would endanger funding. (Field notes 1.6.2006, 14.5.2007, TYKL/SPA/1149:33)

209 This was also a result of the fact that before this research I had worked with projects that relied on networking as an everyday practice. Although I was only starting to gain experience in this field, there was an expectation that I would cope well with this, evidently based in part simply on the fact that I came from EU-Finland.

210 For example in Russia in a tourism event in Petrozavodsk and on the Finnish side in Joensuu in a ‘cultural partnership’ event. (Field notes 17.-18.11.2005, TYKL/SPA/1149:33)

211 This was especially evident in the Finnish-Russian case; see Council of Oulu Region 2009; 2005.

167). Exchanges between programs and local actors were evident, but also reflected different uses of culture. One point here was that actors had opinions about what I should or should not be looking at (Field notes 25.11.2005 and 1.-2.6. 2006, TYKL/SPA/1149:33). Where pragmatism and the ‘everydayness’ of cooperation was pointed out, the uses of culture seemed to suggest a means for finding shared values and ignoring the role of stereotypes (article 1). Actors could also point out the local heritage, although the border and the finances of projects on culture were clearly important in realizing their imaginary borderlands (articles 2, 3 and 4).

Likewise the local media supported my analysis of translocal fields<sup>212</sup> in terms of doing and representing culture. My analysis of local media articles, the 516 Polish newspaper articles<sup>213</sup> (article 2), revealed not only how local political disputes affect local actors, but how EU-funded projects in particular (have to) cooperate with the media.<sup>214</sup> What emerged was that the actual doing of cross-border projects was discussed only when these projects meant exchanges of objects belonging to the displaced ‘Polish’ cultural heritage across the border, or suggested the presence of transnational art world in what was then described as a peripheral community. Here the meaning of objects seemed to become detached from the practices and – importantly – the agency of ‘others’ in interpreting them, and their display was minimized. The local media seemed to suggest an “objectification of the process of cultural communication in the quest for the preservation of the authentic” (Nic Craith 2004, 281-282) when they showed what others, in fact ‘we’, across the border have in terms of culture, that is, in legitimating any cultural act. In this sense, it is rather revealing that even the Polish term ‘Kresy’, which does not occur in official cooperation documents, has been adopted in local border-crossing projects on dance and rock music.

The uses of culture and heritage, as they become engaged in local media and cross-border projects, seem to suggest that cross-border relations or ‘cultural mobility’ are not particularly problematic for the ‘sanctity of the local’ (O’Dell 2004, 109-110). This is what I could then contrast with diverse local actors’ doing of projects as relocating culture and heritage. In the Polish case there has been an emphasis on cultural projects even at the local level. These projects can address the ‘common heritage’ in ways that do not engage the former power-political context of this heritage, at least when it comes to the tangible heritage (article 2, 37). This suggests its narrow audience, as a matter of networking among professionals. Within institutional cooperation practices, the ‘common heritage’ can include all things that imply a ‘common doing’ (article 3). However, this is not an issue of institutions versus individuals. The people I interviewed in institutions might also focus on what seemed to be the culture of their

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212 See Hannerz 2001.

213 Of the total 516 articles, 163 (those cited and used as the basis for article 2) are included in my archived fieldwork materials (TYKL/SPA/1149:34). Others can be accessed in the internet archives of each newspaper, using the search phrases listed in my field notes.

214 Whereas earlier the media functioned as a ‘patron’ for local cultural events, now the projects pay for media coverage. Media images also suggest project practices as the right way of working with ‘others’ (article 2).



own interests. For many actors, following strictly the criteria mentioned for example in EU programs is something from which they distance themselves: rather, one is to seek ideas for projects *before* any calls for project funding. Here the local media can then report on projects that would have been previously unimaginable (article 2). In thinking about these new projects, art and heritage objects<sup>215</sup> have been important. Likewise new art and heritage institutions have emerged in the Polish case largely *based on project-funding* of cross-border cooperation, for example in Lublin or Stalowa Wola, where the actor actually seems to *be* the organization (see article 2).

The wish to avoid ‘ethnographic death’ has meant that the “area” of research is what is suggested by the actors and their doing. Rather than distancing oneself from ideas with a ‘trans-prefix’ (Zowczak 2010, 13), translocal relations suggest a multivocal picture where representing and doing culture are important for understanding recent cultural interaction: here different agency can be ascribed to heritage and actors as part of relationships. As we shall see in the following chapters, ‘transborderness’ is limited, but not without an effect on local culture. This, however, is not only an issue of center-periphery relations, but suggests how a ‘local Europe’ emerges; that is, how European ideas and symbols take on meanings and effects in a local context (Johler 2002, 15-16). Co-operational programs may take a very positive view of culture as a resource for increasing interaction,<sup>216</sup> but how this is perceived locally is a whole other issue. The meanings assigned by projects to cultural bordering are separate from the rhetoric (article 1). However, some projects actors do sense a need to address ‘cultures’ and ‘heritage’ as a resource in the actual doing of border crossings. Especially in the Polish case, local ideologies, such as the ‘little fatherland’ seem to support this in the European context (articles 3 and 4). To understand these options, we need to look at the resources and actors that take part in the negotiating of cultural diversity, co-operational practices and the border. These can be seen to suggest a different cultural agency, embedded in diverse relations. It is in the character of both these borderlands that societies and cultures across borders are perceived as different, but what is crucial is that border crossing actors address these differences differently.<sup>217</sup> This is essential if we look at Europeanization not simply as a matter of shared practices across borders, but also as practices that suggest (shared) belonging beyond localities and the border.

### **Cultural agency at the border**

Agency has been discussed in ethnological studies: for example the way transnational regions are made in everyday life and development practices, where a rather concept-driven process is often suggested. Ideas of functional and cultural

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215 In some places, such as the Polish Przemysl, with not only material heritage but also minority Ukrainians, political disputes over heritage and its symbolic use may not allow its use in supporting negotiations of cultural diversity (Buzalka 2008, 757ff).

216 For example the Euregio Karelia Neighbourhood Programme (Council of Oulu Region 2005, 30-31).

217 For example when a local project actor noted the emphasis on representing multicultural heritage in diverse EU projects, leading him to reflect upon the doing of border-crossings and the agency of others (article 4).

regions seem to merge. (Berg and Löfgren 2000, 13; Löfgren and Nilsson 2010, 10-11). Border-crossing actors may also be objectified as having specific, stereotypic characteristics, for example as borderless, modern Europeans (Andersen and Sandberg 2008, 39ff), who need to rethink their identities but can also test them in terms of practices of border crossing (O'Dell 2003, 51). I noted in article 2 that the local media seemed to focus on individual competence and the local-political environment. These are part of understanding Europeanization in terms of cultural bordering and hybridization. They support an analysis that avoids simplistic notions of actor positions and the uses of culture. The way I use the concept of cultural agency here is to suggest the complexity of agency in translocal relations. This is to point out how a focus on individual or organizational competences can actually hide the way in which diverse ideas, things (material objects) and imaginations of 'others' contribute to cultural bordering. Ideas and practices related to 'culture' and 'heritage', and the system awareness of local actors, result in diverse border crossings, but to what extent do these mean cultural bordering and for whom?

In a multi-sited research setting it has been possible for me to observe how actors who deal with borderland development, for example in a national capital or a regional center, often ascribe rather stereotypic agency to local actors as bound by past conflicts of the borderland and by local politics (for example, Field notes 15.5.2007, TYKL/SPA/1149:33);<sup>218</sup> local actors themselves have a different sense of their participation. Basically, this can mean that they ascribe different meanings to local heritage, for example its 'multiculturality' in a European context, as a resource for negotiating practices offered by the national center (article 4). Here such ideologies as the Polish 'little fatherland' (German *Heimat*) (Tumolska 2007, 257; Kłoczowski and Łukasiewicz 2003; Dudziak 2003) can be important for imagining the local heritage in a European context. Bridges between past and present are constructed, but even if interwar multicultural options are suggested, these are hardly a return to past locally bounded identities as such. At first sight, it might seem that the changing EU border may not allow what Siivonen (2011, 59-60) has called 'transparent' ways of producing identities and heritage that may also support the development of everyday cultural identifications. Whereas in transnational regions (everyday) routines can create 'paths'<sup>219</sup> that make these regions a reality for many, in the border/lands discussed in this study, it tends to be a rather small group of people that can share the new practices of border-crossing. There seem to be tensions between fixed and 'mobile' uses of heritage (article 3). Here, in terms of avoiding 'ethnographic death', one has to assess the consequences when the borderland heritage is inscribed with meaning from within and outside communities.

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218 Another example is the German-funded Memoria program, in which the Polish-Ukrainian borderland was an example of European borderland experience strongly related to WWII (see chapter Local and border crossing projects, also TYKL/SPA/1149:30).

219 The 'path dependence' of these routines may also be suggested when they are affected by "institutions, regulations and community planning" (Löfgren 2010, 96-97).

Local ideas of cultural diversity may be closely intertwined with the management of EU/nation-state borders when there is a strong emphasis on development and border crossings in terms of culture and heritage, but these may also co-exist with alternative and even contrary meanings attached to heritage (see also Siivonen 2011, 58-59).<sup>220</sup> In the Finnish-Russian case cross-border projects have been important for a longer time and practices, ways of working, are more established. This can serve to naturalize the border. It has been noted that the “organizational and habitual aspects of co-operational practices” tend to normalize the border at the internal border of the EU (Prokkola 2008, 51ff). In the Polish-Ukrainian case there has been an emphasis on EU-funded ‘cooperation on culture’ and micro-projects.<sup>221</sup> In funding from an American foundation the cultural aspect was already seen as integrated in project practices: a project could focus on minorities themselves rather than on symbols of sharing culture (article 3).<sup>222</sup> What these suggest is a concept-driven development related to project practices, but also spaces for conceiving alternative relations and agency. In the article on the Finnish-Russian Culture Forum, for example, border-crossing cultural projects are imagined based on ideas of a collective future consciousness, to be achieved through realizing a ‘cultural partnership’<sup>223</sup> (article 1). This concept does not relate to the past but remains a state-level initiative, the local response to which, cultural and other,<sup>224</sup> may be rather critical (article 1, 223); local actors may suggest that any of the sensitive issues in Finnish-Russian relations not be discussed (article 1, 214). When ‘culture’ is included, it is applied in a narrow sense as a means of suggesting shared values in an abstract sense, without addressing belonging.<sup>225</sup> The focus is on project agency and networking, but we may also note that the vocabulary used by officials is not part of the actual project proposals. Similarly, the role of cooperation in the cultural sector in the Euregio Karelia Neighbourhood Programme was not something that seemed accessible for the people I interviewed, despite the positive emphasis on culture in the program documents. In the Karelia ENPI (Council of Oulu Region 2008, 29), cultural cooperation seems to be largely undefined; it is another question, whether this supports new activities across the border.

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220 Suggesting contradictions between ethnic and civic arguments (article 1)

221 In the Finnish case these were missing altogether (see chapter Local and border crossing projects).

222 In both cases EU-funded projects belong to the same EU program period (2004-2006), as the program period 2007-2013 started only its first calls in 2010. In the Polish case, other funding (European Economic Area, American and German) also enabled the continued realization of local projects.

223 This notion was meant to suggest a “deeper level” of cooperation; however, the economic rationale tends to come to the fore (in practice, eventual actors participating in projects had to find funding elsewhere, but at the same time small-scale EU funding for regional cross-border cooperation was here not provided for projects on culture). For examples of heritage and tourism projects see Council of Oulu Region 2009.

224 This concerned the Finnish state Near Area funding, which seemed to ignore local needs in the border region, focusing instead on problems of the Russian side.

225 Here the notion of ‘cultural partnerships’ suggests deeper cooperation, but culture remains a matter of institutions and international relations rather than of interactions at the community level. The concept of ‘de-traditionalization’ in the case of practices of cooperation suggests that ‘cooperation on culture’ tries to overcome the ‘burden of the past’, avoiding any notions of difference. ‘Culture’ is resource for creating a space of cooperation (as art, creativity or as heritage of minorities) with shared economic practices.(Article 1)

In the following chapters I argue that not only is the use of objectified culture in co-operational practices important for cultural agency, but so is different distancing of actors from the material objects of the borderland.<sup>226</sup> Here the border is addressed; in other words, it became naturalized in the nineteenth and twentieth century as the boundary of national culture (Brown 2003, 308), and as a way of imagining physical and metaphorical bounded spaces (Löfgren 1999, 5-27). Whether relations are based on objectified culture or on negotiation of the meaning of material objects, this can be seen to affect their ‘legitimacy’. This means their ability to avoid ethnographic death as a means of negotiating differences and the meaning of the EU border. For example, some NGO actors emphasize social networking but use the cultural heritage simply as a resource for reflecting similar but different national cultures (article 3). My informants, however, might also address borderland materiality (especially the material heritage originating from the period before the Second World War, even from the nineteenth century) in ways that suggested local negotiation of difference and cultural diversity. These reveal the diverse effects of the ‘culturalization of European space’ (Johler 2006, 147ff) in terms of constructing local-European relations at the border. The idea of the national border as a cultural border is based on the idea that there are objective cultural differences across the border (Linde-Laursen 2010, 87). In some cases the way culture is addressed in projects (for example in terms of art and co-operational practices) transcends the border effectively, but some informants also referred to the role of the border as a physical and cultural construct affecting local people.

### ***Heritage as bordering: defining relations with culture(s)***

Within border studies the nation-state border has been defined as a process, a verb (Newman 2007, 27ff; van Houtum, Kramsch, and Zierhofer 2005, 1-15). In my case the analysis of bordering means a focus on the border figures that contribute to maintaining and relativizing the border (Schimanski and Wolfe 2007, 14ff). One of my research questions concerned the way that border-crossing actors connect the past with the present. It has been noted that, as an idea and a practice, heritage has the “capacity to hide complexities of history and politics”, but it also allows the “understanding of present politics, commerce and networking” (Turtinen 2006, 172; Bendix 2000, 38) . The uses of heritage by local actors reflect their ways of sensing and practicing culture (which is not only local). Local actors seldom address the border as such, but it is the use of heritage, as a border figure, which can reveal recent cultural bordering when it comes to actualizing the past. Rather than merely creating diverse social spaces, the uses of ‘heritage’ can also suggest its “democratization”<sup>227</sup> as a means for relativizing the border on the community level (article 4, 20).

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226 These may also suggest the transparency in defining identity and heritage called for by Siivonen (2011, 60).

227 In these borderlands, in a political setting, ‘democratization’ can refer to systemic transformation in the post-Soviet period, of which images of past heritage can be one part (article 3), but essentially the “democratization” discussed here suggests uses of heritage that (dis-)empower local actors and communities in negotiating the border, and – eventually – what is “local” culture and heritage.

Above I noted an emphasis on representing cultures in cooperation, but also the need (as sensed by my informants) to find new ways of doing border crossings, which might better address the needs of local communities. This reflects how uses of ‘culture’ may suggest identity formation as well as cultural sharing (Linde-Laursen 2010, 2-5). In article 4, a cultural border is suggested in the way that differences are located in people and places in a hierarchic way. A community at the border, for example, can emphasize its own specificity by emphasizing its borderland heritage, such as the Karelian heritage; this may actually counteract ideas of cross-border cooperation as negotiations of differences across the national divide (articles 1 and 5). This offers possibilities for emphasizing specificity in the national space and individual border crossings, but they seem to require a specific cross-border mentality (article 5). At the same time, in terms of addressing new cultural diversity, such as immigrants, their integration can be addressed as a pragmatic issue (article 5). For example, with Russians now increasingly present on the Finnish side of the border (in the form of shopping, cross-border marriages, or “return” migrants with an Ingrian background), the idea is not that they would connect with local heritage, but with a local culture. Heritage remains a “localizing” resource rather than a border-crossing resource for identity construction that would relativize the border on the local level and negotiate the boundaries of local heritage.

In understanding cultural agency, ways of representing the border are crucial. Culture can be used to represent borders as ‘traces’, with the consequence of legitimating them (Schimanski and Wolfe 2010, 41). At the external border of the EU culture can become a means of addressing the effects of the border on people, but also of defining a European space. In a way, the EU border itself can become “cultural” as part of representational strategies, when it is addressed through performances and becomes part of the negotiation of local cultural diversity (article 4). The construction of an Orthodox Cultural Center, based on ideas of a border-crossing heritage, in other words a ‘Karelian heritage’, can also suggest a representational strategy of the border as ‘no cultural border’ (article 5, 13).<sup>228</sup> When border crossings at the same time require individual competences, it can be problematic if there is no strong emphasis on a shared heritage or local culture in cooperation *and* one has no personal relations across the border (article 1).<sup>229</sup> This suggested cultural agency for which the representational strategy of the border as no ‘cultural border at all’ (article 5) is important. In the Polish case I observed that the border itself became part of representations of a ‘new’ cultural diversity in a borderland locality in terms of

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228 This suggests the benefit of multi-sited research practice, which allowed me to re-contextualize an actor whom I knew from his earlier activities before 2005 in a local organization focusing on Russian relations and as an important person behind a successful local cultural cross-border project involving popular music (Rockbridge), but now engaged with religious heritage.

229 Finnish museum actors seem to find it hard to even think of a heritage shared with Russians, since Karelia is perceived so differently across the border. Here the loaning of objects between museums takes seldom place, although interesting objects could be found in diverse collections. For Russians, this means Orthodox icons rescued by Finns.

integrating immigrants (article 4). This suggests a development whereby the ‘border’ enters everywhere, even at a great distance from its actual geographical location.<sup>230</sup>

It also seems important to take note that in the politics of heritage the same artifacts can be used for legitimating different political aims. Here claims of legitimacy may be based on ideas of pure heredity rather than pointing out their hybrid descent. (Bendix 2000, 50)<sup>231</sup> Turtinen (2006, 172) has found that the success of world heritage is based on its heterogeneity, in its capacity to provide an arena and tools for realizing different goals. Thus ideas of a ‘common heritage’ may not merely suggest a “symbol open to many actors” (Klekot 2007, 164-167); border-crossing practices provide an arena for realizing diverse aims – including what are considered the ‘right’ ways of doing border crossings. Heritage can remain an economic resource for professionals or NGO’s seeking its protection and focusing on the ‘authenticity’ of objects of national and transnational culture. For example, museum actors can celebrate ideas and values of universal culture and heritage as detached from politics (article 2, 38; article 3). They can also themselves suggest that there exists a more ‘real’ sense of whom the objects belong to, but that they know how they should be politically addressed in their present national context (Ukraine is seen as ‘struggling’ to escape the influence of Russia, just as Poland once was). This may provide a further, European-level legitimation for increased interaction, even a moral necessity to contribute to developments in Ukraine.<sup>232</sup> This may empower some actors and disempower others.

In the third article, I focus on how actors used ‘heritage’ to legitimate and reflect their actions. This ‘translocal heritage’ was a resource for imagining and legitimating relations that seek cultural sharing and doing across borders. The title of the article, ‘The power of translocal cultural heritage’, is to be understood as indicating an ironic distancing. ‘Heritage’ as part of the practices of cooperation suggests shared values in doing border crossings, but these mobilizations of heritage, described as multicultural, seem to have little meaning in addressing borderland communities.<sup>233</sup> NGO actors seem to distance themselves from the discourses of national, Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation (article 3). In addressing local heritage, a single temporally limited project might also provide scanty possibilities (article 4). The local benefit of a one-time project to clean up a ruined and overgrown Orthodox cemetery in a Catholic community might also be questionable, and criticized by other actors engaged with the borderland heritage.<sup>234</sup> Again, ‘other’s’ ways of using heritage, project practices and

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230 This is also suggested in experiences of customs controls when Poland became part of the Schengen area (Zowczak 2010, 11-30).

231 The terms ‘heredity’ and ‘hybridity’ suggest the way power relations can be included in understanding present-day heritage politics. Regina Bendix (2000, 39) has argued that these were crucial when feudal systems were transformed into democratic nation-states based on cultural homogeneity, which now are affected by economic and political globalization.

232 In the Polish case we see how the Orange Revolution of 2004 in Ukraine, and its problems since then, affect local perceptions of cooperation.

233 I saw this as a need to focus on the actor’s ‘vertical imagination’ (Notes 6.5.2008).

234 Renovation of a common cemetery is also hardly to make claims of increased tourism to a remote village very credible.

communities serve as a point of reference and contrast for actors, but these ‘others’ are not necessarily across the border. Border-crossing actors may also use the borderland heritage as a means of addressing present-day power relations and the border in terms of the hybridity of the material heritage itself.

### *Negotiating materiality and the EU border*

My focus on material aspects of the borderlands reveals how objects become important in negotiating what is shared in diverse relations. It is not objects as such but their location in relationships that negotiate differences. Past changes in borders, and the subsequent mobilizations of people and materiality, have led to a situation in these borderlands where difference and culture are aligned with the border (see chapter on Kresy and Karelia). In the case of co-operational programs and networking, the cultural heritage evidently tends to be presented as a ‘commoditum’ rather than a ‘sacrum’ (Purchla 2005, 7). Here co-operational practices seem to allow the uses of local heritage in a way that does not engage communities (article 4). On the other hand, the latter, ‘sacrum’ meaning of heritage suggests an uncontested national framework of displaced national heritage from across the border and selected audiences for heritage practices, such as museum experts (article 2): Objects from across the border tend to remain inherited in a more or less ‘natural’ or ‘biological’ way. In terms of bordering, as a border figure ‘culture’ can suggest that people with different cultures are different kinds of human beings (article 3).<sup>235</sup> Here ‘cultural heritage’ across the border may be seen as multicultural on a European scale, but its meaning in terms of cultural bordering remains fixed.

In the case of cross-border networking in cross-border cooperation projects, materiality has come to be considered as a ‘boundary object’ (Häkli 2009, 205ff). For me, as part of diverse relationships, objects in the borderland suggest cultural agency in terms of compromising ideas of man as an ‘individual and intentional subject’ behind a practice (Damsholt and Simonsen 2009, 15). The ethnography of an object which is multiply situated is integrally comparative when the phenomena juxtaposed have conventionally been kept apart (Marcus 1995, 102). Multi-sited comparison is a means to observe how objects gain meaning in these relations in terms of negotiating differences. In diverse mobilizations of heritage, the ‘authenticity’ of heritage also suggests a “cultural ‘strategy’ of mapping themes onto the agenda and into discourse” (Kaschuba 2008, 33). Here the direct effects of EU funding for cross-border cooperation may be observed when a folk music festival, organized since 1991, became, with EU funding,<sup>236</sup> an example of common cross-border doing when Ukrainian and Polish children across the border renovated the local Orthodox cemetery. For my informant, the cemetery, rather than merely representing multicultural heritage, also became a site reflecting cultural mobility and diversity; and

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235 For the case of Southeast Poland see Hann 1998b, 840ff.

236 This ‘added value’ was a response to the requirements of EU funding, i.e. to overcome the rules which do not allow funding for cyclic events.

the border-crossing agency of ‘others’ across the border as part of local community (article 4).

I noted earlier that a ‘Karelian identity’, suggesting a ‘borderland’ identity, tends to remain a localizing option. In terms of the negotiation of differences in border crossings, Russians have their ‘incomprehensible Russian soul’ (article 5).<sup>237</sup> People who moved to previously Finnish regions are also seen as facing alienation in relation to a local, formerly Finnish materiality, thus seeming to lack a strong basis for identity in the present as well (article 5).<sup>238</sup> This suggests that the meaning of heritage is also seen as a local resource; actors adopt ideas of sustainability, but this is still something that is not local as such, since the border remains important in defining identity (article 5, see also Finnish Karelian League 4.3.2012). One has to look at the agency involved in the actual doing of border crossings. From this perspective, heritage remains more or less fixed in relation to the national border and thus also in its ability to support border crossings in terms of belongings.<sup>239</sup>

In the Polish case, borderland heritage as a whole has become defined as ‘multicultural’. It is not only local actors who are involved but people in the national capital running EU-funded programs (as well as other funding) and national programs on heritage (cultural institutions and NGOs). Here ‘heritage’ is addressed as an image of a multicultural past in terms of protecting it, i.e. material objects, and as a basis for tourism. (Ministerstwo Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego 2004a; Ilczuk and Drela 2007; Ministerstwo Rozwoju Regionalnego 2004, 16-18) Local cultural institutions have also adopted ideas of multiculturalism, including localities with hardly any socially significant minorities (Bieniecki 2005, 205ff). This multiculturalism is, however, not only a regional discourse and a focus on representing culture, but may also suggest specific local-European relations which can address the present socio-cultural meaning of the EU border (articles 4 and 5). Here heritage is not only about imagining solidarity across borders on the local level (article 3), but even a common future in which local materiality can support negotiations of difference. Some actors note that not only co-operational but also local, often sentimental and nostalgic, ways of representing objects and places across the border are insufficient: local material heritage is used for representing an idealized past rather than used as a resource for border crossing and addressing present problems.<sup>240</sup> These images, however, can also

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237 Further research might reveal a more diversified image of cultural bordering in the Finnish-Russian case as well, but here I am using this site to reflect alternative negotiations of differences at the EU border.

238 The problem of understanding lives across the border has emerged in research approaches and this is increasingly in demand, also in terms of what matters of agency mean for research (article 5, see also Hakamies 2006, Fingerroos and Loipponen 2007). As I see it, a focus on (translocal) relations and cultural agency address both of these issues, but discuss them as a matter of dealing with heritage on the “own” side of the border in terms of bordering at the EU border.

239 This is not to say that it would have been totally fixed in the local context even in the past; but this was effectively the case in places where past wars have created strong feelings of antipathy towards the ‘others’. It is also this memory that is addressed in local uses of heritage, where cross-border incorporation is suggested.

240 One informant commented on these based on a book of photographs (Hejke and Odojewski 2006), and the related exhibition organized in Lublin (Field notes 2.6.2006, TYKL/SPA/1149:33).



serve as important points of reference in imagining alternative border crossings (article 4), indicating that cultural or religious traits are not merely ‘a commodifiable part of heritage industry’ (Bendix 2000, 41).

The Jewish heritage (in the Polish case) seems to have a specific role to play, even though EU-funded projects for this heritage have been few. The (few) exhibitions in museums (Stalowa Wola) and houses of culture (Leczno), as well as festivals (Włodawa, Lublin), seem to exemplify a rather “safe” way of presenting diversity. However, the past Jewish heritage has become part of understanding a ‘more real’ multicultural local present when diverse relations make them once again part of social reality (articles 3 and 4). In local cultural festivals multicultural heritage has found new credibility, for example, when Jewish visitors with local roots visit them (Bieniecki 2005, 213-214). In localities with a Jewish past, new Jewish objects may also be discovered even today (Stalowa Wola, Włodawa). The museum actor places these objects within her own institutional setting (article 2), while another actor in a local House of Culture says that the objects he found made him reflect on local diversity and border crossings (article 4). This suggests the effect of what has been described as a metonymic way of connecting past material objects with cultural wholes, such as a European present (Sezneva 2007, 31). The role of borderland materiality in border crossings also suggests what Michael Herzfeld (2001, 137) has discussed: the way that border crossings are “materialized taxonomic breakpoints”. In this case, as part of local-European relations, these are also suggested far away from the actual border or border crossing points, for instance at new festivals celebrating multiculturalism (article 4). At the border, however, this also becomes visible.

In order to understand European borders and borderlands there is a need for analysis of memory and experience (Wilson 2009, 1-8). This can also suggest a way to avoid ethnographic death: One Polish house of culture had a project in which a book of photographs was published with funding from a Neighbourhood Program. The book, entitled ‘Traces of being present’ (Kostecki and Zabłocki 2007) contained photographs taken by two local photographers since the 1980s; the images were used to display the still remaining borderland heritage, but without specific interpretative texts.<sup>241</sup> These ruined Greek Catholic and Jewish sacral buildings “show the destruction of what was to serve God” (ibid, 1). When people are included in these pictures they are taking part in the border-crossing religious procession organized yearly since 2004, in which the *Granica Polsko-Ukraińska* (Polish-Ukrainian border) is represented by border fences and guards. Since the year of the Ukrainian Orange revolution, the border itself is thus addressed in terms of local ways of negotiating heritage and differences that seek to incorporate others. Some objects at the border, such as the Greek Catholic Chapel, can become sites for making border crossing and imagination of a borderless Europe tangible, part of everyday life (article 4). Importantly, these are also reflected in recent

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241 The year and location of the photographs are mentioned. This project was based on personal contacts of the director of the House of Culture in Polish Krasnystaw. When he had to leave this position due to local politics the project was completed by his followers, but there have been no other projects with Ukrainians since then.

popular cultural events at the border (article 4), further highlighting the ambiguity of cultural agency related to the EU border. ‘Cultures’ involving transnational options (popular music and art, discussed in articles 2 and 4) have become a resource for cultural bordering, even for suggesting cross-border incorporation.

To sum up: the first two articles focused on ‘cooperation on culture’ and the ‘culture of cooperation’ (Anderson, O’Dowd, and Wilson 2003, 23-25). ‘Culture’ was able to act as an agent in cooperation, not simply as a marker of differences (Donnan and Wilson 1999, 62). Here material objects came to frame the way border crossings were imagined and represented more or less simply as traces of the past. Material objects suggested stable identifications and belongings, which might also be located quite far from the actual co-operational practices. Thus these practices suggested what could be called re- rather than de-bordering.<sup>242</sup> In the later articles, heritage objects suggested more flexible and situational meanings, as part of the doing of cross-border and local-European relations. Instead of representational strategies where diverse border crossing objects remain markers and containers of differences, these objects (as a kind of hybrid heritage) suggest cultural sharing at the border. The material border and ‘border management’ (Newman 2007, 34-35) may also be affected by personal bordering seeking to engage local communities. As a whole, this cultural agency suggests the need for a multi-sited analysis that includes both everyday life and the system (Coleman and Collins 2006, 7). It is not simply multicultural or heritage projects as such, but ways of doing border crossings and imagining culture(s), that shape the negotiation of borders.

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242 These also suggested the sociological term ‘re-traditionalization’ (Beck 2006, 201).

## 6. Traces of Europe, traces of border/land sustainability

When it comes to thinking of well-being and sustainability in these borderlands, the basic question seem to be this: How can we observe and analyze what is changing in culture at the EU border? During a certain period following the collapse of the Soviet Union, border crossings at the Polish-Ukrainian border did not require a visa and cross-border trade came to flourish. Since 2004, the external border of the European Union has come to be seen locally in terms of tightening border controls and a lack of European identity. Narratives of negative effects of the EU border are not hard to find, as well as evaluations of EU-funded projects as having hardly any positive effect on local well-being (despite their noteworthy economic input). In the Finnish-Russian case actual border crossings have increased, while border controls have changed in only limited ways. At the same time the border has come to suggest a space for cooperation, also important for safeguarding local identity and local development. In both cases the discourses of cooperation suggest Europeanization, which can easily be subjected to an ideological critique. What I am arguing, in terms of the sustainability of culture, is the need to look at how individuals give meaning, as part of their doing of border-crossings, to the ‘cultures’ involved in border crossings and negotiations of border, as well as their system awareness. European discourses of cooperation (in the Polish case also of national reconciliation with Ukraine) provide symbols and images of border crossing ‘cultures’ and heritage, which in the Polish case have come to be seen as either ‘elite’ approaches<sup>243</sup> or (in the Finnish case) in terms of ‘pragmatic’ institutionalization, but which also result in new local and border-crossing agency. The conclusion in this thesis is that the impact of the EU border and of diverse funding for cultural projects is a far more complex issue than simply that of their positive and negative effects, of ‘cultural’ or ‘ethnic’ revival, of tensions, or of the lack of a local European identity. We need to address the processes affecting cultural change, and here it is ‘bordering with culture(s)’ that comes to the fore. On the one hand, as the title of the thesis suggests, we need to understand bordering with an impact on local agency (the conditions for cultural change), but also the cultural agency that results from this bordering. The idea of border/land sustainability (article 5) also calls for the incorporation of diverse social, economic and political aspects within an analysis of cultural sustainability.

This thesis thus addresses the need, recently indicated by Thomas M. Wilson (2012, 92), to “identify and understand culture, identity and power in borderlands” in terms of assessing networks and elites, but at the same time to be historically reflexive, without idealist notions of culture and community. There is an increasing body of ethnological (and border-related) research focusing on culture, policy and development (Siivonen 2011, 47ff; 2008; Kockel 2007, 19ff; Birkeland 2007, 82ff), as well as on relations between culture, borders/bordering and material borderlands (for example, Jagetic Andersen et. al. 2012, Linde-Laursen 2010, Schimanski & Wolfe 2010, Sandberg

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243 For a recent example of a study of ‘elite youth’ perceptions of the Polish-Ukrainian border see Gawlewicz and Yndigegn 2012.

2009). European-funded projects should not be seen as disconnected from everyday life, but in terms of their effect on cultural creativity and well-being (Siivonen 2011, 59), and of claims of a transnational (Linde-Laursen 2010, 4) and European reality (Kockel 2010, 195-196; Andersen and Sandberg 2008, 56-57). It has been noted that diverse relations, development projects and symbols, affect local lives and the way people understand for example European integration. Rather than seeing development simply as an intervention of European institutions at the EU border, or as a matter of bounded spaces suggested by regional development projects, further understanding is required of the role of culture and heritage for sustainable development.<sup>244</sup> ‘Culture’ and ‘heritage’ seem to offer plenty of options for cultural agency and for realizing imaginary borderlands, also in contradictory ways. In this thesis hybridization of culture was observed. As Ina-Maria Greverus (2002, 26) puts it: not only the people studied but also the researcher is a hybridized subject, not allowing him or herself to be shackled by boundaries. The search for the ‘Other’ becomes part of the ‘I’, for whom mobile research fits better than a stationary approach. The funding provided by diverse (mainly EU) cross-border programs evidently affects how projects are described, but what people say they do in their projects is another matter. The analysis needs to focus on what is actually done in border crossings. In times of globalization, it is important to look at the construction of barriers potentially involved in the emphasis on the local and the national (Kłoczowski and Łukasiewicz 2003, 24).

As Reinhard Johler (2006, 152) puts it: the largely EU-initiated ‘culturalization of European space’, where the search for cultural originality and talk of differences and similarities flourish especially in terms of European regions, tends to rely on territorial and fixed notions of heritage.<sup>245</sup> At the external border, European institutions have emphasized dealing with the problems that result from its stricter external borders, including a highlighting of projects focusing on people-to-people cooperation in order to give the EU a ‘human face’ (Commission of the European Communities 2006, 6). Europe has been described in European grand narratives as a moral success story, and the new *Homo Europaeus* (following the ideas of Jean Monnet) as a person “who no longer feels deep emotional attachment to the nation-state and whose old parochial loyalties and sense of belonging have been directed towards Europe” (Shore 2000, 221-222). The uses of heritage and culture in border crossings and diverse relations seem to offer a diversified picture of the ways that moral aspects and diverse local, national and European options shape local agency and hybrid actors at the border.

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244 The 10th SIEF conference in Lisbon for the first time included a workgroup dedicated to discussing cultural sustainability. The panel, entitled ‘Everyday creativity, cultural heritage and cultural sustainability’ (see SIEF 11.12.2010) raised questions that were partly similar to my focus on cultural agency and border crossings: for example, who defines or has the power to define cultural sustainability, and what is the relationship between ‘culture(s)’ and ‘development’?

245 It must be noted here that in recent EU-funded cross-border cooperation, such as the Karelia ENPI for 2007-2013, it says openly that it is “hard to define a single approach on cultural cooperation in a development program” (Council of Oulu Region 2008, 29). It remains to be seen how this obscurity is transformed in future projects. At the same time, in the Polish-Ukrainian case there is a new focus on minorities in the borderland (Ministerstwo Rozwoju Regionalnego 2008, 17).

The practices of border-crossing projects tend to emphasize the role of organizations and certain political ideas of Europe in terms of good and bad development. These are of course part of the borderland culture, but this is not the whole story of cultural change at the border. It is suggested in the articles of the thesis that as a strong national and European symbol, the border itself, a ‘local Europe’ (Johler 2002, 7-9) becomes a reality for many. In the different sites<sup>246</sup> of this thesis, diverse representational strategies of the external EU border Union come to the fore; but border crossings, in which the ethnographic object is that of diverse local-European relations, suggest opportunities for local agency on shaping future well-being. Considered as border figures that negotiate borders, ideas, projects, practices, human beings and things can all be seen as part of local-European relations that define not only what actually is eventually handed on to future generations, but also how this will happen (what is shared). These ‘relations’ can include ideas of the naturalized border, bounded cultures and a common heritage, suggesting practices of networking or the agency of others. Local actors’ doing of border crossings reflects local culture, and its strategies of survival only in part, but these imaginations can also address the differences layered in memory and the materiality of communities in novel ways, which gives them strength.

The funding available at the EU-external border<sup>247</sup> also affects the negotiation of difference and local agency. Here bordering, the use of border figures for relativizing and maintaining the border (Schimanski and Wolfe 2007, 14),<sup>248</sup> is an important process for understanding sustainability and culture. In addition to more flexible notions of culture and heritage, also objectifications of culture can be sustainable (article 5). This means that in terms of doing ethnological research on sustainability, we have to take into account the way that our empathetic approach, and our conception of culture as a process, may become culture-relativistic in its effect (see chapter ‘Notes on interpretation and knowledge production’). It is suggested that while social aspects are crucial in terms of sustainability, the recent emphasis on (social) networking in co-operation may actually override other ideas of local actors of more participatory practices in defining and using heritage as a basis for cultural identity and the local negotiation of borders. Here “bordering with culture(s)” emerges as a process that allows more people to shape the borderland heritage as well as local well-being. The practices of cross-border networking may also simplify actor positions and support stereotypic images. In the framework of (post-socialist) transitions in the Polish case, these include binary images of ‘winners and losers’ (Buchowski 2006, 475). These call for an analysis of bordering. We need to recognize how “belonging and outsiderhood can be experienced in the same encounters” (Svensson 2002, 220-221).

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246 This is to point out that sustainability is here not based on a comparison between the two borderlands as such. If possible at all, such a comparison would be quite uninteresting: it would consist of lists of cultural attributes, which is hardly what a study of Europeanization and cultural processes is after.

247 Funding is available when the EU tries to integrate its neighboring regions and support cross-border interaction at the local level; but also in the Polish-Ukrainian case in particular, due to the specific heritage whose fate was decided in battles between ideologies in WWII, as well as more recently by new openings suggested by Polish-Ukrainian national reconciliation as a matter of a common people.

248 See van Houtum, Kramsch, and Zierhofer 2005, 3; also Linde-Laursen 2010, 5.

My focus on bordering suggests the effects of Europeanization in terms of bordering. This means interaction between diverse ideas of common culture and cultural difference, provided not least by co-operational programs, and how they can become engaged in the ‘border/land’. At the changing political and juridical divide, at the external border of the EU, a multi-sited analysis reveals local and not-only-local alternatives for defining what is valuable and specific in a community. This also reflects the way that borders are not only Janus-faced, but look in many directions at once (van Houtum, Kramsch, and Zierhofer 2005, 12). The idea of ‘multiple borders’, used to suggest the effects of diverse networks, is useful (Sandberg 2009, 207-214).<sup>249</sup> Here the systemic framework, project and funding practices, are also a resource for contrasting individual border crossings. Some local actors seem to be concerned about what actually will be handed on to future generations (articles 3, 4 and 5). In other words: who is to have cultural agency in the borderland setting and what consequences does this have for people, especially for those who might not be in a position to capitalize on and relativize the border by networking across it?

In terms of the sustainability of practices related to heritage and traditions, one way to understand it is to focus on what (cultural practices and objects) actually get ‘handed on’ to future generations in a meaningful way in terms of knowledge and skills (Kockel 2007, 21-27). Above I pointed out that ‘project agency’ and networking may produce stability and rely on fixed heritage, and lead to institutions, such as museums, to be very active in creating common practices and cooperation across borders, but that the bordering they imply, such as imposing the border, can result in tensions locally. Local actors may, however, also address the border as well as the objectified ‘cultures’ and heritages involved in diverse bordering practices. This suggests a worry of what becomes handed on to future generations in diverse heritage related projects. However, as a ‘mechanism’ that “tend[s] to create the boundaries, homogeneity and stability of culture” (Siivonen 2011, 51), I would see that the practices and local negotiations of the EU border and borderland materiality suggest cultural change. In the case of regional development work, the need has been noted for supporting more ‘participative’ and ‘transparent’ processes of defining cultural constructions, such as heritage and identity (ibid, 59-60), for example, the inclusion of everyday cultural identifications in projects (Siivonen 2008, 356). The focus here would be on the supporting the interactional process that contributes to cultural change rather than stability. In my thesis on ‘border/land sustainability’, both of the above perceptions on cultural sustainability can be perceived, and in both cases borderland materiality too has a crucial role to play. When seen in terms of effects on cultural identifications, bordering processes suggest also new opportunities due to to the EU border. In terms of sustainability, the point here is that although culture is obviously a process of

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249 The notion of a ‘multiple border’ was recently adopted as the title of a volume of anthropological and ethnological studies of European borders (see Jagetic Andersen, Klatt, and Sandberg 2012, 257). The articles in the volume were grouped in sections as Re-scaling Europe, Everyday life and Cooperation; this corresponds to my study as a whole, when I suggest bordering with culture(s) as a possibility of understanding the effects of the border, and of European ideas and bordering practices, on local well-being.

constant change, we need to understand the role of objectifications of culture and the experience of borderland materiality as well as the border, in order to understand the way that cultural creativity and well-being may actually be supported by processes of Europeanization at the external borders of the EU. On one hand, border-crossing projects can focus on fixed heritage (national framework, for example) and what becomes shared are the border-crossings activities (between actors), but on the other hand, heritage can become an active resource for supporting the development cultural identifications (and affecting local well-being). The stability and ‘cultural borders’ suggested by borderland material heritage, and its actualization with the aim of safeguarding it (as well as through experience), become crucial for the (more or less conscious) options and practices local people have for bordering, that is, for defining borderland culture at the border.

In the borderlands discussed in this thesis, the meanings of heritage were of course not fixed at the local level even before any European projects started to be implemented; in many cases, however, relations and interaction with the others across the border have reflected strong antipathies and negative stereotypes since the atrocities of Second World War and – in the Polish case – Communist (and national) propaganda. In article 3, the notion of translocal heritage also suggests diverse relations across borders where the social aspect of interaction comes to the fore. Although cooperational programs and policies suggest seem to be based on ideas of heritages and national cultures with fixed meaning (the emphasis on networking where heritage is seen as a resource for simple connections between past and present) the cultural dynamics of diverse border crossings make the connection of heritage and cultures with places and communities a complex issue. My point is that recent relationships affect the way that borderlands heritage, and thus the meanings related to material heritage, has become active in negotiating differences and initiating local and border-crossings relations. These suggest different ways of excluding and including ‘others’ in attempts to support local well-being.

In terms of border crossings at the national level, in the Finnish case there was a strong focus on connecting culture with the economy (article 1), while in the Polish case the emphasis was on reconciliation and relationships across the border (articles 2 and 3). Local actors, however, do not tend to relate to these directly, but rather reflect their sense of being part of a local community, a nation, and Europe. Development programs can seek new projects in terms of defining ‘good practices’, but these (projects, principles, rules) are negotiated by individuals. While projects relativize the meaning of the border, the practices and culture of cooperation may also impose the border. Heritage can be used to suggest different ‘right’ and ‘equal’ ways of doing cross-border relations (articles 3 and 5). In terms of sustainability, and suggesting the way that Europeanization may direct cultural change (see ‘Questions’), the issue is how these relations address borders and belongings. Individuals can note how the EU border may not face local needs for well-being and local ways of perceiving heritage and the border. They can also observe this in relation to other project actors, with whom they can contrast their own doing (article 4). One example is the way that

‘heritage’, as a resource for co-operational (interest-based social) networking across borders, may silence local ways of perceiving heritage and the role of borderland objects in local culture. Heritage suggests common values and shared practices of cooperation, but it can also mean differences in life-worlds (despite similar traditions: the way that Ukrainians seem to live the tradition differs from that in Poland, where it is simply on stage). The focus on a culture of cooperation can also be problematic if border crossings remain simply a matter of one’s own competences and skills in relations across the border and do not provide arenas for negotiating heritage; it is difficult to find legitimacy for actions in terms of engaging communities and the border.

My informants did not usually refer to or use the term ‘sustainable development’,<sup>250</sup> but they show what is valuable for the community and its well-being when they connect ideas of heritage with their doing of border crossings. A crucial factor in the localization of ideas of Europe (unity in diversity, borderless Europe) is the EU border as a cultural construct, for example in practices that suggest stability and homogenized culture, but also when it contributes as a resource for redefining local identity. What is suggested in my articles is that culture and heritage can even become a means of addressing the border and its effects for local people (article 4). It is no longer simply a national divider, whose human character is defined by illegal practices (smuggling, corruption) at the border.<sup>251</sup> Here we also need to note how diverse objectified cultures (popular culture, folklorized heritage) can be part of cultural agency in terms of negotiating the socio-cultural effects of the border. There is a need to overcome differences as something that suggests inequality (for example in project funding), but at the same time the border itself and its material heritage suggests hierarchized differences. When I searched for the ethnographic object, it was something that was coupled with understandings of power relations: EU borders have become more permeable only for some people. The role of heritage in bordering suggest relations between heritage and reflexivity, heritage as ‘active’ rather than passive (Kockel 2007, 27; Nic Craith 2007, 5-6), and its ‘authenticity’ as “cultural ‘strategy’ of mapping themes onto the agenda and into discourse” (Kaschuba 2008, 33). It is thus not simply a symbol of cooperation or something that has meanings fixed with the material remains of the past, but suggests diverse border crossings.<sup>252</sup> In terms of cultural agency, the ‘authenticity’ of heritage (not simply as a symbol or image between past and present, but as a basis for experience and doing, see article 5) is important for sustainability due to its role in bordering (as part of local-European relations that negotiate hierarchized differences). It seems that localness can be used by diverse actors as a basis for defining sustainability in their projects, but the actual doing at the

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250 In one case the actor seemed to focus on this concept when I met him two years later, as having potential for new project ideas. This left me puzzled as to whether I had had this effect on his activities, and if he was still seeing me as a potential project partner.

251 These too have revealed the multiple meaning of the border; see Byrska-Szklarczyk 2012, 102ff.

252 These aspects tend to be suggested by the rhetorical use of the heritage concept (as a resource for tourism only) in cross-border cooperation programs, such as the Neighbourhood Programme (Ministerstwo Rozwoju Regionalnego 2004, 17). This raises the question: what is it that is inherited here?



EU border, and the related negotiations of heritage at least among some actors, suggest also the important role of experiencing diverse relations and border crossings in supporting this “local” well-being. Practices related to EU funding may play a rather indirect role in affecting development (as a means for contrasting agency, see article 4) and one should not overestimate their homogenizing effect. Here the border offers bounded spaces for many people, but there are also those that suggest different ways of being a European and defining diverse cultural borders as important for local well-being (see article 5).

When it comes to border crossings in these ceded borderlands, the regional aspect (beyond project administration, such as Euregio and Euroregion) is left undefined, leaving room for individuals to create their own borderlands. Here ‘multiculturalism’ and ‘Karelianity’ offer regional discourses, which may imply nationally fixed meanings of shared heritage; but in these ceded borderlands, with displaced heritage and people, they also have a dimension of border crossing and bordering. In the Polish case, actors can also negotiate the meaning of Kresy, not as part of national culture but rather as a personalized issue (competences from roots across the border). There is also space for actualizing the past in regional terms, simply as an issue of the local culture of the region (kraina), but not without bordering effects.<sup>253</sup> Also the national concept (Kresy) can be used in projects, but simply as a local concept with new, popular cultural ingredients (which are perceived as suiting the EU better than a focus on the past), whereas a national border is suggested when actual objects of ceded heritage come to cross borders, for example in museum displays. It is these exchanges of ‘national’ objects that also draw the attention of local media. The border is a space for diverse ways of actualizing the past; but when it comes to ceded heritage across the border this remains rather an issue of memory of places (in the Finnish case) or of professional networking based on ideas of shared European heritage (in the Polish case). However, rather than negotiating the historical ceded or present functional regions (the regionauts, see O’Dell 2003, Löfgren 2010), what is important for sustainability is the EU border and ways of addressing local materiality and the border ‘at home’ (a kind of border-Euronauts).

In general conclusion: rather than ethnographic death, we can also speak of ethnographic revivals at the external border of Europe. The European aspect is not a revival of “old cultures by new institutions” (Kennard 2010, 197), or an ‘ethnic revival’ of conflicting ethnic groups in the region (Kisielowska-Lipman 2002, 150-151). The Polish Kresy implies a multicultural European region<sup>254</sup> with a local ideology (local identities in construction). Here the fact that the material remains of a multicultural past remain on the Polish side of the border can transform representations of local cultural diversity into complex doing of border crossings, with shared agency across the border. Claims on the local material heritage can also be made from outside

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253 For example, when Ukrainian ‘heritage’ performances on stage on Polish side can be seen (by Poles) as reflecting an everyday life experience on Ukrainian side; as a context that is lost in Poland (see chapter ‘Heritage and authenticity’).

254 A Central European space (Kłoczowski and Łukasiewicz 2003, 24).

the community (by Jews as well as transnational heritage actors), suggesting static notions of identity, and the materiality may seem to act independently when seen from the local community perspective (articles 3 and 4). However, when agency is based on the local experience of material borderlands, these gain legitimacy due to the hybridity embedded in borderland heritage. This can fuel cultural agency in a European cultural space. The hybridity of heritage suggests ‘cultural sustainability’ not only as an expression of respect for one’s own and other people’s cultural forms and symbols (suggested in networking); it also becomes part of negotiating local heritage as part of doing border crossings (article 4 and 5). In this way material borderlands can be seen to make ideas of Europe tangible and also affect cultural identifications within and beyond borders.

When local actors and projects connect with “multicultural” borderland materiality, these suggest the negotiation of differences as well as the EU border.<sup>255</sup> In terms of bordering, borderland materiality can suggest ‘traces of a sustainable future’, where values are found in the local and the European. This is suggested in the way ethnographic death is avoided when ‘border crossings’ suggest ‘materialized taxonomic breakpoints’ (Herzfeld 2001, 137). Both at the border and in places with ‘multicultural heritage’, such border crossings define heritage as strategic resource use as well as its importance for belonging and adapting to cultural flows. In the case of national cultural bordering, the idea is that the border reflects real, objective differences (Linde-Laursen 2010, 87). This means that when in the past the border, through border changes and displacements of people and material heritage, became a divider and a safeguard for taxonomies of ethnic cultural difference, the way that border has changed may affect cultural change and the role of cultures in bordering. In the articles, the way some people give meaning to border crossings by reflecting their local knowledge of the system, i.e. relations between projects, Europe, border, and people/communities, were shown to suggest new ways of doing border crossings; these can also transplant ideas and practices related to ‘cultures’ to new places, such as the border. Here objectified cultures can be used to shed light on a shared border culture, which relates to the local experience of the border (article 4). These also effectively challenge the perception that people across the border are objectively a different kind of people.

Funding – whether obtained from the EU, from German or American sources, or from Polish and Finnish national ones – can be seen to mobilize cultural heritage as a symbol, and the ways that local actors actualize the past can take many forms: The past can remain a burden; but it can also be a resource that negotiates local heritage and the

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255 Ideas of ‘cultural development’, ‘cultural identity’ and ‘multicultural materiality’ were suggested in EU-funded cross-border cooperation in 2004-2006 (Ministerstwo Rozwoju Regionalnego 2004, 21, 29, 31-34). In the program period 2007-2013 the focus is also on support for minorities and cultural diversity (Ministerstwo Rozwoju Regionalnego 2008; European Parliament and the Council of the European Union 2006a). In both borderlands, the first call for projects took place only in 2010. Thus they fall outside the scope of this research.

border. My informants take part in diverse projects which can be seen to contribute to bordering, but some of them also reflect these in terms of bordering and local well-being. Cultural bordering is thus a resource for local actors suggesting ethnographic revival: new ways of actualizing the borderland heritage ‘at home’, at the border and across it, which result in addressing local well-being and for example cultural belonging as a democratic right. In other words, bordering is a resource for defining sustainability. Here diverse concepts of culture – art, practices, heritage, national culture, life-world – come to overlap and contribute to bordering in diverse ways. Tensions are suggested in the way ‘cultures’ and ‘heritage’ connect with places and practices of realizing projects across borders. As suggested by my informants and their doing of projects, in terms of border/land sustainability ‘culture’ can well be objectified when this is an advantage for the well-being of borderland people and when communities seek an equal basis for realizing border crossings. Culture and heritage can, however, also become subject to social and institutional networking where the focus is on representing cultures as a resource for realizing interests, and this may cause feelings of exclusion (article 5). The uses of heritage in places as well as in border crossings can become detached from local communities (articles 1 and 3). Here tensions in using heritage can also add fuel to negotiations of diversity, not least when other than local actors, or the institutions that are used to “safeguard” heritage, address material heritage as part of their border crossings. At the EU border, border/land sustainability can be understood as an issue of material heritage becoming engaged by diverse actors who rely on (trans-)local knowledge of relations and who thus, through bordering with culture(s), contribute in transforming localities and the border as interactional spaces. There might be a proclaimed emphasis on safeguarding local heritage, but essentially cultural change is fueled by the uses and experiences of borderland materiality. The opportunity for transborderness can remain a matter of a few people in cross-border cooperation, but we also observe that local-European relations suggest a local Europe for many: likewise the opportunities of individuals to realize their ideas of borderlands gain importance in terms of affecting larger groups of people.

It is important to note that the concept of ethnographic death is not to say that in the past heritage had a fixed meaning; my point is that Europeanization means the presence of diverse cultures, heritages and systems, which affect borderland culture. This means an opportunity for sensing “hybridity within the umbrella of heritage celebrated today” (Bendix 2000, 41, 50). Culture, as a meaning-making process, is constantly changing, and has done so in the past as well. The point here is that the European, as it is suggested in ideas and symbols of Europe and in EU practices, affects the way people address local heritage and identity, but also engages the socio-cultural effects of the border and suggests alternative cultural borders (article 4). Here it is Europe as a cultural idea, and borders as ‘frontiers’ (Kockel 1999, 7), that count. In terms of cultural horizons at frontiers, they have become zones of contact and contradiction, but also of opportunity. They expand in terms of time and space. (Ibid, 281-283; Kockel 2007, 31) Rather than regard everything that is ‘traditional’ as good, ethical judgment is required (Kockel 2010, 193-194). In a spatial sense local identities

are affected in terms of diverse relations that locate culture in places, but it is also about adaptation to diverse cultural flows. My point here, in relation to Kockel (1999), is to point out the importance of the border itself and the role of bordering as a strategy of adaptation and creativity. While ‘heritage’ can become a means of democratization in political rhetoric (and cooperation between institutions), here it can also mean cultural belonging as a “democratic right in support of cultural identity” (Svensson 2002, 220). Likewise when culture and heritage are located in places and regions by diverse actors, this option is to be seen as an increasingly *strategic option* for bordering culture in need of similar legitimacy as doing border crossing (article 5).

Just as a focus on *Heimat* as a public identity can suggest a forcing dynamic, as an object of development (Greverus 2006), bordering with culture(s) can be based on a forcing dynamic, but it can also suggest ‘local identity’ (hybrid heritage and individuals/communities at the border) suggesting cultural creativity. Local-European relations suggest the diverse ‘cultures’ that are part of bordering. Networking and a focus on social actors in projects may allow rather limited engagement of local communities, for example when local people at the border are seen to have identities tied to the past. Here we also find local people’s opportunities for participation in cultural life and perceiving local heritage. At the same time, quite surprisingly, some individuals suggest that the EU should define the border (rather than national actors), but since it does not seem to do so properly, these borders have become an arena for cultural bordering and for a discussion of belonging in borderlands (article 4). These suggest opportunities for developing cultural identifications through projects. This suggests Europeanization and borders as a credible topic, as well as the value of an ethnological search for the ‘novel’ and the ‘marginal’ (Hallberg 2001, 93ff, 205-206). Such voices of local actors may easily be lost sight of, but they can also suggest clues as to future development. Here the ethnographic object, local-European relations, not only blurs interpretations between past heritage and present practices of border crossing, but also the future. Here the doing and skills related to heritage, as well as its ‘authenticity’, gain significance but as diversely relocated in border crossings, and Europe does not remain merely a matter of governance, a source of funding for organizations and institutions; it also suggests new cultural agency for including local experience of heritage and the border in defining what is valuable for the community. One dimension at stake here is a personal bordering with Europe, which can also be reflected in everyday life in ways that have power to incorporate ‘others’ as well as affect structures, such as the ‘former’ national border. In terms of ethnological analysis, culture is basically an inter-subjective matter, but the recent cultural agency at the external border of the EU suggests important flexibilities between diverse ‘cultures’, local and border-crossing symbols, project (funding) practices, and borderland materiality as a means for supporting local cultural identifications and the sustainable bordering of communities in European borderlands.

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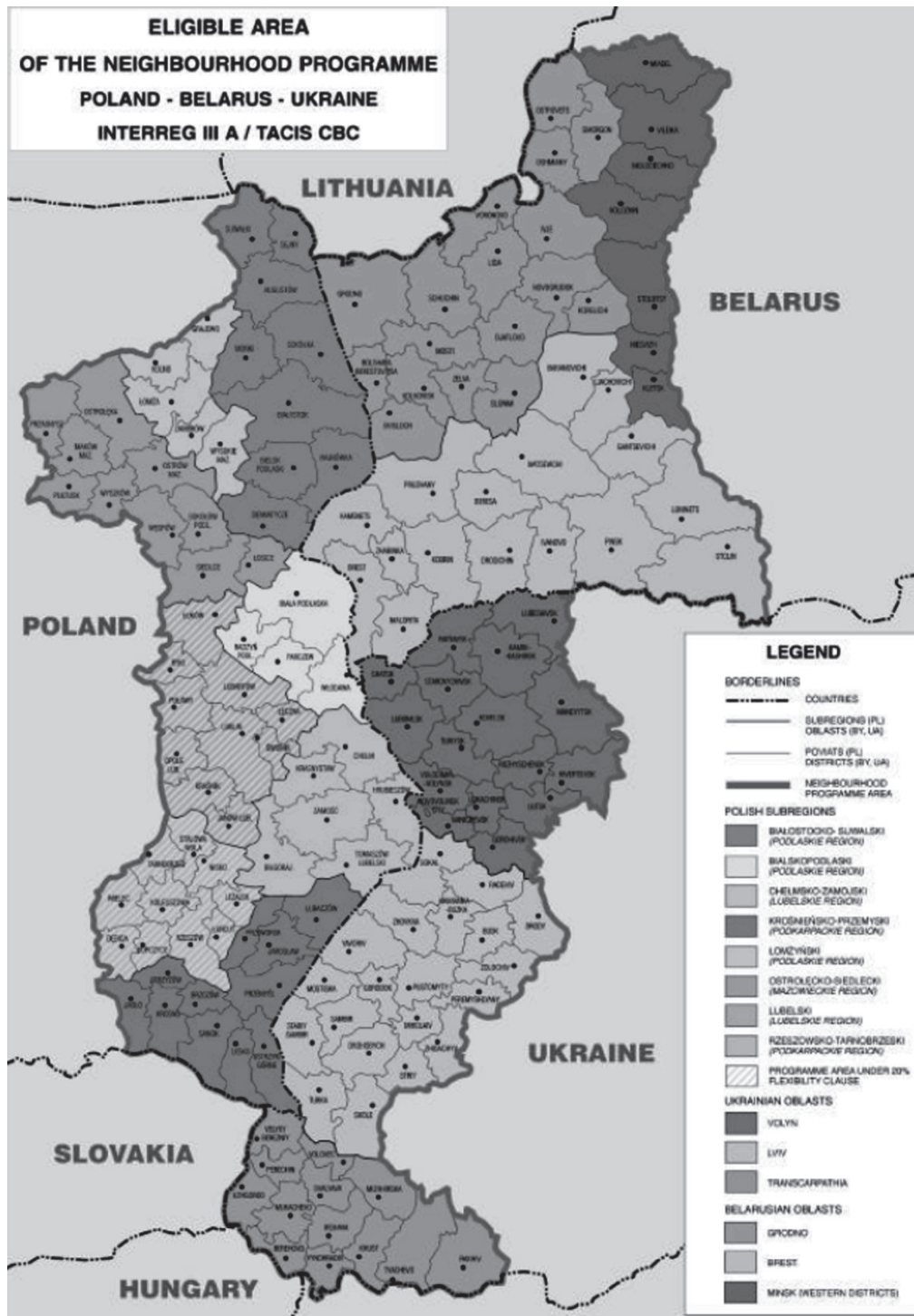
## Annexes

### Annex 1. Map of the area of Euregio Karelia Neighbourhood Programme 2004-2006



(Council of Oulu Region 2004)

## Annex 2. Map of the area of Neighbourhood Programme Poland-Belarus-Ukraine Interreg IIIA/Tacis CBC 2004-2006



(Ministerstwo Rozwoju Regionalnego 2004)

### Annex 3. Table of interviews, informants and their projects

Interview identifier used in the articles: Country/no./year*	Identification number given to the interviews by the Archives of the School of History, Culture and Arts Studies, University of Turku	Actor's main institutional or project role				Actor's source of project funding			Location			Sex	Age group					Country of origin (if not Polish or Finnish)
		Research	NGO actor	Program official	Municipality or Cultural institution	European Union programs****	EU funded projects**** on infrastructure	National***** American, German or EEA	Warsaw, PL	Lubelskie region, PL	Podkarpackie region, PL		Joensuu, FI		30	30-40	40-50	
F0105	TYKL/SPA/1149:1			1		x							W	1				
F0205	TYKL/SPA/1149:2		1			x							W	1				
F0305	TYKL/SPA/1149:3			1		x		x					W		1			
F0405	TYKL/SPA/1149:4			1		x		x					W		1			
F0505	TYKL/SPA/1149:5	1				x		x					W	1				
F0605	TYKL/SPA/1149:6			1		x		x					W		1			
PL0106	TYKL/SPA/1149:7	1				x		x			1		M		1			
PL0206	TYKL/SPA/1149:8	1				x		x			1		M		1			
PL0306	TYKL/SPA/1149:9			1		x		x			1		W		1			
PL0406	TYKL/SPA/1149:10		1								1		M		1			
PL0506	TYKL/SPA/1149:11			1							1		M		1			UA
PL0606	TYKL/SPA/1149:12		1								1		M		1			
PL0706	TYKL/SPA/1149:13	1				x		x			1		M		1			
PL0107	TYKL/SPA/1149:14	1		1				x			1		M		1			
PL0207	TYKL/SPA/1149:15		2								2		M, M		1			
PL0307	TYKL/SPA/1149:16	1		1				x			1		W		1			
PL0407	TYKL/SPA/1149:17			1		x		x			1		W		1			
PL0507	TYKL/SPA/1149:18		2			x					2		W, M		1			
PL0707	TYKL/SPA/1149:19		1			x					1		W		1			BLR
PL0807	TYKL/SPA/1149:20		1			x					1		W		1			UA
PL0907	TYKL/SPA/1149:21			1		x					1		W		1			
PL1007	TYKL/SPA/1149:22		1					x			1		M		1			UA
PL1107	TYKL/SPA/1149:23			1		x		x			1		M		1			
PL0109	TYKL/SPA/1149:24			1		x		x			1		M		1			
PL0209**	TYKL/SPA/1149:25			1		x		x			1		W		1			
PL0309***	TYKL/SPA/1149:26		2			x		x			2		M, W		1			
PL0409	TYKL/SPA/1149:27			2				x			2		W, W		1			
PL0509	TYKL/SPA/1149:28	1		1		x		x			1		M		1			
PL0609	TYKL/SPA/1149:29		1					x			1		M		1			
PL0709	TYKL/SPA/1149:30			1		x		x			1		M		1			
PL0809	TYKL/SPA/1149:31		1	2		x		x			2		M, M		1			
PL0909	TYKL/SPA/1149:32			1		x		x			1		M		1			

\* In the articles 2 & 3 interviews are cited in the form country/year/no.

\*\* Follow up interview of PL0507

\*\*\* Follow up interview of PL0407

\*\*\*\* This means EU funding for cross-border cooperation, but actors may also have used regional development funding.

\*\*\*\*\* In Finnish case only national and EU funding was or had been used by the actors

In Poland: 28 different informants in 26 recorded interviews

In Finland: 6 informants in 6 recorded interviews

Total number of informants in recorded interviews: 34



## Annex 4. Table of the newspapers and articles used in article 2

Newspaper	Archives accessed 10.8.2012	Amount
Super Tydzien	<a href="http://www.supertydzien.pl/">http://www.supertydzien.pl/</a>	12
Nowy Tydzien	<a href="http://www.nowytydzien.pl/">http://www.nowytydzien.pl/</a>	5
Dziennik Wschodni	<a href="http://www.dziennikwschodni.pl">http://www.dziennikwschodni.pl</a>	20
Kurier Lubelski	<a href="http://www.archiwum.kurierlubelski.pl/">http://www.archiwum.kurierlubelski.pl/</a>	3
Gazeta Wyborcza	<a href="http://archiwum.wyborcza.pl/Archiwum/0,0.html">http://archiwum.wyborcza.pl/Archiwum/0,0.html</a>	55
Echo Dnia	<a href="http://www.echodnia.eu">http://www.echodnia.eu</a>	38
Nowiny	<a href="http://www.nowiny24.pl">http://www.nowiny24.pl</a>	22
Sztafeta Stalowa Wola	<a href="http://www.sztafeta.pl">http://www.sztafeta.pl</a>	2
Tygodnik Powszechny	<a href="http://tygodnik.onet.pl/">http://tygodnik.onet.pl/</a>	6

The articles mentioned in above table (and used in article 2) can be found in the archived research materials (TYKL/SPA/1149:34) as well as on the Internet using the following search terms in the on-line archives of each newspapers (for articles before June 2007).

Newspaper	Search phrase used		
Super Tydzien	dom kultur	sokół	ukrain
	Chelmstok	festiwal	Jarmark
Nowy Tydzien	dom kultur	bug	sokół
	ukrain	kultur	
Dziennik Wschodni	Chelmstok	festiwa rock	kulturow dziedzictw
	euroregion bug	Chelmski dom kultur	Program Sąsiedztwa
	kultura ukrain	ukraina	
	sokół	bobołowicz	
Kurier Lubelski	euroregio	sokół	chelmski dom kultury
	jarmark	kultura ukraińska	ukraina
	bobołowicz		
Gazeta Wyborcza	euroregion Bug	stalowa wola kultur	chelm kultur
	pomaranecz	dziedzictwo	
Echo Dnia	muzeum stalowa	mizer lucyn	mizera
	Kultur stalowa	ukrain	jarmark
	euroregio	kresów	
Nowiny	muzeum stalowa	mizera	mizer lucyn
	kultura stalowa	ukrain	dziedzictwo
	muzeum kresów	ossolineum	euroregio
Sztafeta Stalowa Wola	dom kultur	muzeum	ukrain
	kultur		
Tygodnik Powszechny	nowa europa wschodnia		

## Original articles

I 'De-traditionalizing the cross-border co-operation practices: Interests, values and "culture" at the Finnish-Russian boundary', in Bauer, P. & Darley, M. (eds.): *Borders of the European Union: Strategies of Crossing and Resistance*. Prague: Centre Français de Recherche en Sciences Sociales, 2007, 205-229.

II 'Borderless form or bounded substance: The media images of cross-border cooperation in the Polish-Ukrainian borderland' in *Media, Interaction and Integration: Cross-Cultural Dialogues in the Baltic Sea Area*. Turku: The Population Research Institute, Working papers E 36/2009, Publications of the Graduate School on Integration and Interaction in the Baltic Sea Area 10, University of Turku, 17-44.

III 'The Power of Translocal Cultural Heritage in the Polish-Ukrainian Borderland', *Ethnologia Fennica (EF)*, 35, 2008, 16-30.

IV 'Cultural Cooperation or Incorporation: Recollecting and Presenting Borderland Materiality at the External Border of the European Union', *Journal of Borderlands Studies (JBS)*, 2012, 27:3, 315-329.

V 'Border/land Sustainability: Communities at the External Border of the European Union', *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures (AJEC)*, 2012, 21:1, 22-40.