

ARTICLE

Switching Cars with the Militsiya and Other Ways the Finnish-Russian Borderland is ‘Lived’ by People in Their Everyday Lives

Virpi Kaisto, Olga Brednikova, Kristiina Korjonen-Kuusipuro *

Borderlands differ from more central areas of states as they are affected by different border effects, such as cross-border flows and the intermingling of societies and cultures. Yet, the ways people experience and practice borderlands by attaching meanings to the material and social space have received relatively little attention. The present study focuses on the Finnish-Russian borderland as ‘lived’ by people in their everyday lives. It is based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the Finnish border cities of Imatra and Lappeenranta and the Russian border cities of Svetogorsk and Vyborg in 2017 and 2018. The main finding is that the participants’ cross-border practices are intertwined with personal and socially shared meanings that they associate with the borderland and places within it. These meanings also play an important role in the ways the participants form relationships with the borderland. The paper argues that research on borderlands needs to pay more attention to the ever-evolving relationship between people and space for deepening the understanding of the specificity of borderlands as living environments.

Introduction

In June 2017, we joined Petri, a Finnish man in his 40s on his trip from the Finnish city of Imatra to the Russian city of Svetogorsk. These cities are located opposite each other on the Finnish-Russian border, and Petri travelled across the boundary every now and then to fuel his car and shop for various items that he preferred to buy in Russia. During the trip, Petri shared many exciting stories with us from the end of the 1980s and the 1990s when he used to

spend a lot of time on the Russian side of the border with his Finnish friends. “Switching cars with the militsiya” was one of these:

At that time, I had a Yankee van [...] Then, militsiya men came to ask: “Can we drive this?” I said: “Yeah. But I will drive that [the militsiya car].” “Okay!” They drove in front of me, and I had sirens on, and I tried to keep up [laughs]. [...] Well, I was not able to catch

* **Virpi Kaisto**, MA, Karelian Institute, University of Eastern Finland. Email: virpi.kaisto@uef.fi
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1570-0929>

Olga Brednikova, PhD, Sociological Institute of the RAS, Saint Petersburg, Russia.
Email: bred8@yandex.ru ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6954-1273>

Kristiina Korjonen-Kuusipuro, PhD, Juvenia—Youth Research and Development Centre, South-Eastern Finland University of Applied Sciences (XAMK). kristiina.korjonen-kuusipuro@xamk.fi ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8528-0237>



them. Then, they were so happy that they had driven an American car. (Petri, interviewed by authors. Imatra and Svetogorsk: 6th June 2017)

For us, this and Petri’s other stories were very entertaining, but they also opened our eyes to the various, sometimes even surprising ways people ‘live’ borderlands in their everyday lives. This involved the fact that the experiences Petri had in his youth were an integral part of how he experienced the borderland today.

The argument that we want to make in this paper is that borderlands are “lived spaces” in the sense of Lefebvre (1974, 1991) and Soja (1996), and people experience and practice them by attaching meanings to the material and social space. Consequently, there is a need to pay more attention to the ever-evolving relationship between people and space in border areas to deepen our understanding of borderlands as living environments. The argument draws on research carried out at the Finnish–Russian border, which serves as the European Union (EU) external border and the eastern boundary of the Schengen Area. In 2017 and 2018, we conducted ethnographic fieldwork in two Finnish (Imatra and Lappeenranta located in South-East Finland) and two Russian (Svetogorsk and Vyborg in North-West Russia) border cities. The fieldwork consisted of observations and interviews and conversations with people who had crossed the Finnish–Russian border for different purposes and varying lengths of time: migrants, second-home owners, and renters and visitors. Our research was inspired by Lefebvre’s (1974, 1991) notion of lived space, and we explored people’s ways of practicing and perceiving the borderland.

The objective of this paper is to study how the Finnish–Russian borderland is lived by people in their everyday lives. The concept of “borderland(s)” contains the idea that areas in close vicinity to state boundaries differ from more central areas of states because they are characterized by border effects, such as cross-border flows and the intermingling of societies and cultures (see: Martínez 1994). Numerous studies have provided important information about everyday life in different borderlands of the world. Among the most popular themes has been the history and development of borderlands, including how various historical events and ethnic and political crises have affected life at borders (see for example: Banerjee 2010; Zartman 2012; Readman et al. 2014). A lot of research has also been done on how the state is reflected in the daily lives of borderland inhabitants both in terms of the power it exercises as well as in terms of border security (see for example: Donnan & Wilson 2010; Reeves 2014; Bhaumik 2021). In addition, researchers have looked at people’s perceptions of the border and its other side, as well as their cross-border practices (see for example: Paasi & Prokkola 2008; Boesen & Schnuer 2017). Researchers have also been interested in the construction of cultures and identities in borderlands (see for example: Prokkola 2009; Konrad & Nicol 2011; Phaneuf 2013).

The key question underlying these studies has been: “In what ways borders impact the lives of people living in their vicinity?” Recently, researchers have become interested in looking at borderlands as spaces to which people attach different meanings. In these studies, attention has shifted from the border and its effects on the relationship between people and the environment in which they live (see for example: Price 2004; Idvall 2009; Fisher 2013; Wille 2013; Pfoser 2014; Durand 2015; Yilgin Damgacı & Ulaş Dağlı 2018). Konrad (2020), among others, has called for research on what people feel about borders and borderlands and how borderlands can become places to which people feel they belong.

Our research seeks answers to these questions in the Finnish–Russian borderland. This boundary has been, and continues to be, a popular research area among border scholars. Most studies in recent years have focused on economics and the development of the borderland (see for example: Smętkowski et al. 2017; Kolosov et al. 2018; Stepanova & Shlapenko 2018), tourism and second-home ownership (see for example: Izotov & Laine 2013; Hannonen et al. 2015; Kondrateva & Shlapenko 2021), cross-border interaction and collaboration (see for example: Eskelinen et al. 2013; Makkonen et al. 2018) and perceptions of the border and the other side (see for example: Kaisto & Brednikova 2019; Prokkola 2019).

Up to now, little attention has been paid to the relationship between people and the borderland environment. Paasi’s (1996) and Jukarainen’s (2001) studies are exceptions. Paasi’s (1996) classic study on the Finnish–Russian border includes a section exploring local people’s territorial identification and belonging at the border in Värtsilä (Finland). Jukarainen (2001) sheds light on young people’s perceptions of the border and its other side, and young people’s territorial identities on both sides of the boundary. These studies are from the period when the border had ‘opened’ after the collapse of the Soviet Union.¹ Many changes have occurred in the borderland in the last 20 years as new crossing points have been opened and the cross-border traffic has increased, and there is a need to understand people’s present-day experiences (prior to the COVID-19 pandemic and war in Ukraine that have again reduced cross-border traffic and transformed people’s lived experiences in the borderland).

In the last few years, there has been a growing interest in the role of history, memory, and remembering in the relationships between people and certain places in the borderland. Researchers have found, among other things, that the history of the Karelian territories that Finland ceded to the Soviet Union after the Second World War (WWII) plays an important role in the relationships that Finnish people have with the region (see for example: Karhu 2017; Korjonen-Kuusipuro & Kuusisto-Arponen 2017). Likewise, the controversial history of their home region impacts everyday life and experiences of the current Russian residents in Karelia and the Karelian

Isthmus (see for example: Melnikova 2019). These studies suggest that the Finnish–Russian borderland is more than a material arena for people’s activities, and that in addition to studying how the border impacts people’s lives, it is important to pay attention to the diverse ways that people live the borderland by attaching meanings to the material and social space.

This ethnographic research provides new in-depth insights into how people experience the Finnish–Russian borderland and what kinds of relationships are formed within it. Our approach allows looking at the previously separately studied borderland phenomena (such as cross-border mobility, perceptions and role of history and memory) through one theoretical lens. While most studies scrutinizing the Finnish–Russian borderland have shed light on the North Karelia (Finland)–The Republic of Karelia (Russia) section of the border, this research focuses on the South Karelia (Finland)–Leningrad Oblast (Russia) section, which is the busiest stretch of the border for crossings and has its own characteristics in terms of history and current day developments.

We begin the article by outlining our theoretical approach and explaining what we understand by borderlands as lived and socially produced spaces. We continue by describing the geographical context, before proceeding to the methods of data collection and analysis. We then present and discuss our findings and conclude with key messages and ideas for further research.

Borderlands as Socially Produced and Lived Spaces

In this study, borderlands are understood as socially produced and lived spaces. The idea that space is socially produced has been credited to French sociologist Henri Lefebvre (Giesecking et al. 2014). Lefebvre (1991, 31) argues that every society “produces a space, its own space”. Thus, to say that borderlands are socially produced is, first, to say that the materiality of the borderland is a product of the society (Lefebvre 1974, 1991; Cresswell 2015). In this sense, borderlands are meeting places of national spaces and, simultaneously, unique transnational spaces. In the Finnish–Russian borderland, the spaces produced by the Finnish and Russian societies meet and cross-border flows of people, goods, and ideas are increasingly important in the social production of the transnational borderland. Moreover, as is common for other borderlands regions, the Finnish–Russian border has shifted over the course of history, and historical events and their traces remain inscribed on the physical and social landscape (see: Lefebvre 1974, 1991). The effect of history on the physical and social space of borderlands becomes particularly obvious in our case study.

Social production of space also implies that spaces are more than material arenas for people’s practices and routines, and people live in spaces by associating them

with collective and individual meanings (Soja 1996). In this sense, social space comes very close to the definition of *place* as it incorporates the idea that space is being invested with meaning (Cresswell 2015). Lefebvre (1974, 1991) distinguishes between three interconnected dimensions of social space—“spatial practice”, “representations of space”, and “representational spaces”.² This study focuses on representational spaces, also known as ‘lived’ space. Although representational space is distinct from the other two spaces, it also encompasses them in that “It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects” (Lefebvre 1991, 39). Soja (1996) has renamed lived space as “thirdspace” and he explains that it is where everything comes together: “subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined, [...] mind and body [...] everyday life and unending history” (56–57).

Wille (2013) and Durand (2015) have recently developed conceptual models for studying borderlands as socially produced spaces. Both models are inspired by Lefebvre’s (1974, 1991) spatial thinking and, thus, pay attention to the material borderland and people’s practices in it, to contextual factors and to individual and collective representations and meanings. Wille’s (2013) analytical framework is intended mainly to the study of “cross-border doing geographies” (such as cross-border commuting). Durand (2015), on the other hand, outlines a framework to analyze “the production of cross-border space” and links this with cross-border integration. He considers, for instance, that unfavourable contexts for cross-border cooperation will limit the opening of the border and the integration process and constrain the production of cross-border space.

We claim that social production of space in borderlands is not limited to cross-border mobilities or processes (such as cross-border integration). It is an ongoing process in the everyday life of each borderland—regardless of whether the border is open or closed and regardless of the level of interaction existing across the border. For example, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the border between Finland and Russia was open only for freight transport and essential passenger traffic, but people continued leading their everyday lives at the border and were affected by the border closure. Thus, social production of space continues and people continue to live in the borderland even under exceptional circumstances.

In addition to the analytical frameworks scrutinized above, Sofield (2006) has considered how the concept of space can be used in the study of tourism in borderlands. There are also some studies that have applied the concepts of space and place to the empirical study of borderlands. Research illustrates that people invest borders and borderlands with personal and socially shared meanings (thoughts, ideas, beliefs, preferences, stories, memories, feelings, and values) that influence their daily lives and the relationships that they form with the surrounding

space. Yılgin Damgacı and Ulaş Dağlı (2018) discovered in their study on Nicosia, the divided capital of Cyprus, that individual and collective memories of the past and how the city and social life in it used to look and feel like, are part of how people experience the city today. Similarly, Pfoser (2014) shows that the socialist past continues to be meaningful in the present for Russian speakers in the Estonian city of Narva, located at the Russian border.

Meanings that people and groups of people attach to borders and borderlands can vary, and the same physical site may be imagined and lived very differently by different individuals and groups. Krichker (2019) illustrates how people interpret and reproduce spaces differently in Melilla, the Spanish enclave in North Africa where migrants from the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa seek asylum and access to Europe. Price (2004) explores some of the historical and contemporary narrative threads about the Mexico-US borderland. She shows how Anglo-Americans and Chicano nationalists have related the borderland with contrasting narratives in the 19th and 20th centuries. Price (2004) emphasizes that we negotiate our own belonging to places vis-à-vis existing place narratives and the stories we ourselves attach to places.

As has been established by research on cross-border tourism (see for example: Timothy 2001; Hannonen et al. 2015), meanings that people give to borders and borderlands are also linked with cross-border mobilities. Szytniewski and Spierings (2018) studied a Polish bazaar as a cross-border shopping destination in the German-Polish borderland. They found that German shoppers from the city just across the border and people from further afield had different place images of the bazaar. While for the locals it was no longer interesting, non-locals associated the bazaar with leisure and visited it regularly. Idvall (2009) discovered in his study of pleasure boaters' lived experiences in the Swedish-Danish maritime border area of Öresund, that the boaters prefer to sail to the foreign guest harbours where they can experience something nationally different.

Finally, studies examining borderlands through the concepts of space and place illustrate how spaces/places always relate to questions of power and agency. Fisher's (2013) study delves into everyday life in the early 20th century in the cities of Ciudad Juárez and El Paso on the U.S.-Mexico border. He shows how the inhabitants in both cities were constantly producing and transforming the cities with their practices and negotiations. There were, for example, hundreds of Americans who ventured into Juárez to experience what was prohibited in El Paso. At the same time, people in both cities questioned the morality of the spaces of 'vice' and drew discursive boundaries between themselves and those engaged in immoral activities. In her study, Sharples (2018) highlights that borderlands may provide opportunities for engagement and agency for people that do not have

these in nation-state spaces. Thus, borderlands have the power to transform people's lives and, at the same time, people's practices and agency transform the borderland and provide it with alternative meanings that challenge the dominant state narrative, determining who belongs and who does not belong to the state territory.

Although it may not be exhaustive, the above discussed literature suggests that it is important to pay attention to borderlands as socially produced and lived spaces. The advantage of this approach is that it helps to understand how materiality, meanings, and experiences intertwine with people's agency in borderlands. Thus, it adds to our understanding of people's life in close vicinity to state boundaries.

The Finnish-Russian Borderland

The 1,340-kilometer-long Finnish-Russian border is a land boundary that reaches from the Gulf of Finland in the south to the Finnish-Norwegian border in the north. It is only possible to cross the border at designated crossing points with a valid passport and visa. The border runs mostly through uninhabited woodlands, but in the south, there are sparsely populated rural areas and small villages and cities on both sides of the boundary.

Our case study region is in this part of the Finnish-Russian borderland, and it includes the cities of Vyborg (76,400 inhabitants), Svetogorsk (15,400 inhabitants), Lappeenranta (72,700 inhabitants), and Imatra (26,500 inhabitants) (see Figure 1). These territories belonged to the Swedish Empire until the beginning of the 19th century and to the Grand Duchy of Finland (an autonomous part of the Russian Empire) until Finland's independence in 1917. During WWII, Finland and the Soviet Union fought over these lands in two consecutive wars in 1939-1940 and 1941-1944. As a result, the border was moved westward. Western parts of the region remained in independent Finland, and the eastern territories were assigned to the Soviet Union. The ceded territories were resettled with people from different parts of the Soviet Union after the Finnish population of approximately 407,000 people was relocated to the Finnish interior (Karjalan liitto n.d.).³

Among the ceded lands was the city of Vyborg, which was Finland's second largest city before WWII, and the industrial settlement of Enso, which was renamed Svetogorsk in 1948. On the Finnish side, the city of Lappeenranta inherited the status of regional centre for South-East Finland from Vyborg, and the borough of Imatra was established across the border from Svetogorsk and grew into an industrial town. The border was closed after the war. Until the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, it was open mainly for freight and site traffic and organized travel (Stepanova & Shlapeko 2018), and it separated Vyborg and Svetogorsk from Lappeenranta and Imatra for more than four decades.

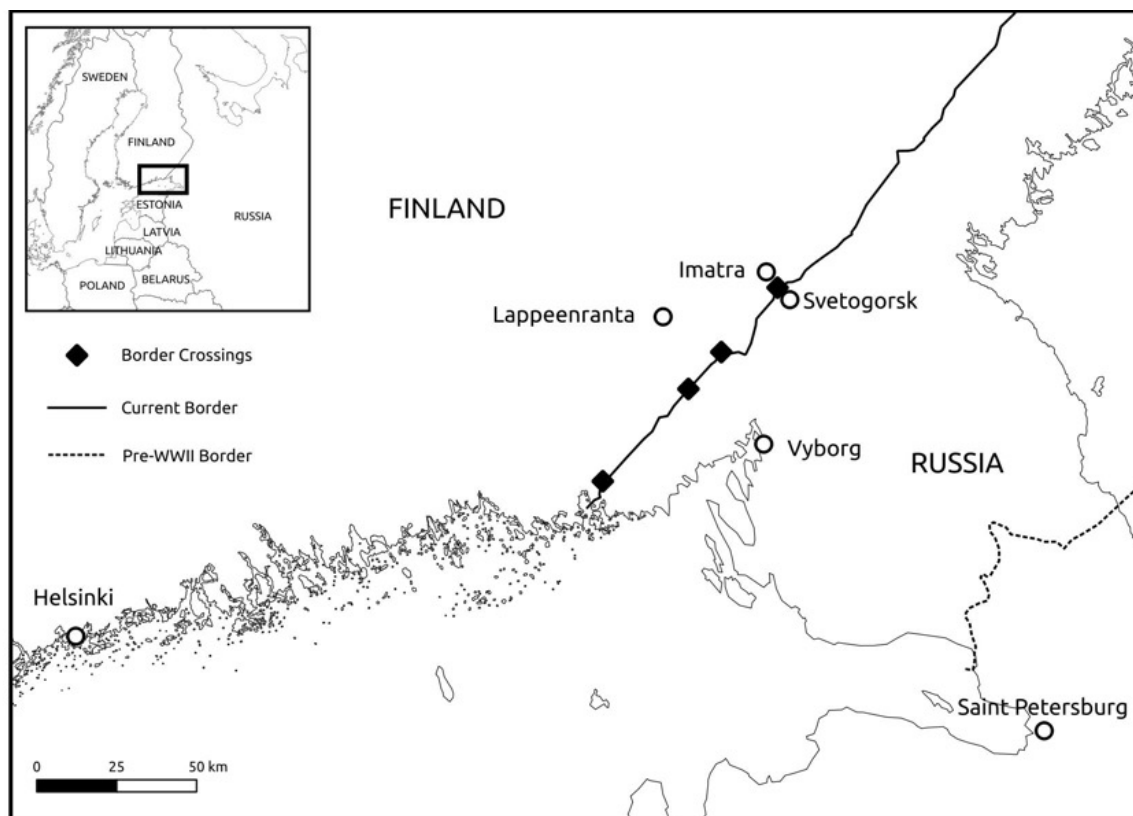


Figure 1. The Case Study Region. Source: the author.

Today, three of the nine international checkpoints on the Finnish-Russian border are located between the cities. During our fieldwork in 2017 and 2018, these four cities were ‘at the heart’ of the Finnish-Russian borderland as they took care of around 50% of the cross-border traffic between Finland and Russia. Approximately ten million people crossed the border annually and, although the number of border crossers fluctuated depending on political and economic circumstances, the boundary was increasingly important for the economies of the border cities and regions (Smętkowski et al. 2017). Moreover, the border was present in the social life of the borderland in terms of travellers, shopping tourists, and shops and services directed at visitors. It had developed from “alienated borderlands”, with practically no routine cross-border interchange, to “interdependent borderlands” where the everyday lives of inhabitants had begun to merge in terms of economic and social ties (see: Martínez 1994).

Saint Petersburg, located 170 kilometers from the border with a population of more than five million people, played a key role in the development of this part of the Finnish-Russian borderland. During the Soviet period, most border crossers were from Finland, but by the 2010s, 70% were from Russia (Sisäministeriö 2015; Stepanova & Shlapeko 2018). The largest number of travellers from Russia to Finland were from Saint

Petersburg (67% in 2018), and Lappeenranta and Imatra were their favourite destinations, along with Helsinki, Finland’s capital. The Finnish side of our case study region was also attracting Russian second-home owners and migrants. Alternatively, when it comes to travelling across the border, a large share of Finnish borderland inhabitants had never visited Russia (Prokkola 2019).

The Russian side of the case study region also experienced great changes following the opening of the border. In terms of the economy, changes were not as prominent as those on the Finnish side because cross-border traffic was directed towards Finland. The social life of the borderland inhabitants, on the contrary, changed substantially. People had the opportunity to travel across the border to Finland, and it was much more common for inhabitants of Russian border cities to visit Finland than vice versa (Kaisto & Brednikova 2019). Also, much of the traffic from Finland to Russia was oriented towards border cities or places just across the border. Previous studies (Smętkowski et al. 2017) and our fieldwork indicate that short refuelling trips made up more than half of border crossings from Finland to Russia. The cities of Vyborg and Svetogorsk also attracted visitors, and a small number of Finns rented apartments in these cities. There is practically no migration from Finland to Russian border cities.

Ethnographic Approach and Analysis

To study people’s lived experiences, we conducted ethnographic fieldwork in Vyborg, Svetogorsk, Lappeenranta, and Imatra in 2017 and 2018. The research material consists of interviews, drive-along interviews, fieldwork notes, and photographs. In-depth interviews were conducted with 36 people and shorter discussions with 75 people (see Table 1). The participants were people that had crossed the Finnish–Russian border for different purposes and varying lengths of time: migrants, second-home owners, and renters and visitors.⁴ We concentrated on border crossers and, despite this method offering a limited perspective, we have been able to get a better understanding of how the border shapes people’s practices and the surrounding space.

The in-depth interviews with migrants and second-home owners and renters lasted between one and two hours, and the shorter discussions with visitors around fifteen minutes. We mostly met the interviewees in their homes or second homes, and some at work or in public places. With two interviewees, we travelled across the border and back to examine closely their practices and ways of talking about the border and the borderland. Due to time constraints, only such two drive-along interviews were conducted. The interviewees were recruited through our local networks and social media sites, and snowballing. The visitors were found and interviewed in different public places in the cities. There were roughly equal numbers of Finns and Russians, and women and men among the participants. Participants ranged in age from approximately 17 to 80 years, with the majority being middle-aged. The thematic structure of the interviews was based on the theoretical framework of the study. The in-depth interviews covered four topics: (1) personal information and background; (2) travelling across the border; (3) settling on the other side of the border; and (4) everyday life and perceptions. The discussions with the visitors focused on the second and fourth themes.

Ethnography as an approach to research and a mode of knowledge production is based on the close interaction between the researcher and the participant. It aims at understanding people and their activities from their own perspectives and at explaining the

Table 1. The number of participants. (We had a larger number of interviewees in Imatra because of our personal contacts with migrants and because the lake shores surrounding Imatra are the most popular second-home locations in South Karelia).

	Vyborg	Svetogorsk	Lappeenranta	Imatra
In-depth interviews	5	4	8	19
Discussions with visitors	37	10	15	13

cultural contexts of lived experiences. By engaging in participant observation, as we did in the four border cities, the ethnographer enters the everyday lives and life-worlds of the participants and may have access to meanings, nuances, and affective realms that are not visible or understandable at first sight (see for example: Koskinen-Koivisto et al. 2020). Ethnographic analysis was entwined with every stage of the research and the choices made during the fieldwork, analysis, writing, and reflection played an important role (see for example: Hammersley & Atkinson 2019).

We acknowledge that the information shared by the interviewees was shaped by us as interviewers and might have been different if told to some other listeners in another social context. Similarly, the fieldwork notes were written for the purposes of this study, guided by the research topics.⁵ We are aware that being female and researchers influenced what people told us and what they left unsaid. For instance, the Finnish men that we had conversations with in Russian border cities would undoubtedly have been more open about their experiences with male interviewers. Yet, our lengthy experience of living and conducting research in the borderland allowed us to ask nuanced questions and to relate to people and therefore build rapport.

The process of analysis began by transcribing the interviews and fieldnotes and by immersing in the data by reading and re-reading them. Notes of field diaries and the interviews were also made. Next, the segments of the data that were relevant to the research questions were coded. This way, making sense of the data and coding them were informed by the theoretical framework. The analysis was an iterative process in which we reflected between the theoretical concepts and data and our developing descriptive and explanatory ideas (Hammersley & Atkinson 2019). After coding, we began identifying and forming patterns in the codes and generated four themes with central organizing ideas. The first version of the analysis was written and the candidate themes were thoroughly discussed by us as a group. During the discussions, we noticed a need to review the themes and to focus the analysis on issues that were relevant to practicing and living borderlands versus any other space/place. We returned to the codes and began the theme development afresh. The re-coding enabled us to recognize three main themes in the data. These are discussed in the following section.

Findings

The three main themes that capture the ways in which people live the Finnish–Russian borderland in their everyday lives in the light of our data and analysis are: (1) Mirroring the two sides of the border, (2) Living places through narratives, and (3) Living the borderland environment.⁶



Mirroring the Two Sides of the Border

It was common that the participants associated the borderland with different personal and socially shared meanings and thereby mirrored the Finnish and Russian sides of the boundary. Consequently, they travelled across the border to find something different from their own side. Finnish visitors most often crossed the border to Russia to purchase cheaper gasoline, but also to buy products and foods that are either less expensive or different in Russia or not available in Finland (e.g., cigarettes, alcohol, spare parts for cars, or good quality linen). For many, the Russian side also represented a place to spend free time and to visit sights as well as restaurants and cafeterias (see also the next section).

Finnish second-home owners and renters were after certain goods and services, but also new experiences and relaxation time spent away from the usual contexts of their lives. Saara, who rents an apartment in Svetogorsk with ten other Finnish people, explained how they take turns in staying at the apartment, but also sometimes spend evenings together. She and the other tenants like to visit shops, restaurants, and beauty salons in the city, and in the apartment, they relax but also do household chores to keep the apartment clean and cosy.

For Aki, his rental apartment in Svetogorsk is a place to enjoy solitude. For his fellow tenants, the apartment has a different meaning, as they unwind there by drinking inexpensive alcohol.

We have kind of agreed [...] that we are not [in the apartment] at the same time. If I want my own peace... They smoke here, drink booze, so... I get to be by myself if I want to read, watch TV, spend my day off [...]. (Aki, interviewed by authors. Svetogorsk: 12th June 2017)

Aki said that he first visited Svetogorsk in the 1970s when he was employed by a Finnish construction company and worked in the city. In the end of the 1980s, when foreigners were able to move around the city more freely, he rented an apartment and began regularly visiting the city, establishing friendships and later finding his wife. Aki often visits Svetogorsk to see and help his wife's relatives, but he and his wife want to live in Imatra because it is "a stable and safe [place]" (Aki, interviewed by authors. Svetogorsk: 12th June 2017).

Our Finnish participants who used to travel to Svetogorsk and Vyborg at the end of the 1980s and in the 1990s, described the cities as places where corruption and illegal activities took place and where they could experience things they could never find in Finland (see also Petri's story of switching cars with the militsiya in the Introduction). An important part of their adventures was consuming cheap alcohol, importing alcohol and cigarettes into Finland, and performing small-scale trading in Vyborg and Svetogorsk (for similar findings on Finnish peoples' experiences in the Soviet/Russian

border area see: Izotov & Laine 2013; Scott 2013; Shikalov 2020). The Finnish men we met in Vyborg seemed to similarly enjoy urban life and gathered in certain bars to drink beer and relax. They explained that sometimes Finnish men get in trouble and cause problems for their neighbours after drinking too much, but that this happens less frequently than before. Sex tourism has also decreased due to rising living standards in Russia.

In the 1990s, there was a small number of Finnish people working and living in Svetogorsk and especially in Vyborg. The newly opened Russian market offered Finnish companies a place to expand their business and provided people the chance to develop their skills and know-how. Tero, who worked in Vyborg in the field of logistics, considered Vyborg to be his "professional springboard". Minna, who lived in Svetogorsk for three years, talked about the city as a place where she could earn a good living and develop professionally. For both, the cities were also places for meeting new interesting people and having many celebrations and "more fun" than in Finland.

Russian visitors that crossed the border to Lappeenranta and Imatra were mainly interested in buying products and goods that they perceived to be of higher quality in Finland than in Russia. Many visited large supermarkets close to the border-crossing points that are targeted at Russian customers and sell foods and household goods that are popular among Russian visitors. Yet, Russian visitors also travelled to the Finnish border cities to spend free time, to be in nature, and to visit sights, restaurants, and cafeterias. Olga mentioned in her field diary that the Finnish side of the borderland seems to represent "a large supermarket" and "an extended homeland" for many Russian visitors, because they are so familiar with the area and its services.

Most of our Russian second-home owners were from Saint Petersburg, which impacted the way they perceived and experienced the Finnish border cities. They described the Finnish side as rural, safe, peaceful, and rich in nature. Stepan and Alla said that after living in Saint Petersburg with a population of five million people, Imatra, where they own a detached house, feels like the countryside. They remarked that "there is nothing here" but that "we don't need anything! Because culture, theatres and all that, we have in Petersburg" (Stepan and Alla, interviewed by authors. Imatra: 15th September 2017). Diana and Pavel, who are also from Saint Petersburg, experienced an internal change when crossing the border and spending time in their second home in Imatra.

when we cross the border [...] we exhale and experience a kind of an internal calmness. Why? Because in Russia we are continuously under stress. We have a business—it is a stress, a massive stress... [...] When we cross the border... I don't know, there is [...] an aura here. [...] Once we were sitting and eating outside—bats flew around

us. Again, at first we were afraid. [...] They say it is very good. They fly only where there is a clean aura. (Diana and Pavel, interviewed by authors. Imatra: 11th June 2017)

For some Russian second-home owners, part of the ‘peaceful’ Finnish experience involved properly disconnecting from their day-to-day environments in terms of not having Russian neighbours or not meeting other Russians.

The Russian migrants we met in Imatra and Lappeenranta moved to Finland because they or their spouses were looking for study or employment opportunities, or because they married Finnish spouses. Some had Ingrian Finnish roots and moved to Finland because of their Finnish heritage. Others settled in the border cities to stay close to their families and friends in Russia.

Even though the participants mirrored the Finnish and Russian sides of the border and constructed differences between them, many expressed how the other side feels close and familiar. This was related to the physical proximity but also to similarities in the people and cultures and to the other side becoming a part of everyday life. At first, Stepan and Alla planned to buy a second home in Spain but instead purchased a house in Finland because it is close and “the nature is similar to ours, it is just [more] peaceful, [and there are] few people” (Stepan and Alla, interviewed by authors. Imatra: 15th September 2017). Russian migrants felt comfortable having the possibility to visit, for example, elderly parents in Russia or invite friends over from Russia. Nina, who lives in Lappeenranta and regularly visits her mother in Saint Petersburg, expressed: “I have the feeling that I’m not too far removed from Saint Petersburg. [...] Because it is so close, and it is so easy to get there” (Nina, interviewed by authors. Lappeenranta: 7th September 2017). A Finn, Petri, even found it difficult to think that “it is sort of abroad. It is just here, next to you” (Petri, interviewed by authors. Imatra and Svetogorsk: 6th June 2017).

Living Places through Narratives

The fact that people associated places in the borderland with personal and socially shared meanings was especially apparent in the city of Vyborg. There, we observed and met many Finnish visitors who were taking part in organized group travel dedicated to the history of the city and the Karelian Isthmus. We also met several individual visitors on one-day and overnight trips. Many Finns that we talked with had roots in Vyborg or the Karelian Isthmus or mentioned that Vyborg is a former Finnish city and nostalgic place. Among them was a family from Helsinki that had come to Vyborg because of family history. One of the purposes of the trip was to visit the family’s paternal grandmother’s old apartment. When we asked the family members what first came to mind regarding Vyborg, they mentioned a “nest of joy”

and the “genuine crowd of Vyborg”. In Finland, these are typical ways of describing Finnish times in Vyborg and the character of the people who lived there. This family, among other informants, was also worried about the condition of old Finnish buildings and happy to see some being renovated.

The organizers and participants of one Finnish bus tour highlighted that they do not need local guides as they know the history of the places they visit and consider it their duty to provide their young travellers with “correct information” about the past. This indicates a tendency to view Vyborg and the Karelian Isthmus from a ‘Finnish’ perspective and a desire to pass on this narrative to the next generations. Among the organized tours was a group of singers from the *Viipurin lauluveikot* [Song lads of Vyborg] choir and their family members and friends. The choir worked in Vyborg before WWII and was transferred to Helsinki after the war in the 1940s. Although the tour took place within the framework of the choir’s 120-year anniversary and, thus, Vyborg’s Finnish history, the participants expressed that they were equally interested in present-day Vyborg. Therefore, although the historical context and the shared meanings and narratives played a major role in many participants’ ways of living Vyborg, they were not exclusive in framing the participants’ experiences (for similar results concerning Finns experiencing Karelia see: Korjonen-Kuusipuro & Kuusisto-Arponen 2017).

While in Vyborg, we were invited by a local Russian woman, Inna, to listen when she performed old Finnish songs (some of Vyborg and Karelia) in one of the most famous historical buildings in the city. She is a music teacher and earns extra money through these performances, which, according to her, are met sentimentally, especially by elderly Finns. We also ate lunch in Espilä restaurant, which is a reconstruction of a Finnish-time restaurant in Central Park Avenue with pictures of Finnish-time Vyborg and old Espilä on its walls and some old Finnish dishes on its menu. This shows how Vyborg’s Finnish history materializes and becomes part of the social life in Vyborg and, consequently, the Finnish–Russian borderland.

This observation is significant considering that there is a lot of Russian-built heritage and history in Imatra and Lappeenranta, but these did not seem to be important for the Russian visitors. It must be noted, however, that during our fieldwork in Vyborg, we also met Finns and Russians and a group of tourists from Thailand, who knew very little about the city and associated it with meanings related to tourism and shopping.

Living the Borderland Environment

The participants also ascribed meanings to the borderland as a living environment. They often mentioned changes that had taken place due to the increasing cross-border traffic. Russian migrant

Aleksandr considered Imatra a border city "one hundred percent": "There is a lot of Russian speech around; there are many Russians; there are many tourists. Even if you forget that there are holidays in Russia, you quickly remember when you see a bunch of cars with Russian licence plates [arriving in Imatra]" (Aleksander and Ekaterina, interviewed by authors. Imatra: 6th June 2017). He also recognized how Imatra's development is tied to the border and how the flow of tourists has allowed the improvement of the infrastructure and services in the city: "When I arrived in Imatra, it was a bearish corner, absolutely, with no development prospects at all" (Aleksander and Ekaterina, interviewed by authors. Imatra: 6th June 2017). Ekaterina noticed how she was able to function in Imatra in the beginning without knowing the Finnish language. Russian migrant Alina mentioned that children in Svetogorsk are dressed in the same fashion as children in Imatra, because so many people do tax-free shopping in Imatra. Virpi pondered in her fieldnotes how the fact that it was increasingly popular to cross the border by bike signified for her that the border was becoming an ordinary part of everyday life in Imatra, where she lives.

The participants related to the borderland environment in different ways. For some, the borderland context did not play a role. These were typically participants who did not live in the border cities or rarely crossed the border. Many participants living in the border cities mentioned that they could live somewhere else instead, but since they live close to the border, they make use of their location. Marina, who is originally from Petrozavodsk and works as an elementary school teacher in Imatra, contemplated how, for her, employment is more important than her place of residence. However, now that she lives at the border, she visits her 'homeland' to shop for items that she cannot find in Finland and to visit the hairdresser as it is cheaper.

There were also those who decided to live close to the border to mobilize the opportunities offered by it. Among them were participants that were employed or had built their businesses around border-induced phenomena (such as cross-border shopping and second-home tourism). A Russian-Finnish couple, Veronika and Jouni, who owned a company related to Russian second-home tourism in Finland, enjoy living next to the border. Besides running their business, it allows them to visit Saint Petersburg (where they also have an apartment) whenever they feel like it. Veronika explained: "we live in the countryside, where there is no one [...] I always say we do the opposite to what Russian people do. Russians want to come here to calm down. We want to go and see people and streetlights" (Veronika and Jouni, interviewed by authors. Imatra: 14th June 2017). Likewise, Alina feels very comfortable living near the border in Imatra. She is one of the few people who commutes to work daily from Imatra to Svetogorsk: "I think it is very nice from my point of view. That really this is the best situation [...] I love that I

can sort of be in both countries" (Alina, interviewed by authors. Imatra: 15th June 2017).

Those participants that crossed the border frequently adjusted their everyday routines according to the border traffic. For example, a Finnish visitor we met in Svetogorsk pointed out that he often crosses at four in the morning when there are no queues at the border. Similarly, Russian second-home owners were aware of the busiest days and times at the border and tried to avoid these. Some participants built their whole lifestyle around the border and its regulations. Timo, a Finn, lives in Lappeenranta and travels to Russia to import cigarettes and alcohol into Finland. In 2016, he decided to rent an apartment in Vyborg to comply with the new Tobacco Act, which prohibits importing cigarettes into Finland from outside the European Economic Area (including Russia) when the person (a Finnish resident) has been away from Finland for less than 24 hours. Now he spends his weeks in both Lappeenranta and Vyborg and plans his schedule according to his petty trade activities.

Some participants took pride in knowing about the history, people, and places in the borderland. Visitors mentioned how they know personnel in local shops and enjoy shopping as they do not need to bargain, or they get special discounts. Finnish second-home renters told intense stories of life in the borderland and surviving and thriving in this environment seemed to be important for their identity building. For example, Saara, a Finn, shared a story about a Finnish man who was found dead in Svetogorsk a few years ago and how she helped to identify the man and get his car back into Finland. She was clearly proud that she is often asked to help Finnish people that have problems in Svetogorsk. Another Finn, Petri, explained how his colleagues at work wonder how he dares to eat and drink in Russia and how they will not taste the delicious juice that he buys in Russia and brings to the office. Thus, he compared himself with his colleagues and used his expertise in the borderland and Russia to narrate what he himself is like as a person.

While many interviewees were frustrated by or indifferent towards the border checkpoints, these were meaningful places for participants who crossed the border frequently and took pride in knowing the borderland. They told stories from the border and highlighted their knowledge of the places, the people that work there, and the border-crossing formalities. Saara recounted how she was once late for her beautician's appointment and spoke to a familiar customs officer Sergei:

We are in a bit of a hurry; we have lash extension maintenance in a quarter of an hour" [...] He was so good when he checked my papers there [...] went to stamp [the documents], came out, said: "Would you move the car here in front?" Did not check the car at all [...] directly opened the barrier. Finnish people said: "Oh fuck! That one was allowed to pass [...]" (Saara, interviewed by authors. Imatra and Svetogorsk: 8th June 2017)

The frequent border crossers also spoke of the border-crossing points with particular terms. Among these was "the lane of the forgotten", which signified the rightmost lane at the Russian checkpoint on the way from Imatra to Svetogorsk. Petri, explained that "when a Finn is put there [...] he may be [there] for a very long time. They [the border guards] are not interested in coming to see" (Petri, interviewed by authors. Imatra and Svetogorsk: 6th June 2017).

Discussion: In What Ways is the Finnish-Russian Borderland Lived by People in their Everyday Lives?

The above analysis shows that people "lived" (Lefebvre 1974, 1991; Soja 1996) the Finnish-Russian borderland by associating it with various personal and socially shared meanings. These meanings were derived from the materiality of and in the borderland. People's perceptions, knowledge, and skills and experiences all played an important role in the ways people practiced the borderland and formed relationships with it.

We first illustrated that people mirrored the Finnish and Russian sides of the boundary in terms of what is on their and the other side of the border, and what their and the other side of the border are like. They crossed the border to buy various goods and services that were less expensive or different on the other side or not available on their own side. They also crossed to find new opportunities, to spend free time, and to feel differently about oneself. For example, by travelling across the boundary, second-home owners were able to remove themselves or escape from their usual social spaces and ties. Hannonen et al. (2015) identify this as one of the main reasons for Russians to purchase a second home in Finland and note that crossing a border can give a more profound feeling of changing location and being able to relax.

When the other side represented something different for the people, they were motivated to cross the boundary to experience something that they could not experience on their own side (see also: Idvall 2009; Szytniewski & Spierings 2014; Hannonen et al. 2015). Examples of this are the possibility to have adventures in Russia and to enjoy safety and the natural environment in Finland. Sometimes, the perceived differences prevented the participants from crossing the border and spending time, settling, or simply enjoying themselves on the other side. Some participants also pointed out how the two sides share similarities and are close to each other physically and/or mentally. This shows that a complex and dynamic interplay exists between (un)familiarity and cross-border (im)mobility in borderlands, as scholars have demonstrated (Izotov & Laine 2013; Scott 2013; Szytniewski & Spierings 2014; Hannonen et al. 2015).

In terms of mirroring, the border played a central role in how people made sense of the space around them. However, it was also the meanings that people attached to certain places in the borderland that were key to their lived experiences (see also: Cavallo & Di Matteo 2021). We illustrated this by focusing on the city of Vyborg and by discussing how its Finnish history and related collective and individual narratives were an important part of how Finnish people experienced the city. Recently, researchers have explored the meanings that Finnish and Russian people associate with Vyborg and its urban space. Wells (2020) notes that for many Finnish people Vyborg signifies a "perfect lost place", while Karhu (2017) discovered that the meanings his Finnish research participants gave to buildings in Vyborg relate to Finnish history, almost without exception. Similar "lost" cities exist in many borderlands of the world, and therefore, borderland researchers need to develop a better understanding of the ways they are lived through associated meanings. Memories and narratives of the past are meaningful in the present for people experiencing and constructing belonging to borderlands and border cities (Price 2004; Prokko & Ridanpää 2011; Pfoser 2014; Yilgin Damgacı & Ulaş Dağlı 2018). Yet, some memories and narratives are more relevant than others, and in the Finnish-Russian borderland memories and narratives related to Russian history in Imatra and Lappeenranta seemed to be less important motives for crossing the border and experiencing the cities.

Our study also highlights that Vyborg's Finnish history is a part of how the city space is socially produced into being in terms of material constructions (Espilä restaurant) and social practices (Inna earning an extra living by performing old Finnish songs for Finnish visitors). These activities are closely linked to cross-border tourism and therefore we can talk about social production of cross-border space (cf. Durand 2015).

We additionally found that people lived the borderland through meanings that they ascribed to the borderland environment. People were aware of the impacts that the boundary has on the physical and social space they live in. Many individuals were familiar with the rhythm of life at the border and adjusted their own cross-border practices according to it. Cassidy et al. (2018) discovered similarly in their study on the city of Dover in the southern coast of the United Kingdom that the border can give both material and symbolic meaning to life in borderlands. Yet, our analysis accords with earlier studies in that people relate to borderlands in different ways (see: Martínez 1994; Paasi 1996; Phaneuf 2013). Some participants were indifferent to living close to the border, but many developed skills related to using both sides of the border.

Among these participants were people, who developed expertise in relation to the borderland environment and seemed to identify themselves with it. These

participants were proud of being familiar with the borderland and the local border-related way of life, with its practices, narratives, and expressions. Researchers have shown that borderlands can act as identity frameworks for inhabitants in various ways (Prokkola 2009). Our novel finding from the Finnish-Russian borderland indicates that the relationship between people and the surrounding space plays a role in the negotiation of borderland identities. This is in line with Rose's (1995) argument that a place and the meanings given to it may become a central part of the identity of people experiencing them. Rose (1995) also identifies that meanings related to places are shaped both by individual feelings and experiences and the social, cultural and economic context an individual is part of. We believe that some of our Finnish participants were proud to possess knowledge and skills for operating in the borderland, because so few Finnish people have extensive experience of Russia and its border cities. Thus, the cross-border space that is unfamiliar for most Finns (see: Izotov & Laine 2013; Scott 2013; Prokkola 2019) might become an important identity framework for those Finns who gain familiarity with it and can thereby develop a sense of difference in relation other people living in the borderland.

Overall, the results indicate that each person lives the borderland in their own individual way, even if representations, practices and experiences are always related to the shared social and cultural context (see also: Krichker 2019). The meanings a person attaches to the borderland are multiple and simultaneous. Finally, it is important to point out that the participants' relationship with the borderland evolved over time. This was connected to the ways the borderland was changing but also to how people's own practices and ways of experiencing the borderland altered. This reminds us that relating to spaces and places is an ever-changing process (Tuan 1977).

Conclusions

This paper has studied how the Finnish-Russian borderland is lived by people in their everyday lives. It shows that the borderland is more than a material arena for people's activities. It is socially produced into being through people's practices and narrations. Therefore, we argue that research on borderlands needs to pay more attention to the ever-evolving relationship between people and space to deepen the understanding of people's lived experiences in borderlands and borderlands as living environments. This is especially timely now that the study of places is evolving to "place-writing", which attempts to understand and present places in all their complexity (Cresswell 2015); and scholars are discovering how spaces/places "co-become" through relationships between humans and more-than-humans (Bawaka et al. 2016).

This research was conducted in the Finnish-Russian borderland at a time when crossing the border had become a mundane practice for many people and cross-border interactions were evolving. In March 2020, the borderland experienced a rapid transformation, as cross-border traffic decreased significantly due to the restrictions that were introduced to prevent the spread of the COVID-19. The war in Ukraine, which began in February 2022, has also affected people's perceptions of the border and its other side. It is therefore important to continue research in the borderland and to scrutinize how these events have impacted the ways people live the borderland. Finally, the Finnish-Russian borderland has its own unique history and cultural, social and political context that influences people's representations and practices. Future research could continue to explore, and possibly compare, people's lived experiences in other borderlands contexts.

Acknowledgement

This work was supported by Kone Foundation, South Karelia Regional Fund of the Finnish Cultural Foundation, and Karjalan Säätiö [Karelia Foundation]. We thank Jarmo Kortelainen and Heikki Eskelinen for their support and the comments that they provided for earlier versions of this paper. We are grateful for the anonymous reviewers for their valuable feedback in revising the paper. We would also like to thank the people we interviewed for their time and the fascinating stories.

Notes

- 1 Before 1991, the number of people crossing the border was low and there were only four international border crossing points, allowing anyone obtaining a valid passport and visa to cross to the other side.
- 2 Spatial practice is the daily performance or routine of people in a certain space and the materiality of that space. Representations of space are conceptions of space articulated by scientists, planners, cartographers and other specialists, through plans, designs, maps and other means. Representational spaces are the space of the "inhabitants" or "users". They live the physical space through its associated images and symbols, which have their source in individuals' and people's cultures and histories. (Lefebvre 1974/1991; Soja 1996.)
- 3 The total number of evacuees was about 430,000 people, which was c. 11% of Finland's population at the time.
- 4 We use this grouping in the analysis to identify the target groups of the study. In the visitor category, we included people that crossed the border to fuel their cars.
- 5 The fieldwork was carried out by Virpi and Olga.
- 6 We have translated the citations from Finnish and Russian into English. We have also changed the names and some personal details of the interviewees to guarantee their anonymity.

Works Cited

- Banerjee, Paula. 2010. *Borders, Histories, Existences: Gender and Beyond*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Bawaka Country, Sarah Wright, Sandie Suchet-Pearson, Kate Lloyd, Laklak Burarrwanga, Ritjilili Ganambarr, Merrkiyawuy Ganambarr-Stubbs, Banbapuy Ganambarr, Djawundil Maymuru, and Jill Sweeney. 2016. "Co-becoming Bawaka: Towards a Relational Understanding of Place/Space" *Progress in Human Geography* 40(4): 455-475. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132515589437>
- Bhaumik, Sampurna. 2021. "Everyday Lives in Peripheral Spaces: A case of Bengal Borderlands" *Borders in Globalization Review* 3(1): 12-23. <https://doi.org/10.18357/bigr31202120268>
- Boesen, Elisabeth, and Gregor Schnuer (eds.). 2017. *European Borderlands: Living with Barriers and Bridges*. London: Routledge.
- Cassidy, Kathryn, Nira Yuval-Davis, and Georgie Wemyss. 2018. "Debordering and Everyday (Re)bordering in and of Dover: Post-borderland Borderscapes" *Political Geography* 66: 171-179. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2017.04.005>
- Cavallo, Federica Letizia, and Giovanna Di Matteo. 2021. "Volunteer Tourism and Lived Space: Representations and Experiences from Lesvos" *Tourism Recreation Research* 46(1): 19-38. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2020.1769430>
- Cresswell, Tim. 2015. *Place: An introduction*. Second edition. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Donnan, Hastings, and Thomas M. Wilson. 2010. *Borderlands: Ethnographic Approaches to Security, Power, and Identity*. Lanham, Md: University Press of America.
- Durand, Frédéric. 2015. "Theoretical Framework of the Cross-border Space Production—The Case of the Euro-metropolis Lille-Kortrijk-Tournai" *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 30(3): 309-328. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08865655.2015.1066701>
- Eskelinen, Heikki, Ilkka Liikanen, and James W. Scott (eds.). 2013. *The EU-Russia Borderland: New Contexts for Regional Co-operation*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Fisher, Robert. 2013. "Mobility and Morality at the Border—A Lefebvrian Spatio-temporal Analysis in Early Twentieth-century Ciudad Juarez and El Paso" *Historical Social Research* 38(3): 176-196.
- Gieseking, Jen Jack, William Mangold, Cindi Katz, Setha Low, and Susan Saegert. 2014. "Social Production of Space and Time" In Jen Jack Gieseking, William Mangold, Cindi Katz, Setha Low, and Susan Saegert (eds.), *The People, Place, and Space Reader*. New York: Routledge. 285-288.
- Hammersley, Martyn, and Paul Atkinson. 2019. *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. Fourth edition. New York: Routledge.
- Hannonen, Olga, Seija Tuulentie, and Kati Pitkänen. 2015. "Borders and Second Home Tourism: Norwegian and Russian Second Home Owners in Finnish Border Areas" *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 30(1): 53-67. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08865655.2015.1012736>
- Idvall, Markus. 2009. "Across, Along and Around the Öresund Region. How Pleasure Boaters Live the Swedish-Danish Border Area" *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* (18)1: 10-29. <https://doi.org/10.3167/ajec.2009.180102>
- Izotov, Alexander, and Jussi Laine. 2013. "Constructing (Un) familiarity: Role of Tourism in Identity and Region Building at the Finnish-Russian Border" *European Planning Studies* 21(1): 93-111. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2012.716241>
- Jukarainen, Pirjo. 2001. *Rauhan ja Raudan Rajoilla: Nuorten Maailmanjäsenyyksiä Suomen ja Venäjän sekä Ruotsin ja Suomen Rajojen Tuntumassa*. Helsinki: Like.
- Kaisto, Virpi, and Olga Brednikova. 2019. "Lakes, Presidents and Shopping on Mental Maps: Children's Perceptions of the Finnish-Russian Border and the Borderland" *Fennia* 197(1): 58-76. <https://doi.org/10.11143/fennia.73208>
- Karhu, Jani. 2017. "Memorialised and Imagined: Meanings of the Urban Space of Vyborg" *Modern History of Russia* 3: 149-162. <https://doi.org/10.21638/11701/spbu24.2017.311>
- Karjalan liitto. n.d. "Siirtoväen sijoittaminen" Accessed February 1, 2022. <https://www.karjalanliitto.fi/karjalaisuus/siirtokarjalaisuus/asutustoiminta/siirtovaki.html>
- Kolosov, V. A., ed. 2018. *Rossijskoe Pograniche. Vyzovy Sosedstva*. Moscow: Matuškina I.I.
- Kondrateva, Svetlana, and Ekaterina Shlapeko. 2021. "Travel Preferences of Finnish Cross-border Tourists: Opportunities and Limitations for Russian Karelia" *Geographia Polonica* 94(4): 555-572. <https://doi.org/10.7163/GPol.0220>
- Konrad, Viktor. 2020. "Belongingness and Borders" in James Wesley Scott, Tuulikki Kurki, and Jussi P. Laine (eds.), *A Research Agenda for Border Studies*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing. 109-128.
- Konrad, Victor, and Heather Nicol. 2011. "Border Culture, the Boundary Between Canada and the United States of America, and the Advancement of Borderlands Theory" *Geopolitics* 16: 70-90. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2010.493773>
- Korjonen-Kuusipuro, Kristiina, and Anna-Kaisa Kuusisto-Arponen. 2017. "Muistelun Monet Muodot—Kertomus, Kehollisuus ja Hiljaisuus Paikan Tietämisen Tapoina" *Elore* 24(1). http://www.elore.fi/arkisto/1_17/korjonen-kuusipuro-kuusisto-arponen.pdf
- Koskinen-Koivisto, Eerika, Tuuli Lähdesmäki, and Viktorija L. Čeginskas. 2020. "Introduction. Ethnography with a Twist" in Tuuli Lähdesmäki, Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto, Viktorija L. Čeginskas, and Aino-Kaisa Koistinen (eds.), *Challenges and Solutions in Ethnographic Research*. Ethnography with a Twist. New York: Routledge. xx-xxix.
- Krichker, Dina. 2019. "Making Sense of Borderscapes: Space, Imagination and Experience" *Geopolitics* 26(4): 1224-1242. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2019.1683542>
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell. (Original work published 1974)
- Makkonen, Teemu, Adam M. Williams, Adi Weidenfeld, and Virpi Kaisto. 2018. "Cross-border Knowledge Transfer and Innovation in the European Neighbourhood: Tourism Cooperation at the Finnish-Russian Border" *Tourism Management* 68: 140-151. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2018.03.008>
- Martinez, Oscar J. 1994. *Border People: Life and Society in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

- Melnikova, Ekaterina. 2019. "Finskie Kladbishcha v Rossii: Kross-granichnye Gruppy Pamyati i Novyy Moralnyy Poryadok" *Antropologicheskij Forum* 43: 11–40. <https://doi.org/10.31250/1815-8870-2019-15-43-11-40>
- Paasi, Anssi. 1996. *Territories, Boundaries and Consciousness: The Changing Geographies of the Finnish–Russian Border*. Chichester: John Wiley.
- Paasi, Anssi, and Eeva-Kaisa Prokkola. 2008. "Territorial Dynamics, Cross-border Work and Everyday Life in the Finnish-Swedish Border Area" *Space and Polity* 12(1): 13–29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13562570801969366>
- Pfoser, Alena. 2014. "Between Russia and Estonia: Narratives of Place in a New Borderland" *Nationalities Papers* 42(2): 269–285. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2013.774341>
- Phaneuf, Victoria M. 2013. "The Vermont–Québec Border Region: Negotiations of Identity and Logic in the Northeast Kingdom" *Journal of Borderlands Studies* (28): 109–125. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08865655.2013.796197>
- Price, Patricia L. 2004. *Dry Place. Landscapes of Belonging and Exclusion*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Prokkola, Eeva-Kaisa. 2009. "Unfixing Borderland Identity: Border Performances and Narratives in the Construction of Self" *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 24(3): 21–38. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08865655.2009.9695737>
- Prokkola, Eeva-Kaisa. 2019. "Alueellinen Tietoisuus ja Rajat Ylittävän Liikkuvuuden Hierarkia: Lappeenrannan ja Tornion Kaupunkien Asukkaiden Näkökulmat" *Terra* 131(2): 81–95. <https://terra.journal.fi/article/view/77223>
- Prokkola, Eeva-Kaisa, and Juha Ridanpää. 2011. "Following the Plot of Bengt Pohjanen's Meänmaa: Narrativization as a Process of Creating Regional Identity" *Social & Cultural Geography* 12(7): 775–791. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2011.615666>
- Readman, Paul, Cynthia Radding Murrieta, and Chad Bryant. 2014. *Borderlands in World History, 1700–1914*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Reeves, Madeleine. 2014. *Border Work: Spatial Lives of the State in Rural Central Asia*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Rose, Gillian. 1995. "Place and Identity: A Sense of Place" in Doreen Massey and Jess Pat (eds.), *A place in the World? Places, Cultures and Globalization*. London: The Open University. 87–132.
- Scott, James W. 2013. "Constructing Familiarity in Finnish–Russian Karelia: Shifting Uses of History and the Re-Interpretation of Regions" *European Planning Studies* 21(1): 75–92. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2012.716240>
- Sharples, Rachel. 2018. "Movements Across Space: A Conceptual Framework for the Thai–Burma Borderland" *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 35(5): 693–708. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08865655.2018.1438915>
- Shikalov, Yury. 2021. *Markat, Farkut ja Sukkahousut: Laiton Kauppa ja Länsimuodin Lumo Neuvostoliitossa*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.
- Sisäministeriö. 2015. *Selvitys Itäliikkuvuuden Kasvun Vaikutuksista ja Resurssitarpeista*. Helsinki: Sisäministeriö. <https://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/78958/Selvitys%20it%c3%a4liikkuvuuden%20kasvun.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Smętkowski, Maciej, Sarolta Németh, and Heikki Eskelinen. 2017. "Cross-border Shopping at the EU's Eastern Edge—the Cases of Finnish-Russian and Polish-Ukrainian Border Regions" *Europa Regional* 24.2016 (1/2): 50–64.
- Sofield, Trevor H. B. 2006. "Border Tourism and Border Communities: An Overview" *Tourism Geographies* 8(2): 102–121. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616680600585489>
- Soja, Edward W. 1996. *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell.
- Stepanova, Svetlana, and Ekaterina Shlapeko. 2018. "Trends in the Development of Cross-border Trade in the Russian-Finnish Borderlands" *Baltic Region* 10(4): 103–117. <https://doi.org/10.5922/2079-8555-2018-4-7>
- Szytniewski, Bianca, and Bas Spierings. 2014. "Encounters with Otherness: Implications of (Un)familiarity for Daily Life in Borderlands" *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 29(3): 339–351. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08865655.2014.938971>
- Szytniewski, Bianca, and Bas Spierings. 2018. "Place Image Formation and Cross-Border Shopping: German Shoppers in the Polish Bazaar in Stubice" *Tijds. voor econ. en soc. geog* 109: 295–308. <https://doi.org/10.1111/tesg.12283>
- Timothy, Dallen J. 2001. *Tourism and Political Boundaries*. London: Routledge.
- Tuan, Y-Fu. 1977. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Wells, Chloe. 2020. "Vyborg is Y/ours: Meanings and Memories of a Borderland City Amongst Young People in Finland" PhD diss., University of Eastern Finland.
- Wille, Christian. 2013. "Spaces of the Border—a Practice-theoretical Cultural Studies Perspective in Border Studies" *Europa Regional* 21(1–2): 60–71.
- Yılgin Damgacı, Ahenk, and Uğur Ulaş Dağlı. 2018. "Shifting Boundaries of Divided City Nicosia Through Social Actors" *Space and Culture* 21(4): 482–494. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331217749763>
- Zartman, I. William. 2010. *Understanding Life in the Borderlands: Boundaries in Depth and in Motion*. Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press.