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Mobility over the Border. Different Departures and Arrivals in the Tornio Valley between 1945 and 2017

Introduction

“Actually our evacuation journey was like a golden age. We could leave the poverty behind and arrived to [an easier life]... Our journey lasted for three days; first we crossed the river to Leipönniemi, to the Henrikssons, they were good friends with my mother [“mamma”]. A policeman, Uno Jatko, who was a cousin of our mother, together with Oskari Lantto took us on a boat to the other side of the river. The next day, we went by bus through Pajala to Kainulasjärvi, where we slept. Then the brother of mother, Pärtil, took us on a horse to Narkken. There, grandma had made everything really nice. Just if we would have come to paradise. There, we lived for such a long time that I was even in the school for one year.”

(A man from Pello tells about his evacuation journey to Sweden, where his grandparents were living, because his mother had been born in Sweden)

This quotation will take you to Tornio Valley, which is a cross-border area between Finland and Sweden in western Lapland. Tornio Valley has been an important place for departures and arrivals several times during the last two centuries. This quotation, told by a man, who is now living in Finland, in Pello, and whose mother is coming from the Swedish side, Narkken, is a typical example of the narratives told by people who were evacuated from Finnish Lapland to Sweden during the War of Lapland (1944-1945). It also tells about the history of this cross-border area and different events during these years.

The overall history, culture and language of a place are important issues to understand when assessing the visible history of many border areas in Europe, not to mention, e.g. Transylvania. A transnational everyday life has been a lived fact for the people who have been living in the border areas. People are used to departures and arrivals, to different bordering-, de-bordering and re-bordering processes. Sometimes even the border itself has become one of the hotspots in world history, and, after a couple of years, life has continued as it was before the

time the border became a hotspot. All of this is quite well suited to the cross-border area in the Tornio Valley, in northern Finland, where the border has existed for only about 210 years. The history and meaning of the place have always been very visible there, although there have been several changes over the years.

The Tornio Valley is a cross-border region, where the Tornio River divides the area between Finland and Sweden. It includes two large towns, Tornio and Haaparanta, or Haparanda in Swedish, and several smaller municipalities and villages both in Sweden and in Finland. The two towns, Tornio and Haparanda, together form a twin city, and today they have almost grown together to serve as a single regional city. In this article, I use the name Tornio-Haparanda for both towns, as it has been used in the marketing of this twin city. Foreigners do not always see the border there now, even if they know where it is situated. Of course previously, before joining the European Union in 1995, customs and border guards were positioned along the border.

Next, I will discuss mobility along the Finnish-Swedish border from a chronological standpoint. At the end of this article, I will discuss the contemporary situation. My focus will be on the time between the World War II and today, but first I will briefly discuss the time when the border was first created.

Main Concepts Used in this Article

Borders and borderlands have always interested researchers, especially ethnologists, who see the reality of borders in the everyday life of an area. Borrowing from Doreen Massey (2003: 73–74), I understand here borders as tools for organising social space and as part of a process whereby places and their identities are produced. Place should not be understood only in a physical or integrated sense, as separate and stable. Instead, the concept should be combined with ideas about a meeting place, in which connections, relationships, impacts and movements are intertwined. The Finnish cultural geographer Anssi Paasi (1986: 10) says that there is no central “essence” to borders, frontiers, regions or even nation-states, but that these are socio-cultural constructions that are constantly subject to change. Boundaries can be understood as part of a process by which territories and their identities and meanings are formed and renewed.

Transnationalism is a very important issue in the everyday life of border areas. It refers to those multiple relationships and interactions that link people and institutions across national borders and space. Cultural complexity is a central component of transnationalism. (Vertovec 2008: 27–29.) Besides transnationalism, multilocality is also a very concrete issue in contemporary cross-border areas. With multilocality, I am referring to the work done by my colleague, Professor Johanna Rolshoven (Rolshoven 2008: 17, 22–23), who defines multilocality as relationships and networks existing between many places. It is a strategy and a form of mobility for those people who are multi-local in orientation.

Brief History of the Border

The border that divides Finland and Sweden in the Tornio Valley is quite new, having existed only since 1809. There – just as in many other frontier areas – people have had to pay a high price for the demarcation of borders. Gradually, once people had adapted to the border, it became – and has been – a reality and fact of life. So this is not at all a unique case.

Until the end of the Finnish War of 1808–1809, this area – as the rest of Finland – belonged to Sweden, but after that to the Russian Empire, because Sweden lost Finland to Russia. The Tornio Valley at the time was a cultural and ecological entity in which the same languages were spoken, Finnish and Saami, religious faith was deeply affected by the same conservative evangelical revival movement known as Laestadianism and people earned their living from fishing, cattle herding and trading. In 1809, a new frontier between Sweden and Russia was defined along the Tornio River as a result of the peace negotiations. The Tornio River, which had previously been a uniting factor holding the area together, now became a border river. (Talve 1979: 407.)

The new 1809 border – which was drawn along the Tornio River, with the exception of the island of Suensaari, where the town of Tornio is situated – split a unified linguistic and cultural area into two. It split apart parishes, villages and farms, houses, families and kinship networks; it severed the bonds between kindred and neighbours and tore apart old trading areas. Almost all the parishes were split in two, thus causing a loss both in terms of territory and inhabitants. Even today, we find Kuttanen in Finland and Kuttainen in Sweden, Karesuvanto in Finland and Karesuando in Sweden, and, e.g. Pello in both countries. (Lähtenmäki 2004: 30–31, Teerijoki 2010: 144–145.)

Everyday life continued after the demarcation of the frontier on both sides of the river. Despite the new international border, life and contacts between the local people on both sides of the Tornio Valley continued, because in the beginning the border was only an administrative measure. People visited relatives, went to church or shopping, married, etc. The cross-border marriages in particular have been quite important in several ways, not least because the Finnish language has survived throughout the region. Also, the dead on the Swedish side were buried “in the soil of a foreign country” for years, since the establishing and organising of congregations and construction of new churches on the other side of the border was a lengthy process. (Teerijoki 2010: 144–145.)

After the construction of the new border, an intensive Swedification policy started in the Tornio Valley. Despite it and the various constraints placed on people, contacts and dealings with those left on the other side of the border continued to take place. The common language, religion and relatives, along with the old contacts, were the key factors that allowed people to maintain diverse and active connections. The local inhabitants refused to accept the border as a divisive frontier; rather, they emphasised the common history, language and culture of the place. (Ruotsala 2015: 39, Prokkola 2008.)

Tornio–Haparanda as the Eye of a Needle

The border between Sweden and Finland in Haparanda–Tornio has been a hotspot in world politics twice. The first time was a hundred years ago, during the World War I, when the border region played a large role in the world politics because Sweden was a neutral country when the world was at war. Haparanda and Tornio were the only places where it was suitable to exchange war prisoners and invalids between the eastern and western fronts. About 75000 prisoners travelled through this area to their home areas, from Russia to western countries and from countries like Germany and Austria via Sweden to Russia. At that time, the towns of Haparanda and Tornio were also full of agents, spies, reporters, soldiers, business people, artists, smugglers, and so forth, and everybody wanted to earn some money. These events have now helped produce a certain cultural heritage, and local people have been involved in producing it especially during the years 2015–2018. (Frykman 2011: 162–177, Svanberg 1973: 324.)

One well-known character who crossed the border over 100 years ago was Lenin. He travelled from Germany via Sweden through Haparanda and Tornio and all of Finland back to Russia and to start a revolution. Also Finnish Jaegers¹ crossed the border from Finland via Sweden to Germany to get military education and then come back to help Finland to become independent.

Departures and Arrivals During the World War II and the Lapland War

War Children

The border has played a huge role during the World War II as well. Again Sweden was neutral and again the border helped save people's lives and put bread on their tables through smuggling. During the World War II, Finland fought against Russia. One of the biggest group of victims in war are always the children. A special notification was directed at children, who suffered quite badly during the war – e.g. because of the bombings, because they did not have enough to eat, were without homes or were war orphans. Society and different welfare organisations tried to organise a better place for the children to stay during the war. It meant that these so-called war children travelled across the border to Sweden and later back. The total number of war children was about 80000, and most of them were sent to Sweden, about 72000; the rest were sent to Denmark (4220) and to Norway (about 100). About 15000 stayed in Sweden or Denmark after the war ended. (Korkiakangas 2017: 150–154.)

1 They were Finnish volunteers who trained in Germany during World War I and arrived to Finland to enable Finland independent.

Some of them travelled by boat from southern Finland to Stockholm, but most of them travelled by train and crossed the border in Tornio and Haparanda because it was the easiest way during the war. A statue dedicated to the war children in the *Tullipuisto*, Custom Park in Haparanda reminds people of this journey, which long continued and still continues for many former war children. The statue, which was erected in 2005 by the *Sotalapsiyhdistys* (the Association for War Children) also tells something about how the children themselves felt at the time, naked and crying in a foreign country – in the words of the sculptor Anna Jäämeri-Ruusuvuori (Kuusisto-Arponen 2008: 169, 180).

Some of the war children wanted to remain in Sweden after the war and become adopted, but usually the biological parents or Finnish law prevented it. Many of the children travelled this route many times, because they longer felt entirely at home either in Finland or in Sweden. But of course there were thousands of positive examples of war children returning home and finding their place easily and yet still maintaining contacts with their former Swedish parents and other relatives.

“Well, I have been a war child; I was there for long periods also as an adult, and even I participated in my [Swedish] aunt’s birthday party when she turned 100 years old.” (From an interview in Ruotsala 2017b: 27.)

But there are a number of different narratives, stories and destinies with respect to the war children, and this phenomenon has been studied in several publications. For example, the article by Pirjo Korkiakangas is based on the oral history of former war children. It seems that the life of some war children can be described as an eternal rite of passage. (Korkiakangas 2017: 159.)

The Lapland War and the Evacuated People

As I wrote at the beginning of this article, the shared cultural history and language and numerous cross-border contacts had a decisive role during the war years. The border area showed its importance once again when, in autumn 1944, after the World War II, the so-called Lapland War broke out as Finnish troops had to forcibly remove German soldiers, their former *Kameraden* in the war, away from Finnish soil towards Norway. Before that, all of Lapland had to be evacuated. Finnish politicians asked the Swedish government if they would be willing to take in a certain number of the evacuees from Lapland. It took only two hours to get an answer, and the answer was yes. The number of civilians who had to be evacuated from Lapland was just over 100000; over 60000 of them went to Sweden and the rest to Ostrobothnia.

It was easier and quicker to go to Sweden, especially for those who were already living near the Swedish border and had relatives and friends there. One of my interviewees, a woman born in the border village of Karunki in 1921, told of her evacuation: “I was just putting the children to sleep when my husband (he was a soldier) came and said it was time to leave, the Germans were coming. And then I had to leave. That lot were terrible, we had a two-and-a-half-year-old child, a little baby

and another on its way... [pause] But we were welcomed in well, yes, the Swedes welcomed us well. Some went to people they know, some wherever. We were in some relatives' house. And it was then when we were in Sweden in the relatives' house we saw from the window that there were Finns in the village and we went back. [...] I went home there first on. [...] The home had survived. Hay and other flammable stuff was piled up in the attic, but hadn't been lit. We got off lightly!" (Fieldwork, 2008.)

For instance, my mother, the author's mother and other relatives and everybody from my home village went on foot to Sweden. The distance to the border was about 120 km. The journey started in the autumn, so first young women or girls and boys walked together with all the village cows to Sweden during the course of several days. Later, other villagers arrived by foot with bags and boxes, all that they could carry with them. In Sweden, those who were living on the border also suffered when the German troops burned and destroyed almost everything, including their houses and even entire villages.

People could return to Lapland during the next spring; some villages had been burned entirely to the ground, with only ashes remaining, but, e.g. my (author's) home village was left standing because there was no road connection during that time. The contacts formed in the border region during the time of evacuation were useful in different ways during the peacetime years as well, as I will describe later.

The time of evacuation in Sweden has, unfortunately, been largely forgotten or marginalised in Finland and in Finnish history because the more substantial evacuation of the Karelian refugees across the revised eastern border of Finland has taken centre stage. Plenty of studies and publications only mention the Karelian evacuees when discussing the wartime evacuations. While far more people (400000) were evacuated from Karelia, which the Soviet Union annexed as well as parts of Salla and whole Petsenga area in the north. Only now is the Lapland evacuation being discussed more in public, and several articles and publications have been written about the evacuation (Tuominen 2016: 40–42). The Lapland War and period of evacuation are also an important part of the local history and cultural heritage of people living in Lapland, even those who are younger and did not participate in these events, but have heard and read narratives about them.

Smuggling, the illegal buying and importing of goods from another country helped Lapland to recover quite quickly – and the contacts that were established during the evacuation time became very important both for smugglers and other people. It was possible to buy or smuggle goods from Sweden and, it is true, the smuggling and the location near the Swedish border helped many Finnish people a great deal compared to the situation faced by people in other parts of Finland. There were both professional smugglers and their assistants and the common people who just bought or smuggled goods for their own use, because such goods were not available in their home country. (Ruotsala 2009: 31, 38–40.)

Smuggling and also the legal cross-border trade have here – as in every border area – always been very important and intensive, just as trade is also today very

important. Especially after the period of rationing, which ended in the 1950s, goods were bought from Sweden, but later the reasons for cross-border shopping were the price differences and the habits of personal taste. The differences in the prices were due to the relative value of money. When the exchange rate for the Swedish crown was low, it paid off to buy goods from Sweden, and vice versa. Devaluation either way changed the direction of the border trade overnight. On account of the habits of taste and the difference in the exchange rate between the Finnish mark/euro and the Swedish crown, people have continued to make purchases in the neighbouring country. So shopping tours have always been an essential part of everyday life in the border area. Now, there is IKEA in Haparanda and almost half of its customers are coming from Finland. (Ruotsala 2010: 396–414, Ruotsala 2015: 44–48.)

The Great Migration to Sweden

From the end of the 1950s until the 1970s, tens of thousands of Finnish people moved to Sweden to work. The reasons behind this emigration wave are, among others, the development or changes in Finnish agriculture and diminishing number of jobs, as well as changes in Finnish industry and the labour market. Especially people from eastern and northern parts of Finland left their home areas and moved to Sweden, which needed labour. An uneducated Finnish labour force easily found work in Sweden. (Snellman 2003, 12–15.)

The Finnish population found work at once in the industries of southern Sweden, but they could continue to speak Finnish because they lived and worked among other Finns. They spent their summer holidays in their former home villages, showing off their “new cars” and novelties to their relatives and other people who had stayed in Finland. This made it easier for others to move to Sweden, too. Also, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, a great number of students moved to Sweden to study in universities because it was much easier to get a place at a Swedish university. After graduating, they often stayed in their new home country. Also, Sweden needed then a number of bi-lingual teachers who spoke both Finnish and Swedish.

Later, those who moved to Sweden in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s came of age to retire. Haparanda became a retirement community for Finnish emigrants moving from southern Sweden nearer to their former native country in order to benefit from the Swedish retirement plan and Finnish language services, because Finnish is spoken in several places in Haparanda and Tornio is not far away. Often, their skills in the Swedish language have been poor because they lived their lives speaking Finnish in the industrial towns. (Saarivuori 2006: 203.)

When we think about the group of return emigrants, we can ask, what are the reasons behind their return to the Finnish border region? Are they economic, social or emotion reasons? What kinds of solutions have they found? What kind of contacts do they have with their children living in the south of Sweden in a more “Swedish lifestyle”? These return emigrants are a large and visible group in

Haparanda, although they do not require special rights in any proper sense of the term. By rights, I mean especially language rights, which have been part of Swedish law since 2000, when Sweden identified so-called administrative regions where people have the right to speak Finnish when, e.g. meeting with a doctor or a clerk. Persons also have the right to send their children to a Finnish day-care and later to go to school in Finnish.

There are more and more return emigrants, or just ordinary families who are either monolingual in Finnish or bi-lingual in Finnish and Swedish living on the Swedish side of the border. It is easy move around and not to take into account state borders. People choose their living place according to different benefits and how easy it is to find a job, house or flat or day-care. Finnish-speaking families can put their children in schools in Finland because there are no Finnish classes in Sweden. There is a joint school in Haparanda, which is called a language school. Half of the pupils come from Finland and the other half from Sweden. This school belongs to both towns. So, those children who go to the language school can cross the border several times a day. Even day-care services are possible in the other country, not to mention working possibilities and different hobbies.

When speaking about the multilocality of the return emigrants, in addition to social and economic facts, such multilocality is also characterised by deep emotional ties to the home area. Those Sweden Finns who have moved from southern parts of Sweden to Haparanda are a good example. But it also can mean that behind the decision to move there are economic realities, such as the pension, cheaper homes, better social services and better benefits. An important part of the emotional ties include a summer house somewhere in Finland, or for the Finns in Tornio, a summerhouse in the Swedish archipelago.

Autumn 2015, when over 30000 Asylum Seekers Crossed the Border

My last example of arrivals and departures in this border area took place in autumn 2015, when a large number of asylum seekers arrived in Finland via Sweden. Actually the number was not at all so large comparatively, but when over 30000 people suddenly come to Finland, which had not received large amounts of refugees earlier, the politicians and officials – and some of the inhabitants – became surprised. We cannot call it a refugee crisis, as some politicians and media outlets wanted to say, because a Western and wealthy country like Finland can easily handle this amount of newcomers. Actually, Finland is suffering from too low of a birth rate and also the number of working-age people should be larger compared to the number of old people.

But just what it meant to the towns of Tornio and Haparanda has been the subject of much animated discussion. Some practical solutions emerged as a result. So, autumn 2015 brought once again the cities of Haparanda and Tornio into the minds

of the people. As a border area, it became the focus of world politics, just as it had been a hundred years ago during the World War I.

During autumn 2015, people started to arrive in Tornio first in small numbers. They had travelled through all of Europe and did not stay even in Sweden, which was a surprise to Finnish people, because there are many more refugees and foreigners in Sweden than in Finland. So the people came, first by train to Luleå and then by bus to Haparanda, to a joint Swedish-Finnish bus station just on the border, but on Swedish soil. From there, people continued their journey to southern parts of Finland, where the newcomers might have had relatives or friends. This went on for a couple of days, and then Finnish officials created a new kind hot spot, a so-called organisation centre at an empty school in Tornio, to help people who had just arrived. It meant that all newcomers were taken first to the organisation centre, where their personality was assessed and other information was written down. They could stay overnight and eat there, and after their information had been written down, they were sent to different reception centres in several parts of Finland. At the beginning, when the first bus left Tornio for other parts of Finland, it was clear that the drivers did not know where to go because the reception centres had been established so quickly. Officials looked for any vacant sites to establish the next refugee centre. Even still, the work in the organisation centre was quite effective, and other EU countries have since sent representatives to look at the work that was done. It continued until February 2016, when new refugees were no longer arriving in Finland.

The refugees changed the look of both Haparanda and Tornio. The last refugee centres in Haaparanta and Tornio closed in March 2016. There have been both positive and negative attitudes towards the newcomers, but the positives attitudes have been stronger in both towns. At first, the big number of newcomers surprised people, but many people helped the asylum seekers in different ways, e.g. by giving food, tea and clothes already at the bus station. Later, different activities were organised in the local refugee centres; for instance, the local art museum (*Aineen taidemuseo*) has had different programmes, concerts and classes, and in Haparanda a musical was staged (with money from outside the town), the premier of which was in the summer of 2017. Both local actors and foreigners acted in the musical and it was staged in three languages, Finnish, Swedish and Arabic.²

In autumn 2015, demonstrations were organised in Tornio against the so-called free entrance or free border called “close the border”. The same people organised and participated in demonstrations in several places in Finland, so the participants in the demonstration in Tornio were not all locals. Of course, some of them were local. Those who wanted to close the border also took pictures of asylum seekers

2 Both local actors and foreigners acted in the musical and it was staged in three languages: Finnish, Swedish and Arabic. You can read more about the musical project at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AVAODX9-0LQ>. It was partly produced in three languages: *Jag är en sång mellan dina läppar – Olen laulu huulillasi – Ana bin shafeifak naghham* [I am a song between your lips].

and people working in the organisation centre, but the police put a stop to this quite quickly.

Already in the autumn of 2015, they organised a “huge” demonstration (with about 150 participants) in Tornio against open borders and newcomers. So this demonstration also ran counter to the local way of understanding the border between Finland and Sweden as always open (except during the wartime). One example of such an understanding is the Nordic passport freedom established in the 1950s (1952 and later 1954). The border has become even more open after Finland and Sweden became members of the European Union in 1995. The border has been called the most peaceful border in the world – although only after the World War II. The street, Krannikatu, in English Neighbour’s Street, has received funding from the European Union to help unite both towns and states. During the demonstration, the street was blocked off with a truck and by demonstrators. Also, the name Neighbour’s Street is very symbolic and important. For some people, this area and the border will always remind them of the war years and evacuation time, how it was easy and possible to go to Sweden. It is part of the oral history and cultural heritage of the population in Lapland. Closing the street really offended many people and so a couple of counter-demonstrations were organised.

A film by Minna Rainio and Mark Roberts brought these two events quite close together. Their short film, entitled *They Came in Crowded Boats and Trains*, unites historical context with the present-day refugee situation and presents a different perspective on Finnish history, making northern Finland visible as a place that people have both escaped from and sought shelter in. Whereas the recent asylum seekers crossed the border from Sweden to Finland, about 70 years ago the stream of refugees flowed in the opposite direction.³

One final example concerning arrivals and departures. In autumn of 2015, both Swedish and Finnish border guards and customs officers started to control people who crossed the border. This was totally new for locals and reminded them of the time before the European Union and Nordic passport freedom initiative. As already mentioned, the border has remained open only with the exception of the war times, and people have become used to crossing it several times a day. Since 1980s and 1990s, people have been commuting over the border for work, school, hobbies and shopping and to visit relatives on a daily basis without showing their ID card or passport to the border guards. Now, people in cars, on bicycles or walking were stopped by officers who wanted to see their ID cards and asked them where they were going and why. Some of my friends and people whom I had interviewed reported that the officers asked such questions, which were forbidden, because the situation was new also for them and they did not know what questions they could ask. Soon, the locals learned to have their ID cards with them at all times. When

3 The exhibition version of *They Came in Crowded Boats and Trains* premiered at the Turku Art Biennale on 16 November 2017. It was also awarded the 8th Turku Biennial prize for the film on 19 February 2018. See <http://www.rainioroberts.com/they-came-in-crowded-boats-and-trains>.

I travelled to Haparanda for a TV programme by Swedish Finnish Television, my friends advised me to take my ID card with me at all times.

Transnational Everyday Life

A constant identity negotiation and new interpretations are taking place in the cross-border area. The border between Haparanda in Sweden and Tornio in Finland has been open except for the war years. Cross-border mobilisation has been possible and people have used it for their own businesses and in their everyday life. Today, people even say that they are so-called border people precisely because the border makes the area so special, but at the same time they value how this area is borderless and they can take advantage of it in all possible ways.

The free border crossing is familiar to locals, and it is so important that when such freedom comes under threat, people resist the changes. That is why the free border and borderless everyday life had to be defended in autumn 2015, even if there were some things in this new situation, which could be thought of as negative. The asylum seekers who came to Finland in 2015 resemble people in Lapland in the autumn of 1944 and during evacuation time in Sweden. People recognise what has happened, and this has brought multiple memories to mind.

All in all, people living on both sides of the border have used different border strategies and have pursued different cross-border activities at different times, and there have also been “border migrants”. Cross-border marriages, or “cross mating”, both legal and illegal forms of commerce, smuggling and employment or going to school on the other side of the border have long been customary. The forms of borderless everyday life include, for example, day-care, school, work, shopping, hobbies, leisure-time activities and social networks. It is difficult to estimate the number of those who commute to work over the border, but one guestimate is that 500 people commute from Haparanda to Tornio, while the number of those commuting from Tornio to Haparanda is smaller; altogether in the whole border area the number is between 1000 and 1500 people. (Billing 1995: 6; Ruotsala 2015: 45–48, 2017a: 275, 281–283.) One good motivation today when choosing a place to live is the cheaper housing and social benefits in Sweden. It is easy to move across the border. School, especially high school, is chosen because of higher standards, which gives better possibilities in further studies in Finland, as one informant said: “When I was in the school in Haparanda I was a little afraid if I could speak enough Finnish to go to the school in Tornio. When you cross the border several times a day, the border is then for you not fixed” (an interview, which is not yet archived). You can choose it freely.”

Living on the frontier brings its own flavour to the lives and everyday activities of the local inhabitants, even if this “is not grasped during the everyday affairs of life”, as one of my interviewees expressed it. The idea of an open border has been a fact for most of the border’s history, as discussed above. Bordering, de-bordering,

re-bordering and again de-bordering processes have been going on and often also simultaneously, but people tend to understand free arrivals and departures to be an important part of their everyday life. This is just as it was during the World War II, when, e.g. author's mother and other relatives escaped to Sweden to avoid the horrors and fears of the Lapland War.

Translated by the author and language proofed by Erik Hieta

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Mobilitás a határon át. Különböző indulások és érkezések a Tornio völgyében 1945 és 2017 között

A tanulmány a Tornio-völgynél lévő svéd–finn határ használatát, a különböző átkelési gyakorlatokat tárgyalja. Összességében a határ mindkét oldalán élő emberek különféle határstratégiákat használtak és különféle határokon átnyúló tevékenységeket folytattak egy adott időszakban, illetve megjelentek a „határmigránsok” is. A tanulmány a határon átívelő mobilitás második világháború és 2017 közötti időszakára fókuszál. A Finnország és Svédország közötti határ meglehetősen újnak mondható, 1809 óta létezik, amikor Finnország Svédországtól Oroszországhoz került át, de többször is gyűjtőpont volt az idők során. A közös történelem és nyelv miatt a Tornio völgyében élők nem kezelték határként az újonnan létrejött határt a hétköznapiakban, hanem ugyanúgy használták a területet, mint korábban. A közös történelmi és családi háttérnek meghatározó szerepe volt a második világháború után, amikor a térség és a teljes Lappföld lakosságát evakuálni kellett. Később, amikor a határon át történő csempészet fontossá vált, a korábban létrejött családi és gazdasági kapcsolatok meghatározóak lettek. Az 1950-es és 1970-es évek közötti munkamigráció idején jellemzően ezen a területen át utaztak a finnek Svédországba munkát keresni. 2015-ben nagyszámú menedékkérő érkezett Finnországba Svédországon keresztül, így a határ újra gyűjtőponttá vált. Összességében a határon átívelő mobilitás lehetősége adott volt ezen a területen, és az emberek éltek is vele saját üzleti ügyeik érdekében, de a mindennapi életben is.

Mobilitate transfrontalieră. Diverse plecări și sosiri în Valea Tornio între anii 1945 și 2017

Studiul abordează utilizarea frontierei dintre Suedia și Finlanda din Valea Tornio, respectiv diferitele practici de trecere a frontierei. În general populația de pe ambele părți ale frontierei a folosit diverse strategii și a desfășurat diverse activități peste hotare în anumite perioade de timp, respectiv au apărut și „imigranții frontierei”. Lucrarea focusează pe mobilitatea transfrontalieră între cel de-al Doilea Război Mondial și anul 2017. Hotarul dintre Finlanda și Suedia poate fi considerat un element destul de nou, căci există doar din 1809, atunci când Suedia a pierdut Finlanda în favoarea Rusiei, însă fusese în repetate rânduri un adevărat focar. Datorită istoriei și a limbii comune în viața de zi cu zi locuitorii Văii Tornio nu au perceput acest nou hotar drept o frontieră, ci au folosit-o la fel ca și înainte. Fundalul istoric și familial comun și-a dobândit un rol determinant după Al Doilea Război Mondial, când locuitorii de aici, dar și întreaga populație a Laplandiei trebuia evacuată. Mai târziu, când contrabanda din zona frontierei a luat amploare, relațiile familiale și economice precedente au căpătat un rol determinant. În timpul migrației de muncă dintre anii 1950 și 1970 de regulă finlandezii traversau această zonă spre Suedia, în căutarea unui loc de muncă. În 2015 a sosit un număr mare de imigranți în Finlanda prin Suedia, în căutare de azil, astfel că această frontieră a devenit din nou un focar. În general mobilitatea transfrontalieră a fost posibilă în această zonă, iar oamenii s-au folosit de ea atât în scopuri economice, cât și viața lor de zi cu zi.

Mobility over the Border. Different Departures and Arrivals in the Tornio Valley between 1945 and 2017

The article discusses different departures and arrivals in the cross-border area between Swedish and Finnish in the Tornio Valley. Overall, people living on both sides of the border have used different border strategies and have pursued different cross-border activities at different times, and there have also been “border migrants”. It focuses on the mobility over border between World War II and 2017. The border, which divides Finland and Sweden, is quite new, only from 1809, when Sweden lost Finland to Russia, but it has been a hotspot several times. Because of the common history and language, people living in Tornio Valley have not regarded border as a border in their everyday life, but they have continued to use it as earlier. The joint historical and family background had a decisive role after the World War II, when people from this area and whole Lapland had to be evacuated. Also later, when smuggling over the border was important, these previous contacts had a determining role. During the work migration from the 1950s to the 1970s, people travelled via this area to Sweden to find work. In 2015, large number of asylum seekers arrived in Finland via Sweden and made the border again a hotspot. Cross-border mobilization has been possible and people have used it for their own businesses and in their everyday life.

Pictures



1. People from Lapland have arrived to Sweden
(Photo: SA-kuva)



2. People and cattle are arriving to Haparanda from Finland
(Photo: SA-kuva)



3. The Finns have been shopping in Sweden, Haparanda, July 2010
(Photo: Helena Ruotsala)