

ONE CITY IN TWO COUNTRIES

Regional identity and cultural heritage
on the HaparandaTornio border during
the COVID-19 pandemic

Moa Landstedt & Carin Ollinen

Independent project • 30 hp

Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, SLU

Department of Landscape Architecture, Planning and Management

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"We have to be more concrete. We should not talk too much, instead take action and create things together, to show the people that this collaboration is valid. Instead of looking at our differences we should look at what unites us"

- Bengt Westman

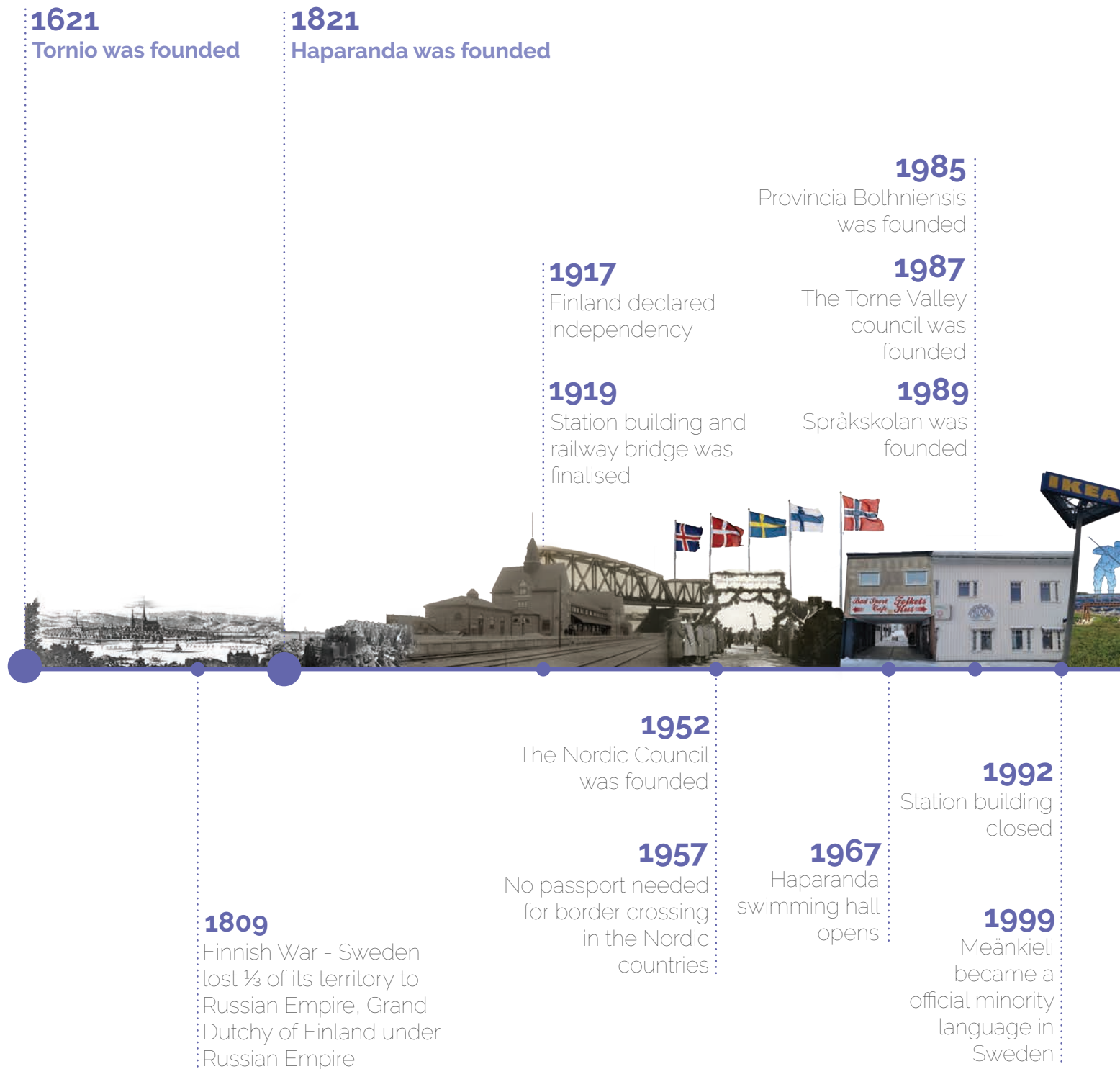
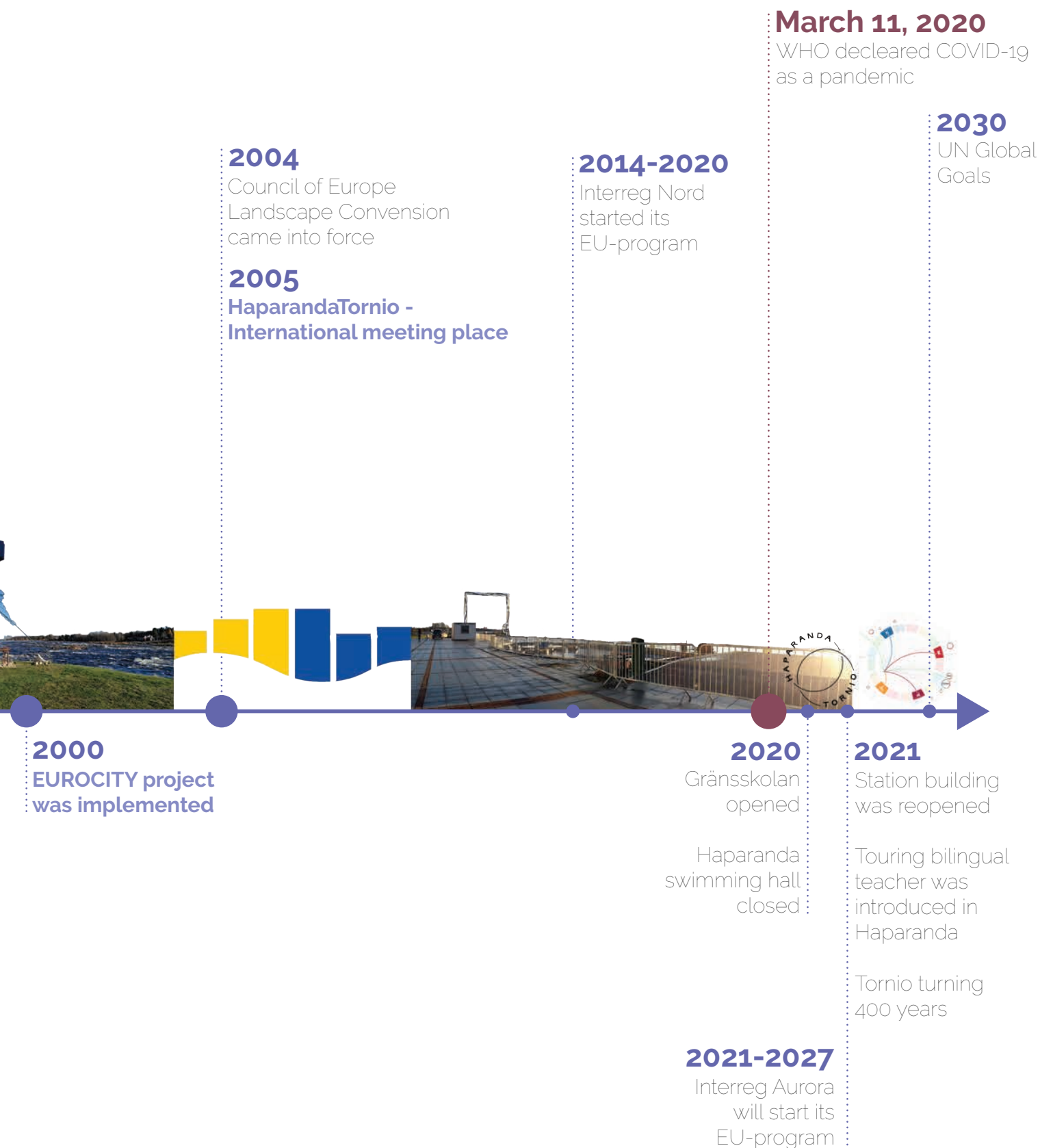


Figure 1: Timeline of HaparandaTornio (Based on photographs from: Green, 1919; HaparandaTornio, 2016, 2021; Maupertuis, n.d; UN, 2021)



One City in Two Countries - Regional identity and cultural heritage on the HaparandaTornio border during the COVID-19 pandemic

En stad i två länder - Regional identitet och kulturarv på gränsen HaparandaTornio under COVID-19-pandemin

Authors:	Moa Landstedt & Carin Ollinen
Supervisor:	Patrik Olsson, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Department of Landscape Architecture
Examiner:	Lisa Diedrich, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Department of Landscape Architecture
Assistant examiner:	Lisa Norfall, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, University lecturer at the Department of Landscape Architecture, Planning and Administration
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Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Faculty of Landscape Architecture, Horticulture and Crop Production Science

Department of Landscape Architecture, Planning and Management

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Abstract

The collaborative cross-border region HaparandaTornio has been recognised as the most peaceful border in the world due to its shared history, which can be examined through the common tangible and intangible cultural heritage. The tangible cultural heritage can be investigated through four phases of HaparandaTornio's institutionalisation; (1) the motion of single projects, (2) joint local policy agreements, (3) creating a joint body and (4) continued responsibility of being defined as a Twin City. The intangible cultural heritage can be recognised through the border being a uniting seam, rather than an isolating barrier, where different languages, mentality and traditions have merged. In March 2020 the COVID-19 pandemic forced national decision-makers to close the border between HaparandaTornio. The border closing has not only restricted local habitants of moving freely in their region but also intensified the "we and them"-mentality amongst the habitants from the respective cities. This shows that collaborative regional decision-making is crucial of maintaining the common cultural heritage of HaparandaTornio, but also to cultivate the everyday life of the habitants living in the cross-border region. Yet, HaparandaTornio remains just as a concept, being identified as one city in two countries. This identification can not be legally defined which creates contradictions in the regional will and national law. If the border were to close again, communication between regional authorities and national decision-makers are necessary, to constitute reasonable measures that serves cross-border regions. The results of this thesis have been gathered through a site-visit, interviews and a survey.

Keywords: COVID-19 pandemic, cross-border region, identity, participation, tangible and intangible cultural heritage, transnational integration

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Abbreviations

CCLP	Cambridge Center for Landscape and People
ECDC	European Agency for Communicable Disease Control
ELC	European Landscape Convention
ETC	European Territorial Cooperation
ICCROM	International Center for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
SCB	Statistiska centralbyrån [Statistics Sweden]
TCOD	Two countries - One destination
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WHO	World Health Organization

Definition of Terms

Arbeta tillsammans	[Work together] collaborative cross-border project that works with labor markets regional enlargement and cross-border threshold issues.
Framtidsbågen	[The Future Arc] statue located on the border between HaparandaTornio made by a 10-year-old in a local competition.
Gränsskolan	Bilingual school, 7 th to 9 th grade. Opened in the Fall of 2020.
Gula huset	[The Yellow House] a historical building where the Torne Valley Council and local businesses in HaparandaTornio are operating.
HaparandaTornio	Was first known as EUROCITY and was later renamed to HaparandaTornio in 2005. When discussing Haparanda and Tornio as a joint region, the term HaparandaTornio will be used.
Haparanda and Tornio	When discussing the two cities separately Haparanda and Tornio will be used.
Kukkolaforsen	Kukkolaforsen is a village northen of HaparandaTornio. Kukkolaforsen's rapids are the largest and best known of its kind in the Torne Valley, where local fishermen have practice a significant way of rapids fishing for centuries.
Meri-Lapin Golf Klubi	[Sea-Lapland Golf Club] located on the border of HaparandaTornio.
Meänkieli	[Our tongue] local creole language.
Rajalla	[Rajalla shopping mall] located on the border of HaparandaTornio.
Rajavartioliitto	[The Border Security Union] is an administrative unit in Finland who have been in charge of the Finnish border control in Tornio during the COVID-19 pandemic.
Resecentrum	Local bus terminal, located in Haparanda right by the border to Tornio, which closed during the COVID-19 pandemic.
Ringlinjen/ Kaupunkilinjat	Ringlinjen operates in Haparanda and Kaupunkilinjat in Tornio. The local buss transportions are collaborating across the border of HaparandaTornio.
Språkskolan	Bilingual school, preschool until 6 th grade.
Stadshotellet	[The City Hotel] located next to Haparanda City Hall
Victoriatorget	[Victoria square] is located on the border of HaparandaTornio.
Öresundsregionen	[Øresund Region] is a metropolitan region that comprises eastern Denmark and Skåne in southern Sweden.

01. Introduction

In March 2020 the border between the two cities Haparanda, Sweden, and Tornio, Finland, closed for the first time to an extent that changed the everyday life and culture of the habitants living in the intersecting cities. Habitants dependent on travelling across the border in relation to work, school, shopping or kinship, were not only affected by the respective countries restrictions, but has also created doubt in the local mentality of the necessity of mobility and the utilisation of retail on both sides of the border.

The proclaimed region of HaparandaTornio is known as a unique place, due to its common history of persistent interaction across the national border of Sweden and Finland, encouraging habitants to discover and embrace their cultural similarities and differences of the neighbouring country (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001). Haparanda is Sweden's easternmost intermediate densified urbanised area in the county of Norrbotten, with a population of 9 601 habitants (SCB, 2020). The neighbouring city Tornio, east of Haparanda, is located in the county of Lapland in Finland, with a population of 21 335 habitants (Tilastokeskus, 2021). The two municipalities combined reach an area of 2270 km² (Kolada, 2020; Maanmittauslaitos, 2021), which is approximately the same size as the urbanised area of Paris (Demographia, 2021, p. 20). The region's of Haparanda and Tornio have assembled a cooperative local government which have taken steps to harmonise the areas regulation into a viable region¹. Maintaining a state of consistent cooperation has proven to bring both pros and cons for the intersecting municipalities.

HaparandaTornio holds a *cultural heritage* of their transnational integration in both tangible and intangible forms. Cultural heritage is an expression of 'ways of living', developed by a community that has passed it down from generation to generation (UNESCO, 2008). *Australia International Council on Monuments and Sites* (Australia ICOMOS) is a non-government, not-for-profit organisation of cultural heritage professionals who claim that cultural

1 Sven Tornberg, Chairman for the City Council in Haparanda, interviewed the 4th of October 2021.

heritage includes customs, practices, places, objects, artistic expressions, and values (UNESCO, 2021). It can either be considered tangible or intangible (Australia ICOMOS, 2017). Tangible forms can be defined as artefacts, buildings or landscapes, in comparison to intangible forms which have the meaning of voices, values, traditions and oral history (Australia ICOMOS, 2017). In the case of HaparandaTornio, the local tangible heritage is distinguished by the Torne River that runs 520 km along the border of Sweden and Finland (Figure 4, p. 19) (Segersten et al., 2020). Geographically, the Torne River draws the national boundary, but the tangible heritage uniting HaparandaTornio has been established by bridges that grant habitants to cross the border, forming a sense of belonging on either side. The intangible heritage of living by the cross-border region has been cultivated through different local traditions, practice and memories.

The border can be defined as a representation of the local cultural heritage, with tangible and intangible values that should be preserved according to local decision-makers and habitants to maintain the city's identity. From an international standpoint, HaparandaTornio has also reached recognition

of their cross-border collaboration, by setting an example for other cross-border regions in Europe; how to collaborate on a regional level (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001; Paasi & Prokkola, 2008).

The sense of belonging in the cross-border region has matured for over 400 years, since the village Tornio was founded (Joenniemi & Sergunin, 2011, p. 235). The local transnational integration may be studied through today's cooperation of the municipalities of HaparandaTornio, and how the cooperation has evolved into a top-down governance, where decision-making appears between different formal actors (Butler et al., 2015). The top-down approach often excludes citizen participation, whereas participation in fact may strengthen a community and its identity (Laird, 1993).

When the COVID-19 pandemic unfolded in March of 2020 (World Health Organization, 2020), it has resulted in the previously inconspicuous border to become more evident, and by that disrupted the cooperation and maintenance of being defined as a cross-border region (HaparandaTornio, 2021b).

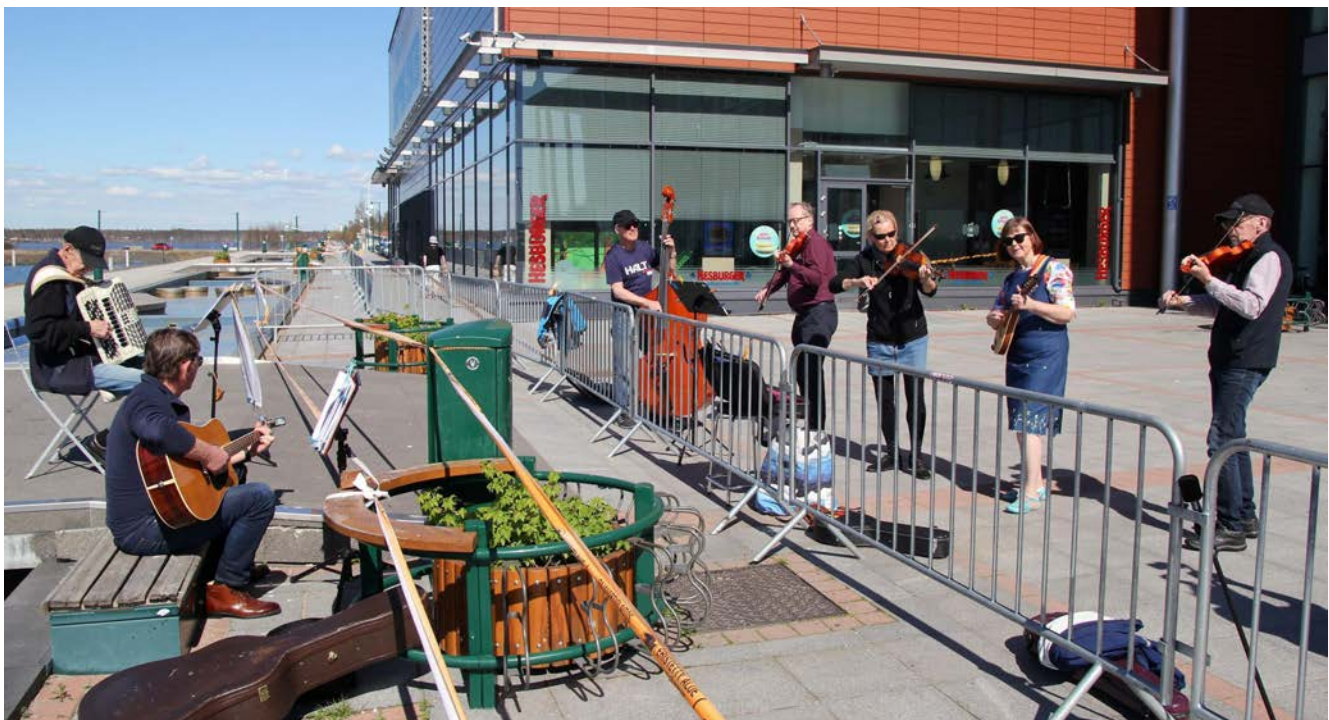


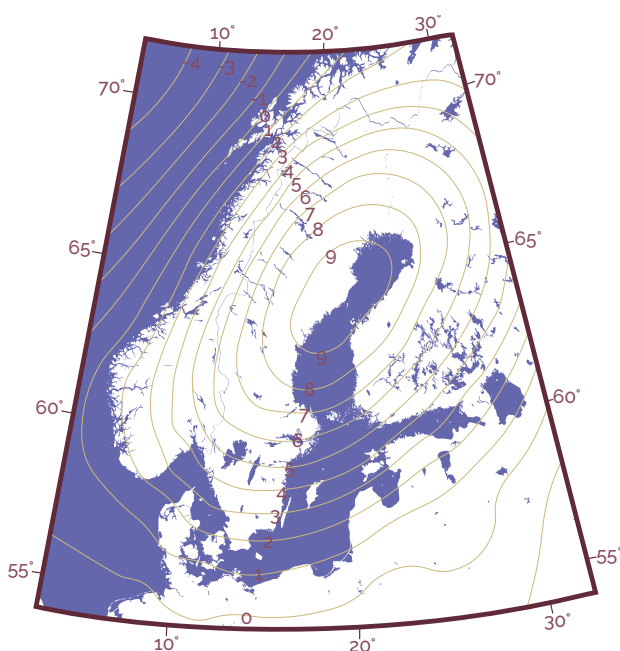
Figure 2: A cross-border band practice, during the pandemic (Stenman, 2020)

02. Background

The following chapter will summarise the history of the Torne Valley, in relation to how the cities Tornio and Haparanda came about. Understanding the history of the cities as a whole is a foundation for understanding how the cultural heritage discussed in the later sections has formed. Furthermore, the start of the cross-border region HaparandaTornio will be discussed, to understand the width of the collaboration between the two cities. In addition, an insight will be presented, how Sweden and Finland's regulations affected the habitants of HaparandaTornio during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The rise of the Torne Valley

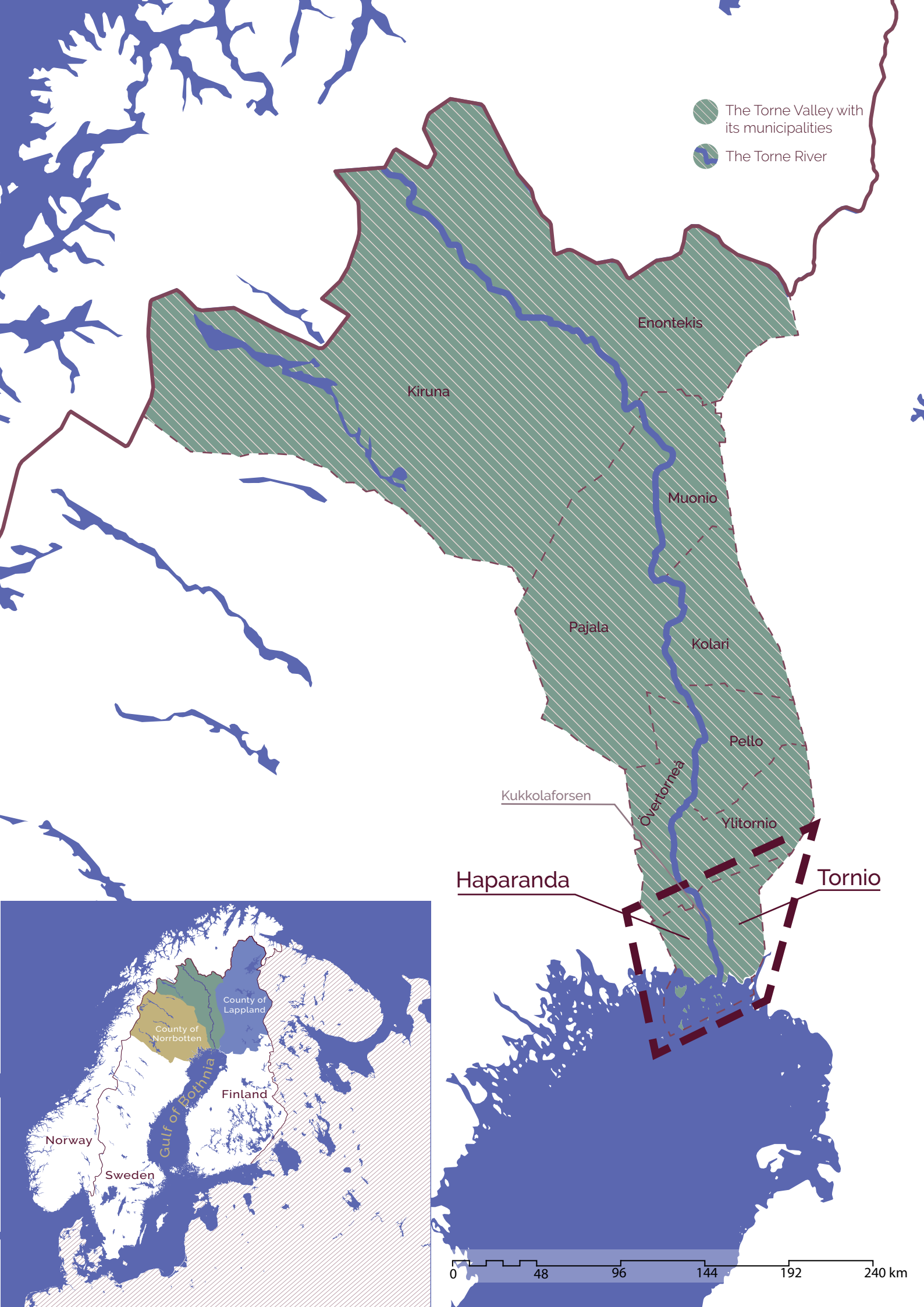
Haparanda and Tornio are located in the Torne Valley, sometimes referred to as the Nile Valley of the North, which runs along the border of present day's Sweden, Finland and Norway (Figure 4, p. 19). The Torne Valley starts where the three countries' borders intersect. It follows the perimeters of the 520 km long Torne River, which acts as the border between Sweden and Finland, and ends up in the most northern parts of the Gulf of Bothnia (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001, pp. 36–37). Thousands of years ago, the Torne Valley was covered by ice. The ice was so heavy that the ground itself was pushed down under it. As the ice receded, the land began to rise which resulted in the formation of the Torne River (Tornedalskommunernas Historiebokskommitté, 1991, pp. 14–28). Today, the land is continuously rising, approximately 9 mm/year, which makes the area close to the currently absolute uplift in the world (Figure 3) (Tornedalskommunernas Historiebokskommitté, 1991, pp. 14–28; Poutanen & Steffen, 2014).



At the outfall of the Torne River the village Tornio was founded by the Swedish King Gustav II Adolf in 1621 (Joenniemi & Sergunin, 2011, p. 235). At this point in history, the village of Tornio reached across both sides of the Torne River and became an important trading and shipping place for northern

Figure 3: Map of the landrise (Based on Lantmäteriet, 2022)

Figure 4: Map of the Torne Valley and the chosen study area Haparanda and Tornio (p. 19).



Sweden and Russia, which in turn attracted more workers from the nearby villages. The most common goods were salmon, whitefish, stockfish and butter, but also furs from squirrels, reindeers and foxes (Tornedalens museum, 2021a). When local merchants gained wealth, new larger houses were built along the shore allowing bigger ships to access the village (Tornedalskommunernas Historiebokskommitté, 1993, pp. 181–194). The local merchants gained higher economic, legal, and administrative status, determining different laws and regulations for Tornio, in comparison to the neighbouring countryside (Tornedalens museum, 2021). This resulted in Tornio having its own court and regional government, self-compilation of taxes and duties, as well as a tariff fence that separated them from the bordering surroundings. These regional regulations ended in the late 1700s, as the Swedish state's ideology changed to a more nationalistic approach, where cultural unity gained national importance (Lindberg, 2002; Tornedalens museum, 2021a). The surrounding tariff fence was taken down, which distanced the local merchants from their authority in Tornio but seized closer relation with the jurisdiction in Stockholm (Tornedalens museum, 2021a).

Haparanda was founded

Thomas Lundén ,Professor Emeritus of Cultural Geography and Dennis Zalamans, Lecturer in Natural Sciences (2001, p. 37), mention that the Torne Valley could have been claimed as being a region in the sense of "areas of internal connectedness

surrounded by peripheries or barriers of less contacts". This was until Sweden was cut in two, by a political boundary separating Sweden from its eastern territory to the Russian Empire (today's Finland) (Figure 5). In 1809, The Russian Empire invaded Sweden without declaration of war, resulting in Sweden losing a third of its country's territory to the east (Uppslagsverket Finland, n.d.). The Swedish-Finnish army, based on the eastern side of Sweden, was ill-equipped and did not receive reinforcements from western Sweden. Step by step, the Swedish-Finnish army started to withdraw during the winter and spring, back northbound with the Russians close behind. The Russian emperor, Alexander I, knew the importance of orderly conditions and a solidary population in the newly conquered areas due to the threatening war against France. As a result, Alexander I constructed *Grand Duchy of Finland* (1809-1917) in order to bypass Finnish resistance to Russia. This gave The Grand Duchy of Finland enough distance to the Russian Empire to construct a new regime and build a central administration for the country (Lindberg, 2011). The consequences of the so-called *Finnish War* (1808-1809) were that the (now) present border was drawn along the Torne River detaching Sweden to the autonomous Grand Dutch of Finland under the Russian Empire.

Tornio's eastern side became the 'new' Tornio, while the western side was established as a new village called Haparanda, in Finnish *Haaparanta* [Aspen Beach] in 1821 (Joenniemi & Sergunin, 2011). The village of Haparanda, became a borough by the

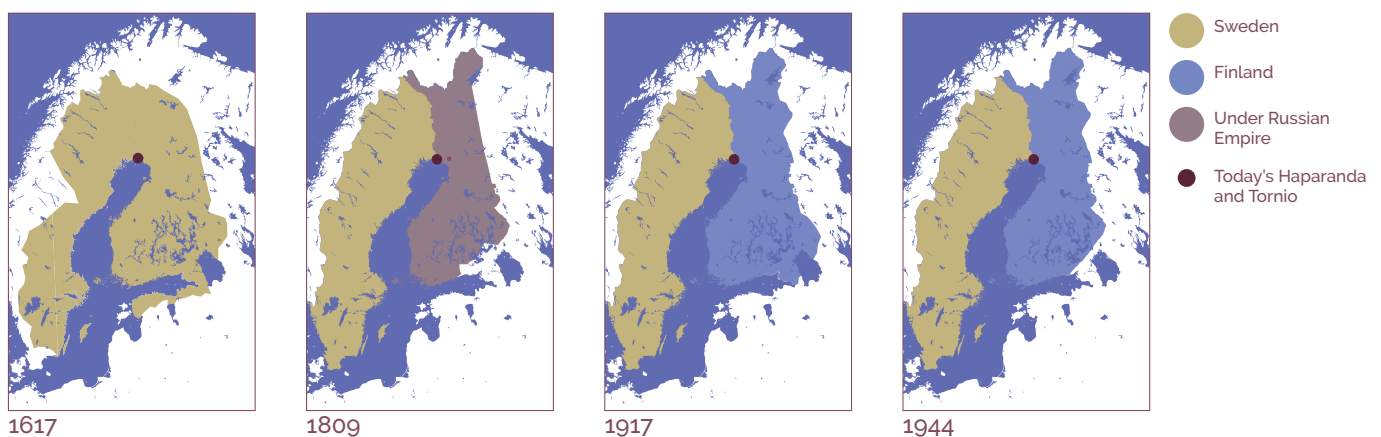


Figure 5: Historical maps over territorial division (Based on Tacitus, n.d.)

year 1827, and acquired town privileges in 1842 (HaparandaTornio, 2021b). The separation of The Kingdom of Sweden had a major impact on the cultural and social life for the habitants living by the border (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001, p. 35). Most villages had their land distributed on both sides of the Torne River as a result of the Finnish War, even if the habitants owned land on both sides (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001, p. 35; Paasi & Prokkola, 2008, p. 18). Culturally the Torne Valley continued for decades being a homogeneous area, in the sense of religious values, language and the identity of coexistence (Halme & Kallio-Seppä, 2010, p. 337).

Tangible and intangible cultural heritage

The following paragraphs will present tangible and intangible heritage that has affected and formed the identity of HaparandaTornio. The tangible heritages are the station building in Haparanda, and the railway bridge between HaparandaTornio. The intangible heritages are the rapids fishing in Kukkolaforsen, and local languages.

The term tangible heritage refers, in general, to all the material traces such as archaeological sites, historical monuments, artifacts, and objects that are significant to a community, a nation, and/or humanity. The term is often used to distinguish such heritage elements from intangible heritage (UNESCO, 2021). Different artifacts that connect the present day to the past are discoverable in HaparandaTornio, due to the location's long history. In the following paragraphs we will present tangible and intangible remembrances that have been proven to hold *nostalgic* values which represent HaparandaTornio's cultural heritage today.

The station building in Haparanda

Haparanda's station building was conceptualised in 1917, the same year Finland declared its

independence. Yet, the station building was finalised in 1919, designed by Folke Zettervall (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 2003a). Historically, the station building was one of the first organised infrastructure that, still today, has perserved tangible elements that units Haparanda and Tornio. It was recognised as a state owned monument in 1986, and later reintroduced as a tangible cultural heritage, protected by the Swedish National Heritage Board² in 2001 (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 2021).

The station building consists of three larger constructions contrary to the main building with steep roofs. It is one of Sweden's largest railway stations in the countryside, and its red brick facades give a massive and cohesive impression, complete with a stone tower and lantern (Figure 6, p. 22). The lower elongated part of the building is approximately 80 m long, with a round arch motif on the ground floor, a platform roof, and above this a mezzanine floor clad with a wooden floor paneling (Figure 7, p. 22). The station building holds great architectural values, both in the monumental exterior, and the design and style of the preserved interiors (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 2003b). The monumentality is an expression of the great expectations of the town's aspirations in becoming a major trading center after World War I (1914–1918). It was the first station building that provided Sweden a railway link to Finland, but also popularised the development of trade and transport across the borders to Russia (Railjournal, 2021). This was until 1992, when passenger trains were ended and other, more effective, railways were implemented for freight traffic (Railjournal, 2021; Resiinalehti, 2021). From the station building two widths of tracks are discernible: the Finnish train tracks running on the wider Russian gauge in front of the station, and the Swedish smaller train tracks that run behind the station building.

The station building was also closed down in 1992,

² The Swedish National Heritage Board, under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture, serves since the 17th century as Sweden's central administrative agency in the area of cultural heritage and cultural or historic environment. Cultural heritage protection and management in Sweden aims to preserve and manage sites of historical, architectural or archaeological significance and to empower cultural heritage as a force in the evolution of a democratic, sustainable society (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 2021).



Figure 6: Haparanda station building exterior (Green, 1919)



Figure 7: Haparanda station building interior (Green, 1919)



Figure 8: Haparanda shipping docks, and people by war (Green, 1915)



Figure 9: Railway bridge between Haparanda-Tornio (Green, 1919)



Figure 10: Kukkolaforsen, man hand-netting in the rapids (City of Oulu archives, n.d.)



Figure 11: One of the oldest photographs presenting the fish sharing in Kukkola (Norra Österbottens museum n.d.)



Figure 12: Map of Kukkolaforsen (Törnudd, 1865)

due to deficiencies in the bearing capacity of the track substructure and the worn out building structure, which hampered the traffic growth. In addition, the railway line needed to be updated with a modernised electrified signaling system (Haparanda Stad, 2021a). Since then the station building has gone through a conservation process, and was reopened to the public in spring 2021.

The railway bridge between Haparanda and Tornio

During World War I approximately 75 000 people by war from Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Turkey, were deported across the border towns of Tornio and Haparanda, to continue the journey on rail (Haparanda Stad, 2021b). The demanding operation cultivated the start of building the railway bridge between Haparanda and Tornio (Figure 9, p. 22). The railway bridge was finalised after World War I in 1919, which united the threshold between Haparanda and Tornio's export and import development. Smuggling became a transnational phenomenon in Haparanda and Tornio for the local inhabitants. Products such as tobacco, meat, horses, and stolen weapons from the military were smuggled to Sweden, while coffee, sugar, snus (smokeless tobacco), and spices were smuggled to Finland. Alcohol was smuggled in both directions. To smuggle was seen as a sin, and the saying "when capital means more than the soul, the latter is lost" was spread in the Laestadian Lutheran Church (Tornedalens museum, 2021c). Today the smuggling culture has been transformed into a local remembrance and recognition of the past and the mentality of lawlessness can be seen as a fundamentality in the Torne Valley (Halme & Kallio-Seppä, 2010, p. 401).

Rapids fishing in Kukkolaforsen

The village of Kukkolaforsen is a part of larger Kukkola, north of Haparanda and Tornio (Figure 4, p. 19). The village is separated into two parts, the western and the eastern side, divided by the Torne River. Kukkolaforsen rapids are the largest and best known of its kind in the Torne Valley (Haparanda Stad, 2020b). The rapids stretch over a length of 3,5 km and are home to terrific fishing

sites. Kukkolaforsen has been recognised ever since the 11th century as a known seasonal fishing area. Yet, it became more inhabited alongside the river by hunters, farmers and their livestock during the 16th century (Haparanda Stad, 2020b). On the wide inland fields surrounding Kukkolaforsen, crops of barley and hay for the cattle were grown. With the sparsely built area, the river has deposited organic substances that have contributed to the vast fields and rich soil (Norrbottens museum, 2020). Later, the established farmyards were given a stretch of land by the waterside and small inland cultivation areas to enable the people to live on fishing and farming.

After the Finnish War in 1809, when Kukkolaforsen became a village in two counties (Haparanda Stad, 2020b), which strengthened the fishing tradition further. The division brought a more practical solution to split up the village into two fishing groups to rationalise the catch of the fish with the habitants of the village.

In Kukkolaforsen, fishing is practised using a centuries-old method. The long fishing tradition in Kukkolaforsen has given accustomed local knowledge of the fish behaviour in the Torne River (Haparanda Stad, 2020b). Salmon and whitefish are commonly found resting in hollows sheltered from the strong water current on their way up-river to their mating grounds. The salmon move up-river during the early summer, and the whitefish later in the season. The locals have been using different means throughout centuries for catching fish. One method has been to use *dip nets* with extended handles from boats and jetties, or from the waterside (Figure 10, p. 22). This is also called *hand-netting*. The wooden jetties are contemporary traditional structures, equipped with specially designed cage traps for use in salmon fishing (Figure 10 & 12, p. 22). Hand-netting and wooden jetties have become a signature way of fishing in Kukkolaforsen. Other fishes, such as burbot and river lamprey, can also be found in the river, which are caught by cone-shaped creels (Figure 33, p. 63) (Haparanda Stad, 2020b).

The tradition has moved forward in the transformation of culture, while retaining its

fundamental form. Beyond the fishing practice, Kukkolaforsen has a long tradition which has stayed alive making it a living intangible cultural heritage (Kukkolankoski, 2021). The tradition has been formed around the fish and fishing as a collective treasure. Old folk stories show that "the gift of water and forest" were not allowed to be displayed in the village, not even for the best neighbours because it may curse the whole catch. Eating fish and drinking strong liquor was seen to bring good luck. Fishing was mostly done at dawn in different sequences to make sure there were always enough fishermen for each day. Afterwards, the village gathered in the small fishing booths to divide the catch and to discuss the latest news and the day's catch (Figure 11, p. 22). This tradition is still seen today where habitants and tourists can join in on the celebration (Niskala, 2018). Finnish and *Meänkieli* are still spoken on both sides of the river, maintaining close contact of the fishermen.

Language

Language became an important factor for the habitants after the Finnish War in Haparanda and Tornio, in order to preserve their identity. A large Finnish-speaking population remained on the Swedish side, forming a national minority. Therefore, the Finnish language was retained for more than half a century by the Swedish government to maintain communication with the local rural population for education and religious services (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001, p. 35; Paasi & Prokkola, 2008, p. 18). This changed in the late 1800s when Sweden, as well as the rest of Europe, actively started strengthening their nationalistic ideology once again (Germundsson, 2005, p. 24; Hobsbawm, 2012, p. 102). The aim was to create a feeling of a collective national home. Common cultural features were important, such as: language, system of values, history, and geographical formation. For instance the whole school system was reorganised in the Torne Valley making Swedish a recommended educational language (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001, p. 35). Between the 1860s and 1880s the academic and educational language was Swedish in Haparanda whereas it was Finnish in the small villages around the city (Hederyd, 1992, pp. 94–97). In the 1920s the

"Swedification" had gone so far that Swedish became the mandatory teaching language nationally, and the ideology of monolingual education became the only way to help habitants becoming integrated into Swedish society (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001, p. 35).

Finland claimed independence in 1917 and, through this, they brought hardship to prosper the development to the eastern side of the border. In the aftermath of the World War II (1939–1945) destruction, all resources went to rebuilding the infrastructure and buildings again. Meanwhile in Sweden, border regions were brought into contact with the rest of the country through the military presence, strengthening the Swedish language further at the expense of the Finnish language (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001, p. 35). In the 1950s there was some effort by the Swedish state authorities in trying to reintroduce the Finnish language again through local radio programs and in schools, but it was not endorsed. Nonetheless, an association of people in the Torne Valley proclaimed another form of Finnish called *Meänkieli* [our tongue] which was met with some excitement from the local habitants. Some linguists argued that the language was a 'wild accent', but the Swedish parliament officially declared *Meänkieli* as a minority language in 1999 (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001, p. 36). *Meänkieli* may be seen as a *pidgin language* that has been formed into a *creole language* in time. A pidgin language is defined as a language that has borrowed words and phrases with non-perfected grammar, from another language, which through generations has been transmuted, often by children, into a creole language. Creole language is a more complete language with grammatical complexity and rich expressiveness where none have existed before. A creole language may become a child's mother tongue if used in the early years of childhood (Pinker, 2015, p. 33).

According to Lundén and Zalamans (2001, p. 36), there are five major population groups in the southern part of the Torne Valley (Table 1, p. 25). First, *Finland Finns* who live in Tornio and have little experience of Swedish culture and language. They are however able to communicate in Haparanda

to some extent, because of the existence of Finnish speakers in Haparanda. Second, *Sweden Swedes* who mainly live in Haparanda, in contrast to Finland Finns, have a harder time communicating in Tornio due to the lack of Swedish speakers. Third, *Torne Valley inhabitants*, who mostly live on the Swedish side, speak Swedish and Finnish and/or Meänkieli, usually have kinship and friendship on both sides. Fourth, *Sweden Finns*, who mostly live in the urban areas of Haparanda gain an advantage in being Swedish residents (not necessarily a citizen), in addition to speaking Finnish they have some knowledge of Swedish from going to school in Finland. Additionally, there are *Finland Swedes*, who live mainly on Finland's coast, whose mother tongue is Swedish (Svenska språket, 2020).

Population group	Country		Language		
	Sweden (Haparanda)	Finland (Tornio)	Swedish	Finnish	Meänkieli
Finland Finns		x		x	
Sweden Swedes	x		x		
Torne Valley inhabitants	x	x	x	x	x
Sweden Finns	x		(x)	x	
Finland Swedes		x	x	(x)	

Table 1: Showing different population groups in relation to country and language

Since 1968 Finland has had mandatory Swedish education for Finnish-speaking pupils in their last four year of primary education, vice versa this is not the case in Sweden (Sundell, 2015, p. 6). However, in recent years bilingual schools in Finnish and Swedish have become prevalent in Sweden. According to Lundén and Zalamans (2001, p. 36), the reason for this is that the Swedish school system has become more liberal for international commuters. Even so, parents who do not speak Swedish have no right to ask for instructions in Finnish in Sweden (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001, p. 36). In 1989 a bilingual school

opened called *Språkskolan* [the language school] in Haparanda allowing students to study in their own mother tongue, Swedish or Finnish. The school follows the Swedish school system regulated by the Swedish National Agency for Education (Skolverket, 2019), as it is located in Haparanda. Their main goal is to "give students an international approach that creates an understanding and respect for other cultures and promotes cooperation, friendship and peace" (Haparanda Stad, 2020a). In the autumn of 2021, the city of Haparanda introduced the concept of a bilingual teacher touring around preschools in Haparanda in order to acknowledge the minority language Mäenkieli, as well as Finnish. The goal is to intrigue the pupils to spark interest in their neighboring language (Haparanda Stad, 2021b).

The history of the Torne Valley summarised

The country of Finland has been exposed to Sweden's and Russia's conquest ambitions since the early Middle Ages, due to its strategic location and natural resources. Finland has been conquered by Sweden for a long time. The city of Tornio was founded by Sweden in 1621, located and included land on both sides of the Torne River - but when Russia then conquered Finland after a likely divisive and "neighbor-splitting" war in 1809, the eastern part of the city became Russian. Subsequently, Sweden founded its own village, Haparanda. Haparanda granted city privileges in 1842, on the Swedish side of the river, on land that had previously been the western part of Tornio. When Finland became independent in 1917, from Russia, the country suddenly had its "own" city again, opposite the former conqueror Sweden.

This change, from being one city and later being separated, 213 years ago, has had a major impact on cultural and social life for the habitants of the two cities. The constant mix of languages has endorsed local habitants to gain knowledge and more or less acceptance to the neighbouring language. This raises the questions: can this turbulent region affected how the two cities perceived each other today? How did the Finnish habitants view the former

conquers counter the Swedish habitants the former conquered?

The start of the collaboration

To understand how the common history of Haparanda and Tornio has gone from being two separate cities into becoming a viable region, the following section will explain the start of the collaboration HaparandaTornio. It started by the cross-border association *Provincia Bothniensis*' first meeting, which later on implemented the project *EUROCITY*. In 2005 the cross-border association changed its name into HaparandaTornio- "International Meeting Place" which today is acknowledged purely as HaparandaTornio.

The cooperation between Haparanda and Tornio, can be traced through the 1960s by virtue of the establishment of a shared swimming hall in Haparanda (Schultz, 2002, p. 235), but it officially began in 1985, with the launch of the cross-border association *Provincia Bothniensis*. The initiative started by the School Council (Skolrådet), Yrjö Alamäki who worked at the municipality of Tornio, as well as Bengt Westman who works at the City of Haparanda. *Provincia Bothniensis* formed its own government which consisted of five members from each city, the chairman for the City Council in Haparanda, the Mayor of Tornio, including their vice chairmen, together with different cooperative management groups. The goal was to create a collective organisation that would support the development of the municipalities' business, education, culture, environmental protection and municipal technology (Hederyd, 1992, p. 343).

In August 1986, *Provincia Bothniensis* held one of their first meetings on the development of cross-municipal cooperation between Haparanda and Tornio. Prior to the meeting, an inventory and mapping of resources was collected to demonstrate how different local corporations have previously collaborated and how they would relate to further action (Haparanda, 1986, p. 1). *Provincia Bothniensis* sent out a questionnaire to 267 corporations

in Haparanda and 139 answered. However, a similar questionnaire was not conducted in Tornio. They divided the results into four different departments: business, education, institutions and organisations. The questionnaire included 37 questions highlighting the corporation's structure, the corporation's view of their business and its relationship to the border, the corporation's market and its relationship to the border, and the corporation's view of cooperation for the border area Haparanda and Tornio (Haparanda, 1986, p. 1).

The questionnaire resulted in the following summary [translated from Swedish]:

This compilation of answers to questions concerning collaboration and installation for collaboration across a national border has clearly shown that the proximity between these two locations does not automatically lead to cooperation or shared use of resources. On the contrary, it is shown that the border in some issues constitutes a real obstacle. At the same time some believe that in the future one should develop contacts with "the other side" for mutual development.

(Haparanda, 1986, p. 40)

Provincia Bothniensis summarised the response from the corporations into three propositions for further analysis. Firstly, to overcome the threshold of the administrative differences, such as laws and regulations, between Sweden and Finland, and instead indulge in their diversity. Secondly, create forums for collaborations, such as joint fairs and exhibitions that would generate interest, knowledge and discussions regarding the border regions. Thirdly, to coordinate shared activities where people can meet, but also set a good example for other cross-border regions on how you can collaborate. To achieve this, a collaborative institution is needed, such as a joint chancellery, as well as an employee working with cross-border collaborations. Beyond this, some obstacles were discussed that may cause disruption of such collaboration. These were the lack of language skills and generally a negative attitude

towards the proposal of cross-border collaboration (Haparanda, 1986, p. 41).

At the turn of the 20th century Provincia Bothniensis implemented the project EUROCITY where the vision was to support mainly cross-border businesses. The project resulted in state employment agencies informing about available jobs, an introduction of a common bus line, installation of a local post office³ and distribution of a bilingual magazine called *Kranni* [Neighbours] that was discontinued in 2004. They also made it possible to share sports arenas, for instance *Arena Polarica* which is a bandy stadium located in Haparanda, as well as a joint golf course, called *Meri-Lapin Golf Klubi* [Sea-Lapland Golf Club], that spans across the border with eleven holes on the Swedish side and seven holes on the Finnish side. It is said, due to the time difference between Sweden (GMT+1) and Finland (GMT+2), on the 6th hole you can hit the "longest" hole-in-one in the world (Svensk Golf, 2021). Furthermore, EUROCITY made it possible to utilise expensive equipment and specialists in the healthcare department (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001, pp. 38–39). These properties have often been viewed as the very expression of the common space created through the implementation of being defined as a *Twin City* (Schultz, 2002, p. 235), which will be elaborated on further down in the thesis.

Later, Haparanda and Tornio formalised their partnership by adapting EUROCITY into a joint name and logo: HaparandaTornio- "International Meeting Place" in 2005, replacing the name Provincia Bothniensis (Figure 13). Together they have successfully reduced cross-border formalities for traveling and trade, and received EU funding, to support co-funded projects such as flood defense, schools (Språkskolan and Gränsskolan⁴), and streets connecting the two town centers (European

Commission. Directorate-General for Regional Policy, 2011, p. 21). Moreover, HaparandaTornio have jointly established a common fire and rescue services, a bus station, sewage treatment plant, and tourist agencies that share a collective liability across the border. Also, other joint activities such as a shopping mall called *Rajalla* [on the border], which is located on the Finnish side right beside the border, where a public space and art installations such as; a heart shaped statue in correlation to the border where one side defines the Swedish side and the other defines the Finnish side, and *Framtidsbågen* [The Future Arc] (see cover photo), which a 10-year old girl designed in relation to a local competition (Tornio, 2021b). These art installations combine the two cities, and there are even future plans to strengthen their entity further (European Commission Directorate-General for Regional Policy, 2011, p. 21).



Figure 13: HaparandaTornio's joint name, and old and new logo (HaparandaTornio 2016; 2021)

The countries approach to the Pandemic

In late December 2019, a severe respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2), the causative agent of coronavirus disease (COVID-19), rapidly led to a major global threat for public health (Lu et al., 2020, p. 565). The World Health Organization (WHO) later assessed on the 11th of March 2020, that COVID-19 can be characterised

3 The installment of the local post office was to permit the neighbouring postal administration with letters consequently being treated as domestic mail, instead of sending them first to the capitals to be delivered according to the usual border-dependent rules (Schultz, 2002, p. 236).

4 Gränsskolan [the border school] is an implementation of Språkskolan [the language school]. Språkskolan was divided into two departments in the fall of 2020; Språkskolan, pre-school until 6th grade, and Gränsskolan from 7th grade to 9th grade (Haparanda Stad, 2020a).

as a pandemic (WHO, 2020). WHO stated that "Pandemic is not a word to use lightly or carelessly. It is a word that, if misused, can cause unreasonable fear, or unjustified acceptance that the fight is over, leading to unnecessary suffering and death.". The COVID-19 pandemic has had a significant impact on healthcare systems, societies and the global economy. Subsequently causing a struggle for countries to effectively counteract the pandemic, while balancing the protection of health with social and economic considerations (Duchene et al., 2021, p. 1).

Finland and Sweden employed different COVID-19 control strategies in terms of regulations, during the first six months of the pandemic. Sweden closed their border the 16th of March 2020 for travelers outside of the EU, and had a less restrictive approach. Their approach consisted of recommendation-based measures which did not enforce general population movement restrictions, schools for children younger than 16 years remained open, but schools for children above the age of 16 were closed for three months. There was no mandatory quarantine imposed for infected households, and businesses continued to operate with adaptation to distancing limitations (Ludvigsson, 2020, p. 6). In comparison to Finland who closed all international borders for non-residents the 16th of March 2020 and declared *state of emergency*⁵ twice from the day the border closed to 16th of June 2020, and from the 1st of March to the 27th of April 2021 (Valtioneuvosto, 2021a). Finland had stricter restrictions for population movement which consisted of enforced home offices for workers in the public sector, online schooling, targeted closure of businesses in the private sector, closing of restaurants, museums, sports centers, etc. (Duchene et al., 2021, p. 2). After the first six months Sweden became more corresponding to similar

recommendations as the other Nordic countries, due to the increasing infection rate (Duchene et al., 2021, p. 2).

A recent study made by researchers from Uppsala University, the Norwegian Institute of Public Health and the University of Sydney was published in the journal *Eurosurveillance* of the *European Agency for Communicable Disease Control* (ECDC)⁶ discussing how the different control strategies in the Nordic countries affected the spread of the COVID-19 (Duchene et al., 2021). Their study indicates that Sweden had a larger transmission chain than the other Nordic countries, and that Finland was the main receiver of the exportations from Sweden (Duchene et al., 2021, p. 6). Conversely, there was virtually no export of the virus from Finland to Sweden, according to the researchers. They believe that it was Finns, who were not restricted by the Finnish entry ban, who brought the infection from Sweden when they returned to their home country (Duchene et al., 2021).

The border has never before been closed to the same extent, not even during war-time according to Tornberg⁷. When the COVID-19 pandemic arose, Finland closed their border to Sweden by putting up a riot fence alongside the border. The border to Finland became guarded by *Rajavartioliitto*, stopping all movement across the border, while Sweden's border remained open. In theory, Sweden and Finland share the same border. Sweden decided to keep their border open, but were still affected by the riot fence distinguishing the Finnish side. This resulted in habitants having to meet family and/or friends that lived on the other side of the border with a barrier in between them with a distance of 4 meters (2 meters on the Swedish side and 2 meters on the Finnish side) (Figure 2 p. 17), in comparison

5 The Government, together with the President of the Republic, may declare a state of emergency when the criteria for a state of emergency are met. Emergencies refer to crises that seriously threaten the nation. The purpose of the Emergency Powers Act is to secure the livelihood of the population. Under emergency conditions, the authorities may exercise only those powers that are necessary (Valtioneuvosto, 2021a).

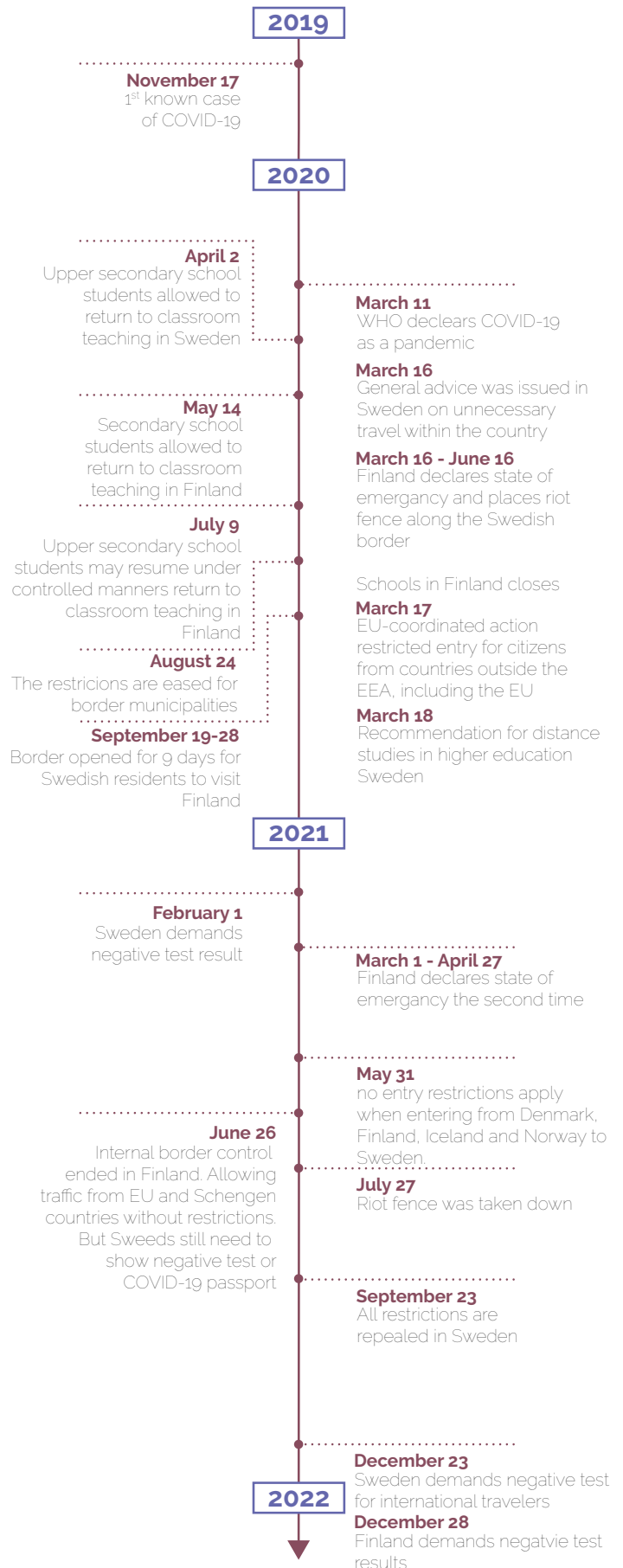
6 ECDC is an EU agency aimed at strengthening Europe's defences against infectious diseases (ECDC, 2021).

7 Sven Tornberg, Chairman for the City Council in Haparanda, interviewed the 4th of October 2021.

to the previously characterised transparent border⁸. The riot fence that divided HaparandaTornio can to some extent be compared to the Berlin Wall. Photographer, curator and writer, Blake Fitzpatrick (2018, pp. 223–227), discusses how the Berlin Wall was seen as a political statement with a symbolic meaning that has shifted through time. The way the Berlin Wall has been portrayed across *time*, *space* and through different contexts of official sites such as publications, lectures, exhibitions, museums and internet sites (Winter, 2010, p. 9), has made the Wall into a marketing tool in the souvenir economy in Berlin. In return, provoking the mental connection habitants have towards it. The Berlin Wall is not considered as one static wall but instead many walls which hold different "back-stories". It may be remembered as a time of fear and dread, a threshold for a new era, or as a remembrance of your travels to Berlin. The Berlin Wall has become mobile in the sense of not having to be a tangible object, but an intangible memory of invisible fragments where it once was positioned (Fitzpatrick, 2018, p. 226).

Examination of how the respective country applied restrictions and approaches towards the COVID-19 pandemic can be studied further in the timeline on the next page (Figure 14). The timeline does not include all restrictions and decisions made during the COVID-19 pandemic in Sweden and Finland. However, it includes points of discussion in relation to this thesis, such as closing of borders, recommendations of working from home, and restrictions regarding closing of schools.

Figure 14: Timeline of the restrictions during the COVID-19 pandemic in Haparanda and Tornio (Based on Folkhälsomyndigheten, 2021; Institutet för hälsa och välfärd, 2021)



8 Bengt Westman, City of Haparanda, interviewed the 5th of October 2021.

03. Objective/s

Chapter 03. narrows down the aim of this thesis as well as presents the research questions. Furthermore, informs the delimitations regarding geographic area, conventions, graphic material, and disclose anonymity.

The aim of the thesis is to examine what an open counter closed border does to the identity and cultural heritage of a region that extends over two countries. Our main objective for this thesis is to discuss cultural heritage from tangible and intangible characteristics of the border between Sweden and Finland. We will broaden our knowledge of the history of the region, which will support our understanding of how the national and regional identity have been developed in HaparandaTornio. This will also support our argument of the relevance of border communities collaborating in transnational integration. At the end of this thesis, we can identify how the different approaches made by Sweden and Finland during the COVID-19 pandemic affected the habitants' day-to-day life by living in the cross-border region of HaparandaTornio, and discuss the importance of citizens' participation in decision-making.

Furthermore, we would like to propose a method for the cross-border collaboration to be maintained, if the border were to close again. This method will be gathered through the knowledge shared by our interviewees, to allow the habitants to move freely in their region, and by that preserve the values and portrayal of the cultural heritage held for the local habitants.

Research questions

- What defines HaparandaTornio as a collaborative cross-border region?
- Which cultural heritage strengthens the identity of HaparandaTornio?
- How did the border closing affect HaparandaTornio collaboration during the COVID-19 pandemic?
- How did closing of the border affect the habitants day-to-day life?

Delimitation

The COVID-19 pandemic is a current matter and different measures are continuously taken into account in relation to the infection rate rising. Our thesis is based on our site visit during the time we visited HaparandaTornio in the Fall of 2021. We will not discuss new measures taken after this time and how the situation has continued escalating in the region after our visit.

Geographically

When discussing HaparandaTornio it is unavoidable not to mention it in the context of the Torne Valley. All border regions, following the Torne Valley, across the nations of Sweden, Finland and Norway, have been greatly affected during the COVID-19 pandemic. However, our main focus is discussing HaparandaTornio in the context of being a Twin City. We will limit our study to the region of HaparandaTornio keeping in mind that this is not the only perspective of a border(less) city, and other regions may have experienced the restrictions of the COVID-19 pandemic differently.

The region of HaparandaTornio also prospers under the name TornioHaparanda on the Finnish side. During interviews and discussion with decision-makers it came to our understanding that they have, as an autonomous municipality, decided to claim HaparandaTornio as the region's official name. Therefore, in this thesis, the name HaparandaTornio will be used.

Conventions

We have noted that there is a broader range of different conventions that may be of interest and relevance in this subject of matter. However, we have narrowed down the conventions to a limited amount that we find of specific value to support our aims of argument.

Graphic Material

As used throughout this thesis we have chosen to utilise photographs taken by local photographers that have a relation to HaparandaTornio. Historical images are taken by Mia Green, born in 1870, who was a famous photographer and politician in Haparanda. From 1895 to 1940, Green documented everyday life in the Torne Valley capturing both the devastation of war time and celebration of peace, creating Haparanda's most valuable image collection (Svenskt kvinnobiografiskt lexikon, 2020). Photographs taken during the COVID-19 pandemic, when the riot fence was up, are taken by Lasse Stenman. We got to know Stenman during our visits to Haparanda city hall. Stenman works part-time as the receptionist at Haparanda's City Hall and

part time as a cultural journalist and photographer for the local newspaper *Haparandabladet*. The most recent photos are taken by us in relation to our site visit. By using photographs from local photographers manifests social relationships between the photographer and their motive. By capturing the history of the place and the people of the area will encourages local reminiscence of that specific place (Edwards & Hart, 2004).

The colour scheme used in this thesis is called *Balancing Act* brought up by Pantone™ featuring Veri Peri - the colour of the year 2022. Very Peri has been described to symbolise the moment and the transition as we move forward from the COVID-19 pandemic, with new motions and standards in our physical and digital world (Pantone, 2021). As Laurie Pressman, Vice President of the Pantone Color Institute points out:

As society continues to recognize color as a critical form of communication, and a way to express and affect ideas and emotions and engage and connect, the complexity of this new red violet infused blue hue highlights the expansive possibilities that lay before us.

(Pantone, 2021)



Anonymity

During our interviews we have assured that the participating interviewees have accepted their names to be presented in the thesis. When performing the group discussion at Gränsskolan we have informed the students that they will remain anonymous and will not be referred to by their names nor having their faces published in the thesis. Our online survey has also been posted in full disclosure of anonymity.

04. Method and material

To understand and analyse HaparandaTornio as a border(less) region, different means of method and material has been selected. Our methods will be presented as follows: first, we will discuss the *landscape biography approach* which shows how the body of this thesis is structured. Second, we will present HaparandaTornio through a site visit with the support of the *Burra Charter*. Third, we will be using *mixed methods* to address decision-makers and habitants of HaparandaTornio.

The landscape biography approach

Our studies are based on landscape theoretical concepts to analyse if the two cities were lacking in finding a way to allow the habitants to move freely across the border during the COVID-19 pandemic. We will focus on how the landscape creates connections and memories for habitants. Sverker Sörlin (1999, p. 109), a Swedish historian, Professor of Environmental History and author, explains in *The articulation of territory: Landscape and the constitution of regional and national identity* from 1999, that we create connections and memories to a place that we feel a certain belonging to. Having a connection to a landscape, region or country, usually comes from a collective knowledge of a place history and geography. We are taught where the border of our territory is through knowledge

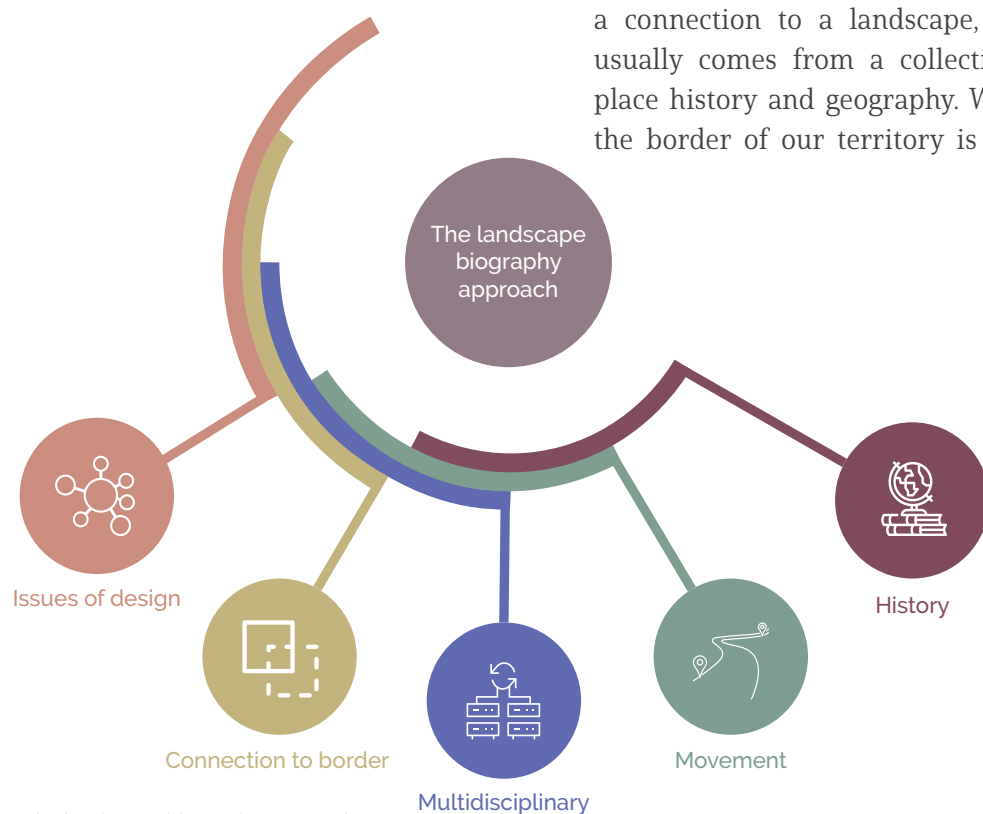


Figure 15: The landscape biography approach

we share together. Germundsson (2005, pp. 23–24), Professor of Cultural Geography, demonstrates in his article *Regional cultural heritage versus national heritage in Scania's disputed national landscape* from 2005, that landscape heritage can be identified through regions and nations. He argues that there is a risk for national ideology to naturalise landscapes and therefore the true heritage perspective would not be visible. These oppositions show that there is confusion between our collective identity and how we implement this to national heritage.

To help explore and analyse the bordering region's in time, we will be using an approach from the book *Research in Landscape Architecture*, which is written by Adri van den Brink, a landscape and planning architect, Diedrich Bruns, who works with architecture, urban planning and landscape architecture, Hilde Tobi, a research methodologist in scientific disciplines such as social sciences and environmental sciences, and Simon Bell, a landscape architect. The approach, which is divided into five operational principles, is called landscape biography approach. Essentially landscape biography is a 'historical approach' that explains the present-day landscape. It studies historical, environmental and other sources of data, to create an understanding of how the communities interact with natural and cultural environments (van den Brink et al., 2016, p. 124). This approach first appeared back in 1979 in an essay by Marwyn Samuels called *The biography of landscape: Cause and culpability*. He emphasised that:

All landscapes bear an imprint of people's personal and collective authorship. He [Samuels] argues that landscapes should not be seen as the anonymous by-product of social and economic development but that landscape research should treat each landscape as having its own specific biography.

(Samuels, 1979, cited in van den Brink et al. 2016, p. 120)

The five operational principles (Figure 15, p. 32)

in landscape biography approach will be used as follows in our thesis:

First, we will take a look back in history to create an understanding of how the border emerged into today's landscape. This study will incorporate more 'constructivist' research of the past to identify multiple ways in which the landscape has been experienced and how its dimensions of the past have been constructed within the different groups that make up present-day societies.

Second, we will analyse if the movement across the border has changed, or is being remembered or (re)used, such as commuting to work or school, shopping or visiting family. This will show if there is a continuum of transformation of the activities by the border. As geographer Marc Antrop (2005, p. 27) mentions, coherency strengthens the understanding of recognising one's personality.

Third, landscape biography approach is a no discipline-specific or sectoral method alone, meaning that other disciplines methods and sources are being recognised.

Fourth, we will look into how the local communities have expressed their connection to the border. The region and landscape are symbiotic in forming its identity and existence through time. Sörlin (1999, pp. 106–107) argues that landscapes can be articulated by highlighting different historical sites, buildings or artifacts. This supports the distinction of regional and national identity.

Fifth, the landscape biography approach will create an insight in the current issues of design, plan and heritage management of the intersecting regions (van den Brink et al., 2016). By using the landscape biography approach, we explore the memories of a place, but also find new paths of history to create an understanding of human behavior in both space and place (van den Brink et al., 2016, p. 132).

This method is used as an underlying method throughout the whole thesis.

Site visit

We visited Haparanda and Tornio the 29th of September 2021 to the 16th of October 2021 to explore, firsthand, the site and its context in the landscape, its cultural heritage and the every-day life of the habitants. Schultz and van Etteger (in van den Brink et al., 2016, p. 179) claim that walking is one of the most common and revealing ways to get to know a landscape. Walking allows you to discover the more unknown elements in a landscape, as well as

creating awareness of the landscape's experimental characteristics. Walking encourages one to explore and play with the process of transformation but also relate and interact with the tangible element. Figure 16 shows the relevant sites that will be discussed throughout this thesis.

The study of the site was performed after the COVID-19 restrictions were to some extent reduced; the riot fence had been taken down, the pedestrian pathway was reopened, but the border control on the highway between Sweden and Finland remained



Figure 16: Site plan of HaparandaTornio's centre

supervised. However, it would have been ideal to explore the border when it was fully closed, but this perspective will be considered through our qualitative interviews.

The Burra Charter

The border between Haparanda and Tornio can be claimed as being a *cultural landscape* and therefore should be preserved accordingly. Because the border can be seen as a cultural landscape, the Burra Charter will be used as a method. The term cultural landscape was first approved back in 1992 at the *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization* (UNESCO) convention in Santa Fe, USA⁹. The definition can be broken down into three sections: First, the landscape is clearly designed and intentionally created by man. Second, the landscape evolves organically, which can be witnessed both in landscapes where the evolutionary process has stopped and in landscapes that are in continuous transformation. Third, the landscape is associated with culture; identified by powerful religious or artistic natural elements rather than material elements (UNESCO, 2008, p. 85).

We will discuss how tangible and intangible cultural heritage is seen in HaparandaTornio as having cultural significance with the help of the Burra Charter. The Burra Charter is of importance to ensure that decisions regarding places with cultural heritage are being based on the understanding of the specific place, its cultural significance, and its meaning to people. The Burra Charter was first adopted in 1979 by Australian ICOMOS, and it provides guidance for the conservation and management of places of cultural significance, but also discusses the experiential and sensory aspects of a place (Australia ICOMOS, 2013, p. 3). The Burra Charter has since 1979 been revised, therefore we will be using the latest Burra Charter from 2013. The Burra Charter is justified in taking cautious approaches when changing cultural landscapes, it claims to "do as much as necessary to care for the

place and to make it usable, but otherwise change it as little as possible so that its cultural significance is retained" (Australia ICOMOS, 2013). The Burra Charter is divided into 26 articles branched into 7 steps (Figure 17, p. 36). This thesis raises the question about cultural heritages significance of HaparandaTornio, therefore we will be using the articles from step 1, to *understand the place* through definitions, which defines the place and its extent. It offers tools to investigate the place; its history, use, association and fabric. We will also be using articles from step 2, to *assess cultural significance* through conservation and management. These articles determine all values for the relevant criteria and to develop a statement of significance of the cultural heritage in HaparandaTornio (Australia ICOMOS, 2013).

The field of heritage has become increasingly diverse, which has cultivated Australian ICOMOS to develop further implementations in the Burra charter, so called *Practice Notes*. This will broaden our understanding of how we can implement knowledge of heritage in practice. We will be taking a closer look at the *Practice Note of Intangible Cultural Heritage & Place* to analyse the particular relevance of intangible cultural heritage in HaparandaTornio and the importance of conserving such heritage. Conservation is argued to "provide a deep and inspirational sense of connection to community and landscape, to the past and to lived experiences" (Australia ICOMOS, 2017, p. 1). This will show how HaparandaTornio has approached their local culture in mind.

Intangible cultural heritage sites

Since 2008, there have been 584 intangible cultural heritage elements in 131 countries, registered by UNESCO's committee decisions and evidence of community consent (UNESCO, 2021). These intangible cultural heritages have been divided into three lists: *List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding*, *Representative List of the*

⁹ UNESCO, included the term cultural landscape in the Operational Guidelines by the World Heritage Committee at its 16th session (UNESCO, 2008).

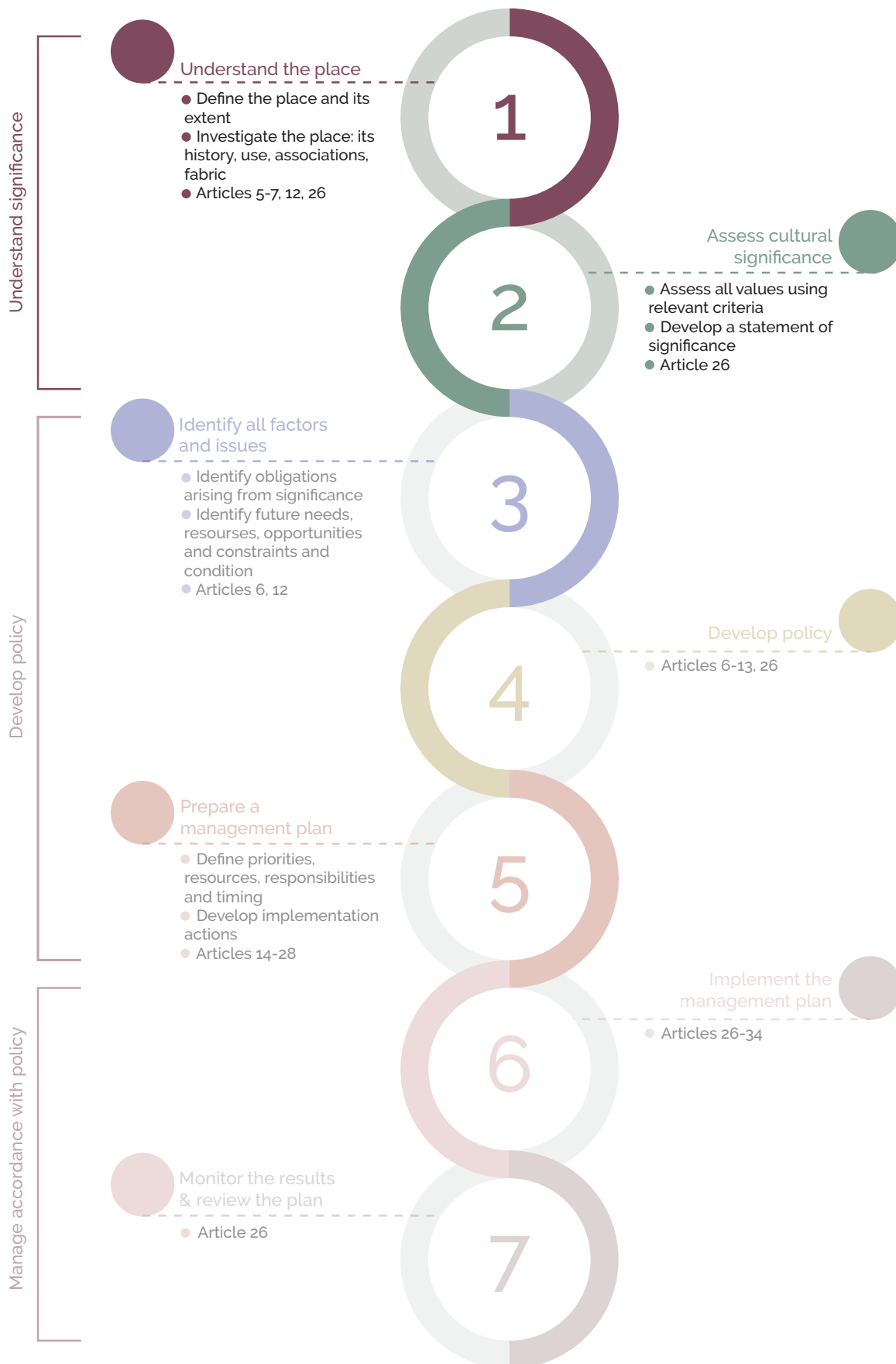


Figure 17: The Burra Charter process highlighting step 1 & 2 (Based on Australia ICOMOS, 2013)

Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity and *Register of Good Safeguarding Practices*¹⁰. Today there are only two claimed intangible cultural heritage sites in Sweden and Finland¹¹. However, the *Interreg-Nord*¹² program is currently working on a conservation management plan for a shared heritage nomination regarding the traditional rapids fishing in Kukkolaforseen. The traditional rapids fishing has previously been recognised as a significant cultural heritage and is protected on the *National Living Heritage Wiki list*¹³ in the spirit of UNESCO. By already being on the National Living Heritage List, it is possible to make further proposals to become recognised on the UNESCO International Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage. All UNESCO's recognised intangible cultural heritage are connected to the *UN Global Goals* (Figure 18).

Figure 18: *UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage in relation to UN Global Goals* (UNESCO, 2021)

UN Global Goals



Target 4.7. Education for Sustainable development and Global Citizenship

Figure 19: Target 4.7



Target 8.9. Promote Beneficial and sustainable tourism

"Devise and implement policies to promote sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture and products."

Figure 20: Target 8.9



Target 11.3. Inclusive and sustainable urbanization

"Enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries."

Figure 21: Target 11.3



Target 11A. Strong National and Regional Development Planning

"Support positive economic, social and environmental links between urban, peri-urban and rural areas by strengthening national and regional development planning."

Figure 22: Target 11.A



Target 16.7. Ensure Responsive, Inclusive and Representative Decision-making

"Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels."

Figure 23: Target 16.7

Mixed methods

Qualitative and quantitative methods are used together to achieve in-depth knowledge. Qualitative interviews were conducted to collect empirical data. In addition, a survey with initial quantitative questions and then alternative answers with the possibility of qualitative further development was performed. The design of these surveys uses *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches* (Creswell, 2003), a mixture of both qualitative and quantitative

questions, which will give the most well rounded end result. Harris and Brown (2010) claim, on the other hand, that aligning data from both methods may be difficult due to differences in collection procedures, the complexity of the investigation, and possible misinterpretation prompts. Furthermore, they continue by claiming that the two methods should be conducted with a minimal time gap to indicate confirmatory results, which was taken into consideration during our visit in HaparandaTornio when conducting the interviews and the survey.

Qualitative interviews

A part of the empirical material of the study will contain qualitative interviews with decision-makers and representatives from Haparanda and Tornio. The purpose of using qualitative interviews as a data source, is that the method generates different perspectives and descriptions based on the interviewee's own experiences and takes on the subject in question (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014). The sample for these interviews [Appendix A] was significantly smaller than for the survey [Appendix B]. These interviews were conducted in order to gather in-depth information about how the decision-makers handled the COVID-19 pandemic, their thoughts about HaparandaTornio being a Twin City and common cultural heritages. Additionally, to open up discussion with other representatives to obtain another angle on the subject, we held six interviews and one group discussion with the following participants:

Sven Tornberg - (The Center Party) the chairman for the City Council in Haparanda

Bengt Westman - (Social Democratic Party) has been involved in cross-border projects, such as Provincia Bothniensis, the Torne Valley Council and Språkskolan

Tuula Ajanki - CEO of the Torne Valley Council

Jenna Laitinen (employed by the City of Haparanda) and **Eeva Skybäck** (employed by Business Tornio) - Project managers of Interreg-Nord

Hanna-Leena Ainonen - Cross-border Development Specialist at HaparandaTornio

Mia Lindqvist - Tornio's ambassador for HaparandaTornio

Gränsskolan - Group discussion with 6 students from the 9th grade

The majority of the interviews were held in Swedish, with exception of Mia Lindqvist, which was held in English, and Gränsskolan, which was held in both Swedish and Finnish. However, all the citations of the interviews will be translated into English. Each transcribed interview has been summarised and will be presented individually in chapter 08. Results.

Quantitative survey

The survey was performed through a web-survey via *Netigate*[™]. Our aim with the survey was to collect perspectives and opinions from the habitants of Haparanda and Tornio. We wanted to know how local habitants engage in activities that involve cross-border transit, their approach to HaparandaTornio being a border(less) city and their definition of HaparandaTornio's tangible and intangible cultural heritage. In addition we wanted to know how the habitants experienced the border when it closed during the COVID-19 pandemic [Appendix B]. We have used Statistiska centralbyrån's [Statistics Sweden] (SCB) (2016) book *Questions and answers – question design in self-administered- and interview questionnaires* as a tool when forming the questions.

We presented the survey in local Facebook groups to target the local population, as well as making the survey easy to access. The survey was online for 36 days and was translated into three languages: Swedish, Finnish and English, in consideration to the local habitants' participation regardless of their mother tongue. We decided not to include Mäenkieli as it is closely intertwined with both the Swedish and Finnish language. The survey was posted on the following Facebook groups in Haparanda: *Haparanda Happenings* (1600 members), *Debatt Haparanda* (3700 members) and *Vuono hembygds-*

och kulturföreningen (189 members). The survey was also posted on the following Facebook groups in Tornio: *Tornio, sanoin ja kuvia* (10 900 members) and *Tornio -Yleistä keskustelua* (1400 members). Kalantari, Kalantari and Maleki (2011) argue that the use of digitized surveys makes it easier to collect and compile data. It is also faster to obtain measurable results. The content of the survey will consist of structured, personal factual questions as well as questions about attitudes, normative positions, and values (Kalantari et al., 2011). Respecting the circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic, making a digitized survey felt more suitable for the time being, in comparison to a survey made in person. Had there been a possibility for us to conduct the survey in person with pen and paper, rather than online, we would have been able to clarify any questions that may have arisen during the respondents' participation. In hindsight, us being present might have affected the respondents' answers (Ejvegård, 2009). It is, therefore, worth noting that the survey answers are completely reliant on the respondents' own interpretation of the questions. The results gathered from the survey will not include every possible breakdown of data.

05. Conventions and concepts supporting cross-border collaborations

In regard to maintaining a close collaboration in the two cities, chapter 05. will elaborate about conventions and concepts supporting HaparandaTornio being a cross-border region, and promoting transnational integration. The following conventions and concepts will be discussed: *European Landscape Convention*, *The Nordic Language Convention*, *social capital*, and *participation*. Participation will be discussed through three different subsidiary concepts: *ladder of participation*, *four levels of participation*, and *bottom-up and top-down approach*.

European Landscape Convention (ELC)

The Council of Europe Landscape Convention (ELC) came into force in 2004, and was the first international treaty dedicated to all dimensions of the landscape. The ELC addressed the main challenges in the field of human rights, democracy and the rule of law, with a recognition of sustainable development to encourage decision-makers to embrace policies and measures at a local, regional, national and international level for protecting, managing and planning landscapes in Europe. The ELC covers all landscapes, both outstanding and ordinary, and applies to the entire territory. Furthermore, it covers natural, rural, urban and peri-urban areas. It includes land, inland water and marine areas (Council of Europe, 2004, 2021).

In the preamble of the ELC, the Council of Europe (2020) emphasises that the landscape...;

... has an important public interest role in the cultural, ecological, environmental and social fields, and constitutes a resource favourable to economic activity and whose protection, management and planning can contribute to job creation;

... contributes to the formation of local cultures and [...] is a basic component of the [...] natural and cultural heritage, contributing to human well-being[...];

... is an important part of the quality of life for people everywhere: in urban areas and in the countryside, in degraded areas as well as in areas of high quality, in areas recognised as being of outstanding beauty as well as everyday areas;

... is a key element of individual and social well-being and [...] its protection, management and planning entail rights and responsibilities for everyone.

The previously mentioned definitions, provides an understanding devoted to the protection, management and planning of all landscapes in Europe to recognise their shared cultural and natural heritage, and assess a foundation of their identity and cooperation between different member states (Council of Europe, 2020).

The Nordic Language Convention

The Nordic Council¹⁶ founded the convention of linguistics called the Nordic Language Convention, in 1987. The languages included in this convention are Danish, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish. However, the convention excludes minority languages. The citizens obtain absolute rights to use their mother tongue for criminal and court matters, otherwise the convention is mostly seen as a recommendation than a system of law (Nordic Co-operation, 2019).

The Nordic Language Convention deems "it important that Nordic nationals should be able to use their mother tongue to the greatest extent possible in dealings with the authorities and other public agencies of another Nordic country". The Nordic Language Convention covers health care, social security, tax, school, employment authorities, the police and courts (Nordic Co-operation, 2019).

Twin Cities

Twin Cities, also known as *twin towns*, *city-twinning* or *twinning*, are urban settlements that are adjacent to each other, and at the same time separated by a state border. It manifests a new urban form to experiment how border cities can collaborate on a regional level, which has been successfully shown in northern Europe. Cities in northern Europe, such as Haparanda/Tornio, have used this concept to aspire a more distinct, visible and flavorful profile, which has also increased their place-marketing and branding in the sense of transnational regionalisation (Joenniemi & Sergunin, 2011, p. 231).

Jan Buursink (1994) a Dutch geographer, argues that there are two subcategories of neighbouring border towns: *double towns* that aim at cooperation and supplementing each other, and *town couples* that often compete with each other. To be defined as a double town, Helga Schultz (2002) a Swiss historian, clarifies that the bordering cities needs to fulfill the following criteria:

- **History:** The cities should share a joint history. They should have existed as administrative units in the past, prior to national borders separating them.
- **Border regime:** Although previously separated by borders, this delimiting should have been traded for open borders.
- **Linkage:** A preferable case consists of cities where a river both separates and connects the cities facing each other. Since earlier times, river banks have been the preferred location of settlements by reason of trade. Rivers have been functioning more as a link than a barrier for people. Today bridges manifest cooperation.
- **Minorities:** There should be connecting factors and features conducive to cooperation such as

16 The Nordic Council will be discussed further on p. 46.

ethnic minorities as well as command of the neighbouring language.

- **Institutionalisation¹⁷ and common urban planning:** There should be a certain level of institutionalised cooperation between the Twin Cities in terms of unified administrative structures and common urban planning. The most advanced Twin Cities purport themselves as "EURO CITY" in emphasising their Europeanness rather than national identity.
- **Commitment of citizens:** There should be a participation in cultural life of the neighbouring town, engagement in clubs and associations shall indicate this process.
- **Perception of the neighbouring city:** The image portrayed by the neighbouring border city is influenced by the regional media which does not only provide information about local life and culture from one side to the other, but which also actively works to improve the perception of the neighbour.

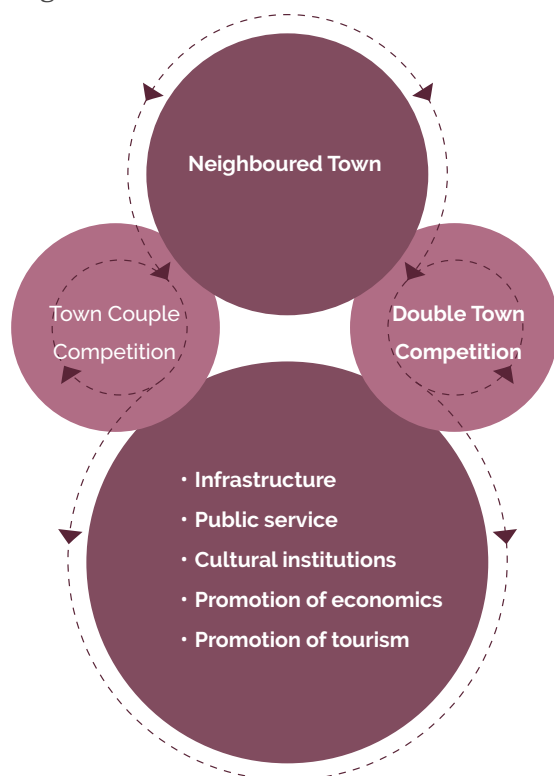


Figure 24: *Types of neighbour town* (Based on Buursink, 1994 and Waack, 1998)

The concept of being a Twin City is rather demanding and challenging. It is shown that there should be a higher interest in reaching across the border and to break off spatial fixations in the form of national borders, than to follow the "urban logic". Being a Twin City demands border regions to engage in activities of transnational and international features, and finding a like-mindedness in doing so. Twin Cities do not just cooperate with each other while retaining their differences, instead they thrive in finding additional similarities in terms of policies of representation and scale to their existence, by (re) connecting to the previously unconnected (Schultz, 2002, pp. 232-233).

Schultz (2002, p. 233) points out "One may thus suspect—and do so precisely because of the inherently offensive connotations inherent in the concept—that the cross-border towns employing twinning as their departure amount to political dreamscapes". Schultz (2002) outlines that being a Twin City generates more dreams and visions than concrete transnational integration. Being named a Twin City does not automatically translate to tangible togetherness or unification, the real obstacles lie in the transformative potential and preparedness to challenge the cities own cultural horizon and territorial belonging.

Social Capital

Social capital is a highly debated concept. Human geographers in regional development and regional policy, Fredrika Jakola and Eeva-Kaisa Prokkola (2017), together with other scholars, claim that social capital is connected to social networks. This concept was first brought into the academic realm through discussions by theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu and James Coleman, who both are sociologists, and Professor of Political Science, Robert Putnam. Bourdieu (1986, pp. 248–249) claims that social capital is "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or

¹⁷ Not to be mistaken for Provincia Bothniensis project EUROCITY.

less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition", where these resources refer to connections among individuals of elite. Putnam (2001, p. 319) argues that "when trust and social networks flourish, individuals, firms, neighborhoods and even nations prosper". Meaning social contact, norms of mutuality, and trust have an effect on productivity and economic performances. Putnam (2001) also claims that bridging social capital between, for example, border towns, can foster a better sharing of information and knowledge between.

Bourdieu (1986) also associates power to social capital, and sees this as a social battle. Malecki (2012) claims that community planning and regional development is highly affected by social capital, regarding who has social capital and who does not. It is thereby important to keep a close eye to the feasible benefits and the unequal power relationships which can appear between the actors in the network. The benefits of the network are often wider for those within the network. However, its exploitation is not always positive according to Putnam (2001). Naughton (2014) claims that social relations and power creates social capital, which is frequently evolving through actor's power and network relationships. Putnam (2001) also argues that people in power may use social capital to gain benefit for a specific interest group. This can be important because it sets a peculiar context where some groups of social capital may benefit certain groups while excluding others. To support this Jakola and Prokkola (2017) declare that "within development institutions like Interreg, agency is manifested in socio-spatial processes, which may then reinforce some forms of social capital while possibly reducing others".

Trust also plays an important role in social capital. Coleman (2000) claims that "an individual trusts if he or she voluntarily places resources at the disposal of another party without any legal commitment from the latter, but with the expectation that the act of trust will pay off". Therefore, trust depends on people's knowledge, motivation and belief. The expectations are central here as they can maintain

good relationships within networks. Rohe (2004) argues that only because engagement is active, it will not automatically lead to trust, the power relations amongst actors play an important role in increasing trust. Rohe (2004) and Smallbone et al. (2007) also claims that to officiate further trans-border communities, which have a common history, norms, and mutually shared experiences, social capital is of great importance of utilising new trust-building processes.

Participation

Shaw, Draux, Garcia-Martin, Martin and Bieling, experts in agriculture and landscape design, claim that *participation* can contribute to the involvement of people and groups who may be outside the formal governments and local authorities in decision-making. This is not to exclude official processes, instead it strives to complement them (Shaw et al., 2017). Michael Jones (2011, p. 40), Professor Emeritus in Historical Geography and Landscape Studies, argues that participation is a 'discursive and dialogic process', where values, as well as meanings, are negotiated by different groups.

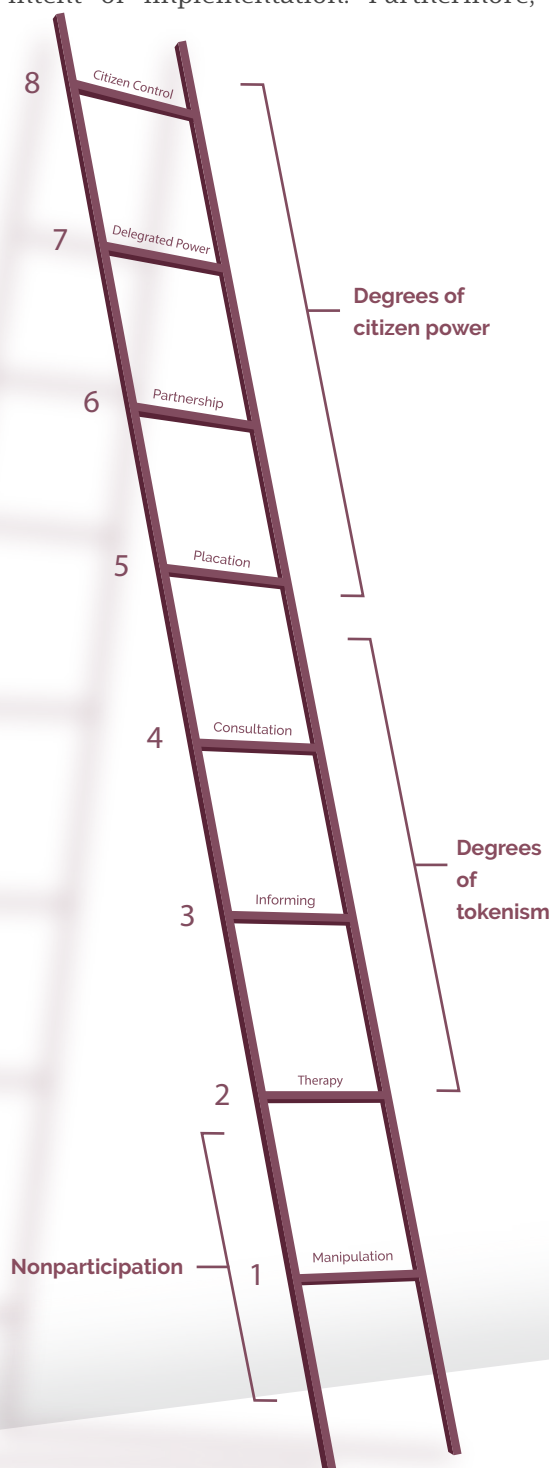
According to Frank N. Laird, a lecturer and researcher in policy making processes, it is important to involve the public in democratic processes. It can strengthen a community, as well as generate more awareness for habitants of governance and regional processes, which increases the sense of justice and the will to critically develop their own society (Laird, 1993).

Geographer David Harvey (2009) asserts that it is a human right to participate in decision-making regarding the development of a city. He continues to argue that there is a joint responsibility for participation, because space in the city is supposed to be used collectively, and participation is one of the most valuable liberties, albeit the most neglected. Furthermore, he argues that social justice and the right to influence one's environment are unattainable in the presence of capitalism. The UN's *Declaration on the Right to Development* from 1986, states in Article 1.1 that people are entitled to "participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic,

social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized" (UN, 2021b). Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari (2001), Professors in Strategic Management and Migration, on the other hand, criticise participation. They deem that the rhetoric surrounding participation is half-hearted with promises of increased autonomy and appropriate development. Meaning, decision-makers speak without intent of implementation. Furthermore,

participation might lead to injustice and illegitimate exercise of power, and people in charge might gain even more power.

There are two important factors to the success of participation / inclusion; ordinary habitants must be willing to respond to the participation and cooperate, and both parties need to be prepared to give as well as take (White, 1999). Shirley A. White (1999), who is Professor Emeritus in Communication, means that habitants who are oppressed and those with few resources are more amenable to gain more control over their lives. She means that fundamental changes must take place before these desires can be realised. White (1999, p. 17) continues by claiming that there is an enduring reminder that these changes are contextual, and that they are defined by socio-cultural, economic and political forces in the public environment. She also affirms that local cultures create their own unique environments. However, the main collective needs are freedom, dignity and equal rights (White, 1999, p. 17). The importance of feeling included as well as having the right to participate in, and influence one's surroundings, should be a priority.



Ladder of citizen participation

Sherry Arnstein (2019), the author of the journal article *A Ladder of Citizen Participation*, writes about citizen involvement in planning processes that show participation ranging from high to low. She calls this the "ladder of citizen participation". The following paragraphs presents the different steps of the ladder, and explaining the different methods of participation in the urban environment.

- **Manipulation** (1) and **Therapy** (2) are non-participative. The aim is to "cure" or "educate" the citizens. The plan presented is absolute and there is no genuine participation.
- **Informing** (3) and **Consultation** (4) are the first steps to legitimate participation. Here, citizens can be heard, however the citizens do not have any power. It is a one-way movement of information. There is no channel for feedback.

Figure 25: Ladder of citizen participation (Based on Arnstein, 2019)

- **Placation** (5) lets citizens aid on a higher level (to advise or plan), but decisions are still done by decision-makers.
- **Partnership** (6) enables negotiation between citizens and decision-makers, and decisions are made through joint committees.
- **Delegation** (7) allows citizens to hold a majority of the seats in committees. The public now has the power.
- **Citizen Control** (8) is when citizens hold the entire power. They plan, make policies, and manage programmes.
- **Transformative participation** is the result of empowerment in participation for the actors 'at the grassroots'. White (1996, p. 9) claims that all these forms of participation are positive, however it may help with discovering hidden agendas. She also emphasises that the forms of participation should be seen as dynamic, and that an intervention can consist of more than one of these forms. The forms and functions of participation are abstracted from their wider social context, but can help understanding the politics of participation, and interest, of a bottom-up and top-down approach.

Four levels of participation

Sarah White (1996, pp. 8–9), researcher in Social and Policy Sciences, divides participation into four different forms; *nominal*, *instrumental*, *representative* and *transformative*, each form having its own function. She claims that actors who are 'at the top', who are more powerful, and the actors 'at the grassroots', who are less powerful, have different viewpoints and interests in the different forms of participation.

- **Nominal participation** is most often used by actors 'at the top' to provide legitimisation. The actors 'at the grassroots' get engaged through a wish for inclusion. It serves as a display to development plans.
- **Instrumental participation** is used by 'actors at the top' to get fundings from habitants or organisations. Yet, for the actors 'at the grassroots' this form of participation is seen as a cost.
- **Representative participation** gives the habitants a voice when it comes to decision-making and other processes when those affect them. This may give the actors 'at the grassroots' a leverage to express their own interest, and the actors 'at the top' increase their possibility of making sustainable decisions.

Bottom-up and top-down approach

Biswambhar Panda (2007, p. 257) claims that the "bottom-up approach emphasises local decision-making, community participation and grassroots mobilisation/movements", while "the top-down approach focuses on lobbying and bargaining with the decision-making authorities such as government agencies, building up of pressures through various campaign mechanisms, advocacy activities, etc". This means that the bottom-up approach is characterised by the initiator acting from a non-formal position in urban development or discussion, and the top-down principle is often used by people with power or authority, where decision-making takes place between different formal actors, often excluding citizens participation (Butler et al., 2015).

The cross-border cooperation and the Twin City strategy of HaparandaTornio are, according to Schultz (2002, p. 235), coined in a top-down manner, which over time has resulted in a mutual trust and well functioning cooperation. However, Susan Fainstein (2010, p. 24), an American educator and scholar of urban planning, says that the top-down approach can be criticised because generally habitants want to thrive for a fair, transparent and inclusive process in urban development.

o6. Councils and organisations that facilitated the establishment of HaparandaTornio

Chapter 06. will elaborate supporting councils and organisation that facilitated the establishment of HaparandaTornio. The following councils will be discussed: The Nordic Council, and *the Torne Valley Council*. The organisation that has supported HaparandaTornio in strengthening its competitiveness and attractiveness is called Interreg-Nord which will also be further examined in this chapter.

The Nordic Council

The Nordic Council was founded in 1952 after World War II. It consists of Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Norway and Iceland, as well as the autonomous areas of the Faroe Islands, Greenland, and the Åland Islands. After World War II, there was uncertainty and instability in the world. By creating a unity that would make greater use of similar linguistic and cultural affinity felt as a prosperous way to go for the Nordic countries (Kinsten et al., 2012a, pp. 8–14). Interaction and transport across the border has been relatively unrestricted with the exception of World War I and World War II in the Nordic countries (Paasi & Prokkola, 2008, p. 18). However, one of the first commissions the Nordic Council enforced was to authorise citizens to enter, settle and work without requiring a passport or permits within the Nordic countries in 1957 (Nordic Co-operation, 2019).

The Torne Valley Council

Cross-border cooperation in HaparandaTornio has been few and far between, until the 2000s where a number of organisations encouraged cross-border activities over state boundaries. One of them is the Torne Valley Council, a cooperative organisation for all the municipalities (Sweden, Finland and Norway) along the Torne River boundary (Figure 26, p. 47). The organisation functions as a discourse forum concerning state decisions that affect day-to-day life of the local habitants (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001, pp. 38–39). The Torne Valley Council consists of 13 member municipalities (in 2022 there will be 14); 6 in Finland, 4 in Sweden, and 3 in Norway. The council's main tasks are cross-border collaboration and

interest monitoring, but they also raise propositions that influence all border municipalities' decision-making. For example, Ajanki¹⁸ claims, if a decision is made in the county of Norrbotten in Sweden, it will affect the county of Lapland in Finnish, because the Torne Valley is a cross-border labor market entity, which makes the area quite unique.

Interreg: European Territorial Cooperation

In 1990 *Interreg: European Territorial Cooperation* (ETC) was founded for the implementation of the territorial cohesion policies in the EU. It provided a framework of joint actions and policy exchanges between national, regional, and local actors, to promote a harmonious economic, social, and territorial development between different member states (European Commission, 2021). Interreg is built around three strands of cooperation: cross-border (Interreg A), transnational (Interreg B) and interregional (Interreg C). The cross-border (Interreg A) cooperation was carried out by the ETC, to increase European member states collaborations. It is reasoned to create a stronger trust and economic performance, by lowering transaction costs and encouraging transfer of knowledge, cooperation and innovation across borders (Knack & Keefer, 1997).

The border between Sweden and Finland, HaparandaTornio, has been a prime example for the ETC initiative of Interreg A: cross-border cooperations, showing how cooperation can lead to working together, learning from each other and locally transforming their region (European Commission Directorate-General for Regional Policy, 2011, pp. 19–25). HaparandaTornio is a part of the Interreg-Nord initiative that will be explained further in the next paragraph. HaparandaTornio's approach has not been to segregate the two region's, instead celebrating their differences. For instance, the contrasting languages, Swedish and Finnish are being recognised as neighbouring languages rather than foreign (European Commission. Directorate-

General for Regional Policy, 2011, p. 21).

Interreg-Nord

Interreg-Nord (2014-2020), is one of the cross-border programs supported by the Interreg A cooperations. The program is divided into two geographical sub-areas (Figure 26), where HaparandaTornio is included in the northern sub-area. Interreg-Nord follows the same framework Interreg A carried out, but the overall goal is to strengthen the competitiveness and attractiveness of the programme area, and destination development regarding the tourist industry. To achieve the overall goal, the region's development needs to take place in an economically, socially and environmentally sustainable manner (European Union, 2018, p. 6). One of Interreg-Nord's projects is called Two Countries - One Destination (TCOD). The project consists of a business model which is used in future development of the hospitality industry in the region of HaparandaTornio.

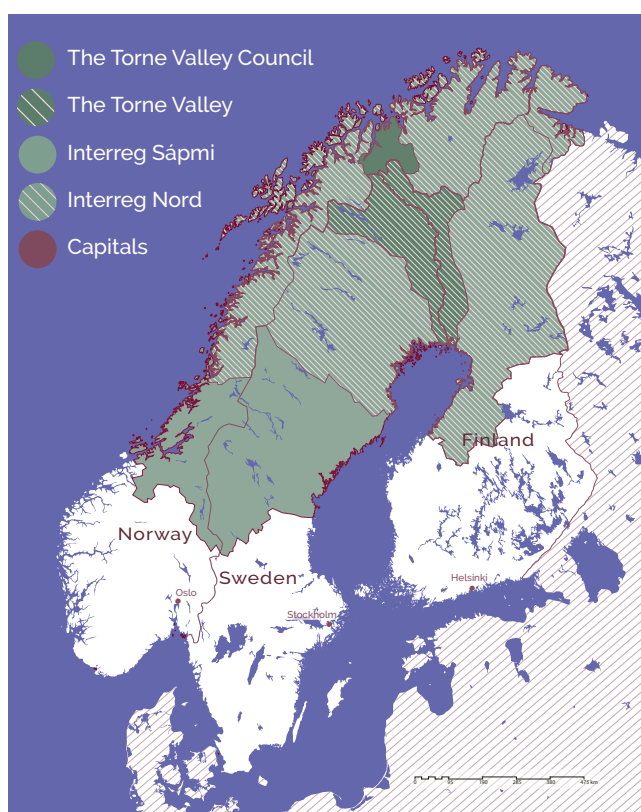


Figure 26: Map of councils in relation to HaparandaTornio (Based on Interreg European Union, 2021; Tornedalen, 2021)

18 Tuula Ajanki, CEO of the Torne Valley Council, interviewed the 12th of October 2021.

07. Perspectives and theories

The following chapter presents seven different perspectives and theories which will support and strengthen the understanding of HaparandaTornio as a cross-border region. These perspectives and theories are the following: space, time, nostalgia, place, border, right to the landscape, and region and identity to the landscape.

Space

Although space is conceptualised in our everyday language and perceived as something obvious, it can be difficult to define and concretise. Yi-Fu Tuan (1979, p. 215), a Chinese-American geographer and one of the most important originators of humanistic geography, mentions in his book *Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective* from 1979, that the definition of space is generally considered to be objective reality, and argues that cultural and more personally composed spaces are treated as distorted perspectives of the same reality. Tuan (1979, p. 215) continues with saying "In fact we know only that geometrical space is cultural space, a sophisticated human construct the adoption of which has enabled us to control nature to a degree hitherto impossible." It is in fact the opposite of objective reality, as Tuan says; a human construct to control nature.

Tuan (1979, p. 213) explains that "space and place together define the nature of geography" and points out the humanistic perspective and that it is important to be self-aware of our surroundings. To explain the meaning of space Tuan compares time and space and how they depend on each other. In theory one can exist without the other, but in practice they cannot (Tuan, 1979, pp. 216–219). British anthropologist, Tim Ingold (2011, p. 145), argues that "Space is nothing, and because it is nothing it cannot truly be inhabited at all". The Geographer Kenneth Olwig (2006, p. 176) counters this with a claim that the "nothing" can be something. The connotation lies in the nothingness, and the function is to be a placeholder.



Figure 27: Illustration of the concept of space and place (Based on Ingold, 2011)

Time

French philosopher Michel Serres, and French sociologist Bruno Latour, discuss the term 'time' in *Conversation on Science, Culture and Time* from 1996. Time translates, in French, to both weather and time, *le temps*, which, on a profound level, mean the same thing. "Meteorological weather, predictable and unpredictable, will no doubt someday be explainable by complicated notions of fluctuations, strange attractors... Someday we will perhaps understand that historical time is even more complicated", mentions Serre (1995, p. 58). This can be understood as both weather and time can be predicted to exist and arrive, but you can not foresee what has not yet happened. The architect Jeremy Till (2009, p. 95) claims that time develops in a linear fashion. Furthermore, he explains that the concept of *swollen time*, within architecture, means that one understands what has existed previously in space, but one lives in the present and works towards the future instead. Professor in Philosophy Peter Osborne (1995, p. 42), on the other hand, points out that this is not possible. He suggests that the present slowly scrapes away the past and at the same time obliterates the radical future, thus disconnecting the present from both the past and the future. In other words, he means that it is not possible to connect the present with time, because there is no time to connect to. The way we illustrate time, for instance through photography, portrays time the way we want it to be remembered. Photography allows us to freeze time by forgetting what had come before and what will come after. This generates a certain power of an image in relation to a place and can be absorbed passively (Till, 2009, pp. 78–79). "Time is admitted to architecture but only on very strict conditions: it is ordered into a linear sequence of frozen instants as a representation of progress that rids time of its uncertainty" (Till, 2009, p. 79).

Nostalgia

David Lowenthal (1975, pp. 4–6), American historian and geographer, known for his work on heritage studies, examines nostalgia, how a tangible link

can support our understanding of the intangible remembrances of a place. We need the past to cope with the present, because everything we have created in the past, is being reused unconsciously in a present form. Today, nostalgia can be found in all social levels in different ways as elderly sharing stories, middle class finding antique objects, tourists gathering for old attractions, and the youth having fascination for earlier eras. This creates a nostalgic feeling of belonging because of the knowledge we have of the past (Lowenthal, 1975, pp. 4–6). However, it can be argued that not all our history should shape our present identity. Jay Winter (2010, pp. 4–18), an American historian, explains in the book *Shadows of war: A Social History of Silence in the Twentieth Century* from 2010, that we choose what we want to remember from the past. Some memories may create unpleasant reflections, therefore we are very selective in how we interpret ourselves in the past. He clarifies by saying that the way we portray our nation today, has a lot to do with the national identity that has been formed through selective memories and nostalgia. Memories are not fixed, rather dynamic and stable as in a collage. Winter (2010, p. 9) continues by saying that memories can be seen as a commodity or wishful thinking of the past that identifies a place or community. Harvey (2015, p. 918) who further developed marxist theories within geographical science, adds that the longer we accept the landscape's natural changes, without trying to disrupt it, the easier it is to find a connection to it. Therefore it could be concluded that memories and nostalgia can be traced back to a selective past, which forms the identity of a place.

Place

The meaning of place is also defined by Tuan (1979, pp. 233–234), he starts by writing that "In ordinary usage, place means primarily two things: one's position in society and spatial location" and continues that "place, however, is more than location and more than the spatial index of social-economic status. It is a unique ensemble of traits that merits study in its own right". Tuan (1979, p. 234) proceeds with: "A key to the meaning of place lies in the expressions that people use when they want to give

it a sense carrying greater emotional charge than location or functional node." The concept of place can therefore be described as something more complex than 'a particular location': places bring a larger emotional charge to "the spirit", the "personality" or the "sense of place". He also describes place as "place [...] has more substance than the word location suggests: it is a unique entity, a special ensemble ... it has a history and meaning" (Tuan, 1979, p. 213). Places must thereby be understood from the people living or using it. That means that places are unique, equivalent to people, and they get their identity and personality over time. Tuan (1979, pp. 236–244) also brings up two different types of places: both 'public symbols' such as sacred places, monuments, or public squares, which can be seen and known from the outside, and 'fields of care' such as parks, marketplaces, or towns, which can be known in essence only from within.

Ingold (2011, p. 146) asserts there is something wrong with the notion that places exist in space. He explains the comparison of a philosopher's picture of places inside of places as a Russian doll (Figure 27 p. 48) and the difference between the German word *raum* and Scandinavian word *rum*, and the Anglo-English word *room* (Ingold, 2011, p. 147). His contention is that:

Lives are led not inside places but through, around, to and from them, from and to places elsewhere (Ingold 2000, p.229). [He] uses the term wayfaring to describe the embodied experience of this perambulatory movement. It is as wayfarers, then, that human beings inhabit the earth (Ingold 2007a: 75–84). But by the same token, human existence is not fundamentally place-bound, as Christopher Tilley (2004, p. 25) maintains, but placebinding. It unfolds not in places but along paths [...] Every entwining is a knot, and the more that lifelines are entwined, the greater the density of the knot

(Ingold, 2011, p. 147)

Ingold (2011, p. 147) argues that places should be seen as knots instead, with different paths leading to the space and different people's trails can interfere with each other and make up what he calls a *meshwork* (Figure 28). With that said, places are delineated by movement, not by the outer limits to movement. Expressively, we are all wayfarers, our paths are a continuation of the meshwork our ancestors' shaped. The paths we choose throughout our lives are either paths shared or crossed with other wayfarers that come along. We, as individuals, attain a certain belonging to the surroundings we place ourselves in through the people we meet and the memories we make which in turn creates personal bonds to these places that strengthen the mesh.

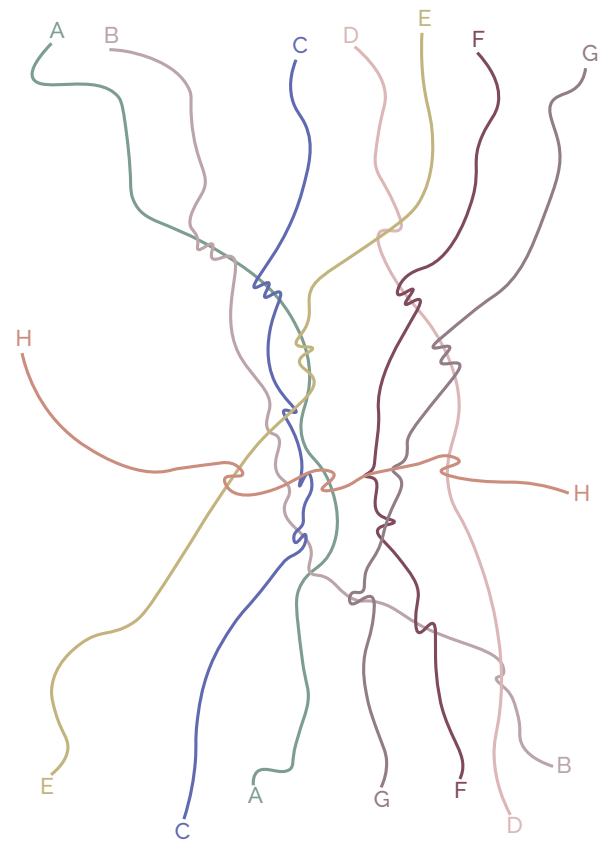


Figure 28: Meshwork- paths we cross and take (Based on Ingold, 2007)

Border

Oxford English Dictionary (2021) refers to a border as "a side, edge, brink, or margin; a limit, or boundary; the part of anything lying along its

boundary or outline". Kevin Lynch, a city planner and architect, wrote about the perception, and how people locate themselves in the city, in his book *The Image of the City* from 2008. He narrowed the key elements down to paths, *edges*, districts, nodes and landmarks. The definition of edge, which is of interest in this thesis, is *linial elements*; it can be a physical boundary such as a wall, a river, or boundaries between adjacent areas (Lynch, 2008, p. 62). Lynch (2008, p. 65) claims that "many edges are uniting seams, rather than isolating barriers". This can be applied to the border between Sweden and Finland prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, which later was drawn by a riot fence that divided the countries. This seam between the countries can be seen as a *liminal space*. *Liminal* originates from the Latin word *limen*, which refers to the state of being in a threshold or border between one thing and another (Dictionary, 2021). The term *liminality* was first coined by the ethnographer and folklorist Arnold Van Gennep (1977, p. 21) in his book *Les Rites de Passage*, where he wrote about different phases of rites of the passage in small-scale societies, where the midway transition phase lays between one identity and the next (Figure 29). This boundary between two phases was when the term liminality occurred by Gennep (Szakolczai, 2009, p. 141).

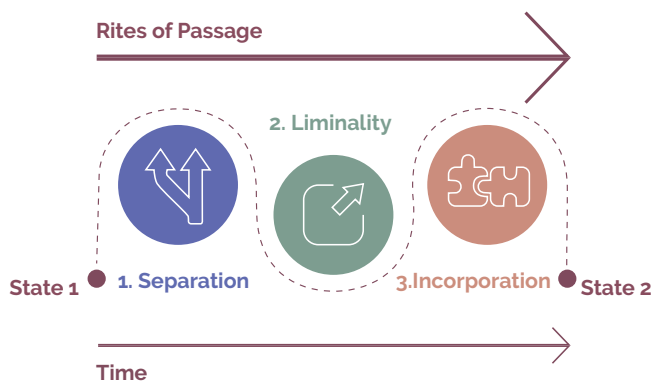


Figure 29: Stages in the rites of passage (Söderlund & Borg, 2018)

To be *in* liminal space is "being on the threshold", "bordering on", or "on the point of". The intangible concept of liminal spaces has grown in the field of anthropology, and has now broadened to

incorporate populations, cultural developments and political changes. Liminal tangible spaces can be described as in between spaces, border zones, and non-places (Andrews & Roberts, 2012), as well as "the physical spaces between one destination and the next. These are the places that hold the rituals of physical passage, the areas between the leaving and arriving" (Berenguer Asuncion, 2020). It can be the hallway of a hotel, a beach between ocean and land or the departure lounge of a transport terminal. Architect Isabel Berenguer Asuncion (2020) continues and claims that "almost all transient public spaces are looked upon as the liminal spaces of architecture", as encouraging people to linger for longer periods is often purposeful to the design. This means that unlike Van Gennep's (1977) idea of being in transition, liminality has become more inviting for lingering than transient as before. The border, the bridges, as well as Victoriatorget [Victoria Square] and the highway between Haparanda and Tornio can thereby be seen as a liminal space.

To guard a liminal space

Rajavartioliitto is an administrative unit in Finland who have been in charge of the Finnish border control in Tornio during the pandemic (Gränsbevakningsväsendet, 2021). They have been working with border management in the so-called liminal space on the border between Haparanda and Tornio. All border controls in Finland were tightened during the COVID-19 pandemic, resulting in guards from the Finnish and Russian border being transferred to the border of HaparandaTornio according to Tornberg¹⁹. It is argued, by Westman²⁰, that the border between Russia and Finland counter the border between Sweden and Finland do not share similar characteristics which resulted in a discomfort for the general public. This is due to the military approach Rajavartioliitto has by the Russian border.

Sweden and Finland are both EU member states, which Russia is not. *The Freedom of Movement*, which means that "EU, EEA and Swiss citizens have

¹⁹ Sven Tornberg, Chairman for the City Council in Haparanda, interviewed the 4th of October 2021.

²⁰ Bengt Westman, City of Haparanda, interviewed the 5th of October 2021.

the right to move freely within the territory of the European Union, European Economic Area and Switzerland" (Citizens Information, 2021), applies to all EU member states. Thusfore, the management of the Finnish-Swedish border can not correspond to the Finnish-Russian border.

Right to the landscape

Shelley Egoz, a Professor in Place Making, Jala Makhzoumi, an architect that specialises in landscape design, and Gloria Pungetti, who works with biocultural landscape and seascape, discuss the meaning of the right to landscape in the context of *Cambridge Center for Landscape and People*²¹ (CCLP). They argue that this multidisciplinary study should expand to a broader audience to support our human rights. The meaning of human rights within the discipline of landscape architecture, the authors (Egoz et al., 2016) form a framework for further studies that would decrease conflict and strive for human wellbeing (Figure 30). Landscape architecture can not be specified as a subject by itself, it is built of other disciplines and interpretations. It is "the product of people", meaning that there are tangible products that are formed by intangible processes. This goes back to the discussion of having a right to the landscape. Landscape is a relationship between humans and their surroundings which changes through time, location and culture. Egoz et al. (2016, pp. 2–5) believe that combining landscape architecture with human rights creates discussion, analysis and interpretation of situations that would benefit our understanding of the difficulties we have within the subject of human rights. It shows that it can serve as a medium for securing physical and spiritual well being. There are also challenges that come with it. As identifying assessment tools, guidelines and methodologies. These concepts usually take time to define because of the broadness of landscape architecture. We should also not

restrict landscape architecture as its own discipline but instead approach it as an umbrella that ties everything together (Egoz et al., 2016, pp. 6–17) .



Figure 30: The right to landscape (Based on Egoz et al., 2016)

Region and identity of the landscape

The French geographer Etienne Juillard (1962, p. 440), claims in his essay *Man, space, and environment: Concepts in human geography* from 1962, that "regional organization is a product of development. It translates, in fact, over space. This is the organizing principle, spontaneous or voluntary, of territory", where *man* has the role and mission to fulfil the landscapes. Not any region or landscape is the same, and they need different approaches, but you learn these approaches by doing, and giving it time to grow by themselves. He also claims that:

The only possible subdivisions of space correspond either to natural conditions: mountain plateaus, fluvial basins or to areas defined by a way of life, or the territory of an

21 The CCLP's mission is to integrate the spiritual and cultural values of land and local communities into landscape and nature conservation, and socio-economic needs into sustainable development; and to support biological and cultural diversity, as well as awareness and understanding of, and respect for, landscape and nature (Cambridge Center for Landscape and People, 2021).

ethnic group. In other words, the subdivisions of space correspond to the natural and human landscapes.

(Juillard, 1962, p. 440)

Space, or the landscape, does not have boundaries, as a town or region would have. The analysis of the landscape should stretch longer than the boundaries (or borders). Often, we structure the concept of the region based on man rather than the landscape's own characteristics, and the importance of 'identity' in a landscape. The landscape becomes responsible for giving identity, the elements create the character of the landscape, and the identity structures the region (Juillard, 1962).

o8. Result

First part of chapter 8. includes the results of the six interviews (which all follow the same structure of questions from [Appentix A]) and a group discussion we held during our site-visit the 29th of September 2021 to the 16th of October 2021 in HaparandaTornio. The second part of this chapter includes results collected from our survey [Appendix B].

Interviews

Sven Tornberg

It was a rainy Monday autumn morning in Haparanda when we met with Sven Tornberg on the 4th of October 2021. Tornberg welcomed us with a cup of coffee and led us to his office located on the second floor in the City Hall of Haparanda. He pulled down the curtains on the glass door, with text saying in capital letters "IN A MEETING", setting the mood in the room. We asked Tornberg if it was alright if we record the interview. With a smirk, Tornberg affirmed and we placed one phone on his side of the table and another on our side and pressed record. The interview started by Tornberg presenting himself, giving us some background of what he does on a day-to-day basis. Tornberg disclosed that he has been the Chairman of the City Council in Haparanda, since the 1st of January 2019. His main task is to have an overall political responsibility for the City of Haparanda. When an issue arises, his duty is to make sure that these issues are implemented both in terms of initiative and enforcement by the city of Haparanda. He explained that he is currently the only full-time politician in Haparanda municipality.

HaparandaTornio

HaparandaTornio represents a city in two countries, boundlessness in a positive tune, and cooperation, according to Tornberg. He speculates that there is a diversity in terms of culture and language, but HaparandaTornio sees this as a greater opportunity to take advantage of the conditions already existing. He claims that the only reason Haparanda even exists is because of the history and closeness to Tornio. Tornberg points out that he usually tells newly graduates that "do not be ashamed that

you are from Haparanda. Because, it is much more interesting when you say that you are from Haparanda, than if you were to say that you are from Stockholm". He implies that HaparandaTornio has unique features that cannot be compared to other places, therefore you should be proud of where you come from.

Twin Cities

Tornberg moves on by talking about the concept of Twin Cities in Europe. He claims that HaparandaTornio has been working as a role model for other cities around Europe, by setting an example of how you can collaborate as a unit. He highlights for instance the cooperation between Frankfurt an der Oder, in Germany and Słubice, in Poland. Their municipality boards have visited HaparandaTornio to exchange knowledge and vice versa.

The Twin City, HaparandaTornio, has had its own provincial government which gathers every month, where Tornberg, the mayor of Tornio [Jukka Kujala], and other members of the government from both sides participate. They have a cooperative management group for culture and technology, and a group who works with local establishments. Temporal management groups may also be set up for specific occasions. Tornberg continues by explaining that HaparandaTornio has a cooperative municipal board meeting twice a year, joined by the joint municipal council of HaparandaTornio, which is a non-decision-making body. Their task is to discuss common issues and afterwards present these issues to their respective municipalities. The issue will solely be raised if the argument is acknowledged as crucial on both sides. "This is how it works politically, we discuss and agree", says Tornberg.

Border obstacle laws and regulations

Tornberg's wish however, is that the Torne Valley area would become an autonomous municipal experiment where they would have the exception

of making their own regulations regarding border crossing. This would make it easier to work across borders and to make the border a bit more invisible. Tornberg points out that the different regulations in each country remain as a obstacle today, to create this kind of collaboration. As an example, Tornberg raises a couple of issues that illustrates the issues of having different regulations. First, if you have for instance studied at the University of Rovaniemi in Finland, and later moved to Haparanda, your education would not be considered as highly ranked as it would be in Finland. Second, if you own a property in Finland, it would not count as part of your wealth in Sweden. Third, if you work in Finland but live in Sweden, your income would not have the same mean in Sweden. "You would rather be classified as being unemployed", says Tornberg. He means that because there are habitants in Sweden who work in Finland, the City of Haparanda collects extra government subsidies as a result of the habitants being considered unemployed. "Even if we gain economically, it is not fun to be at the bottom of the rankings when it's not true", expresses Tornberg. However, Tornberg points out that the Nordic Council has a border obstacle committee that is working towards solving these issues as we speak.

Joint activities

Tornberg continues discussing the current joint activities and facilitates that they share together with Tornio. These are for instance Språkskolan and Gränsskolan in Haparanda. Here, half of the students come from Haparanda and the other half from Tornio, which can be seen as a symbol for the cooperation. The joint sewage treatment facility and Meri-Lapin Golf Klubi, which unfortunately was closed to Swedish golf players during the COVID-19 pandemic, but open for Finnish golf players to play on, in accordance with quarantine laws and restrictions. Meaning, Finnish golf players having to quarantine for two weeks after playing golf due to stepping on Swedish turf (Svensk Golf, 2021). Other joint facilitates and services are The

Torne Valley Museum²², the swimming hall²³, public transportation²⁴, *Resecentrum*²⁵, the fire and rescue service²⁶, and regional letter boxes²⁷, to mention some. The regional letter boxes are, however, totally illegal according to Tornberg. He says that "it is easier to ask for forgiveness than permission sometimes", and laughs.

Other mutual projects Tornberg mentions are the traditional way of fishing in Kukkolaforsen, the tourist project *Two Counties - One Destination* (TCOD), the *tourist boulevard* where you can walk along the shore down to the most eastern point of Sweden, *Happy New Twice* which is the joint New Year's Eve celebration at Victoriatorget, where the new year is celebrated first on the Finnish side and an hour later on the Swedish side. *Arbeta tillsammans* [Work together] which is a collaborative project that works with labor markets regional enlargement and cross-border threshold issues (there is no statistical exchange between the countries), and a festival called *Kalott Jazz & Blues Festival*. Tornberg says that these projects are not only assembled to increase the tourism industry but also to strengthen the identity of the region. Tornberg explains that these projects have been cancelled for a while now (because of the COVID-19 pandemic), which has created skepticism, or as some would call it hatred, or expanded nationalism towards the people across the border. "It is important to find back to each other again, by activating these shared meeting places where people can come in contact with one another, as it always has been", says Tornberg.

Heated responds from the habitants

Tornberg explains how the region worked actively to share information and weekly updates regarding the different restrictions that applied for each country during the COVID-19 pandemic for the inhabitants of HaparandaTornio. He explains that there has been an impression that nothing was done in Sweden to limit the spread of the virus. It became hysterical according to Tornberg. The habitants living in Haparanda were upset and said:

Why are we not allowed to go to Tornio when habitants from Tornio are allowed to come to Sweden? Can Finnish people not carry the infection back to Finland? Or does it depend on what passport you have?

Tornberg compares the situation to the habitants living in Tornio, who were upset that the few Haparanda habitants who were able to cross the border were allowed to "roam the streets". Tornberg explains that it has been hard to answer all these questions from the habitants. However, he claims that this "dislike" to the other city is nothing new, but it has increased during the COVID-19 pandemic. Even before the COVID-19 pandemic, people have expressed their disbelief regarding the collaboration of HaparandaTornio. They assume that everything ends up either in Tornio, or in Haparanda. Tornberg continues by stating that it is more fun to be a city with 32,000 inhabitants than a city with 9,600 inhabitants.

If we [Haparanda] would not have the cooperation with Tornio, we would be like any

22 The Torne Valley Museum is located in Tornio, but is also the official museum for Haparanda municipality, who partly finances the business, making it the only cross-border museum in the world (Tornedalens museum, 2021b).

23 The indoor swimming hall is also located in Tornio and features a main pool, a children's pool and a therapy pool, a pool for training purposes, a cold pool, a jacuzzi, a children's wading pool, and a slide (Tornio, 2021a).

24 Ringlinjen operates in Haparanda and Kaupunkilinjat in Tornio. It is possible to start your trip with Ringlinjen in Haparanda and then change to Kaupunkilinjat to continue your journey in Tornio (HaparandaTornio, 2021a).

25 Resecentrum is located in Haparanda on Krannigatan [Neighbour street in Meänkieli] (HaparandaTornio, 2021a).

26 Today, there is an agreement on cross-border cooperation when needed (Ylikangas, 2009).

27 The regional letter boxes are used if you want to send mail from Haparanda to Tornio or vice versa. If standard mailboxes were used, the mail must first be transported to the sender's capital, then to the recipient's capital in the neighbouring country and then to the neighboring city. Having regional letter boxes simplifies and makes it more efficient to send mail within the region.

other inland municipality. The importance of Tornio, the proximity, and the collaboration we have, means that we have more than we would have without them.

Participation and the swimming hall

The interview continued by a discussion of the citizens participation in Haparanda. Tornberg realises that the City of Haparanda does not have an official platform for citizens' initiative or participation, but agrees that it could be of great interest. He mentions that one of the biggest discussions currently in Haparanda is regarding the local swimming hall. Haparanda's swimming hall had to close in February 2020 due to technical deficiencies, and mold in the ceilings and walls. This resulted in a quick agreement with Tornio to be able to share their swimming hall with the habitants from Haparanda, as students in Sweden are obliged to get swimming tuition by law. Tornberg explains that the City Council of Haparanda had even procured bus trips between stations, so that Haparanda habitants would be able to access the swimming hall during opening hours in Tornio. With a frown on Tornberg's face he reveals that one day before the bus was supposed to commence, the border closed. Many habitants expressed their feelings by saying "this pandemic resulted in us not being able to swim in Tornio". Tornberg points out that even if they would have had a swimming hall in Haparanda, it would have been closed... because everything was closed. Tornberg continues by saying that they will probably build their own swimming hall, with pools in the swimming hall measuring 10 x 25 meters, for the children to learn the required basic ability to swim.

Border crossings and closing

The regulations that determined the border to close during the COVID-19 pandemic were decided in Stockholm and Helsinki, almost 1000km away from here, says Tornberg. Tornberg expresses his concerns regarding these decisions made:

We [City of Haparanda] have about 120 employees who live in Tornio, but who work here. 100 of them work in healthcare. We had

made an agreement with Stadshotellet [The City Hotel in Haparanda] that those who want to stay there, can. But they [the workers] have their children and their lives on the Finnish side. If we take the whole Torne Valley, there are perhaps 300 working in the municipal sector alone. Add what the region, i. e. the hospitals, has in Kalix and Sundbyn. Then there are a huge number of doctors, nurses and specialist nurses who work for them [the hospitals]. And then the entire ore fields and mines, and all subcontractors who come here and drive trucks, take care of maintenance and everything. It's about thousands of people who were almost not allowed to go to work. It has been a total disaster, not only for the municipalities but for the whole of Sweden, and the mines could have stood still.

Tornberg explains that the border between Haparanda and Tornio has historically been guarded and patrolled by the EU accession guards, before the Nordic Council's first commission regarding enter, settle and work in a Nordic country without a passport (Nordic Co-operation, 2019). Those guards always had an awareness of the local border crossings. This understanding has made it very easy for the local habitants to cross the border. Yet, during COVID-19 pandemic, when the border closed, there was a need for reinforcement from the border between Finland and Russia by Rajavartiolaitto, as mentioned before, which in comparison is a much more restrained border (Citizens Information, 2021). This resulted in an almost military approach against the habitants in HaparandaTornio, who are not used to such measures, says Tornberg. This is because Russia is not an EU member state, and does not share the same approach and awareness of the local border crossing as HaparandaTornio. Tornberg tells us that during the first weeks of the COVID-19 pandemic, some of Rajavartiolaitto's police officers even asked: "Why are you leaving your own country?". Which is illegal to ask unless you are alleged to have committed illegal emigration (Valtionneuvosto, 2021b). Tornberg discloses that the border has previously had an extended border control but has never been closed to this extent

before, not even during war time. When Finland closed the border in March 2020, it was very emotional according to Tornberg. He says that it brings back memories from the Cold War, or that it can even be compared to the Berlin Wall.

The discussion with Tornberg became rather emotional when we discussed the riot fence that was put up, that divided the cities. Tornberg explains that it all started with one row of riot fences, but it escalated quickly. Not long after, Rajavartioliitto set up two meters long tapes on each side of the riot fence which resulted in the habitants having to stand four meters apart to be able to greet each other. When Sweden closed the border some of the habitants in Sweden thought "finally the Finns can not come here and bring the virus with them", which Tornberg thought was a very odd thought. However, this "international competition", about who gave the virus to whom, has been going on during the entire COVID-19 pandemic. Tornberg thinks that this "blame-game" has had an effect on the identity of the region, and that it will take a long time to rebuild trust.

This negative attitude towards the other city has been shown in other contexts as well. Tornberg demonstrates this by explaining Haparanda's intention of gifting Tornio on their 400 years celebration. The gift was supposed to cost a maximum of 1000 SEK per year, which results in them making a budget for the gift of 400.000 SEK. He says that everyone knows that this is a lot of money, but habitants in Haparanda have expressed their opinions on social media platforms saying "they should not get anything" and "a bouquet of flowers is enough", which shows that people do not know how a municipality budget is structured nor the importance of celebrating Tornio, because without them, Haparanda would not have existed.

Cultural heritage

Tornberg claims that the cultural heritage between the two cities is of great importance for the community. When asked how HaparandaTornio collaborates by being a multilingual region, he answers that it is not the easiest task. Tornberg

explains that all information needs to be translated to Swedish, Finnish and Meänkieli, and even if there are people who speak more than one language, it can be hard to write grammatically correct in for instance Finnish. This has resulted in the City of Haparanda having to purchase translation services, to deliver information faster for the habitants. Tornio, on the other hand, is officially monolingual (Finnish) (Tabel 10, p. 67). Tornberg tells us that Haparanda has changed from being a Swedish-speaking government city, where Swedish previously was dominant, to Finnish being their first language, despite the fact that about 24% of the population are Finnish citizens. Tornberg points out that a fairly large group has dual citizenship, and that 80% of the habitants are at least bilingual (Table 10, p. 70). Then there is a small group that only speaks Swedish, of which Tornberg is one of them.

We asked Tornberg what he thought were the tangible cultural heritage that unites HaparandaTornio, Tornberg mentions Gränsskolan in Haparanda, the station building and the railway bridge that celebrates 102 years this year. He says that Victoriatoget with the heart shaped statue, Rajalla, Framtidsbågen and Resecentrum on the border are symbols for their cooperation and will become tangible cultural heritage in time (cover photo and Figure 16, s. 34). "Cultural heritage is something that is old and lasting over time", according to Tornberg. He thinks that it is easier to find intangible cultural heritage in the region. He mentions the traditional rapids fishing in Kukkolaforseen, and the up and coming performance that will take place during Tornio's 400 years celebration. The performance will consist of sound, lights and pictures that define the area, but also exhibitions where they highlight important buildings and trees to show the city's history.

Another investment HaparandaTornio has persuaded with the multilingual culture is hiring a mobile preschool teacher. In 2020 the City of Haparanda tried to open a Finnish-speaking department in a elementary school in Haparada, however only 5 children registered of interest. Later, when the City of Haparanda suggested the mobile

pre-school teacher, 86 children registered out of interest. Most of these children were not Finnish-speaking, which Tornberg sees as very positive.

Further actions

Tornberg proposed a method that could be applied in the future if a similar situation such as the COVID-19 pandemic would occur again. The proposal would be to reintroduce the "border passport". In short this would mean that everyone living in the border regions would receive a special passport to be able to cross the border regardless of the situation. But, the most efficient way to prevent such requirements would be to inform and educate decision-makers to understand how we live our lives here, argues Tornberg. Tornberg mentions that the decision-makers in Stockholm have noted the difficulties the border regions have had, yet Tornberg argues that the decision-makers compare living in the north to their so-called "weekend trip in the mountains". Tornberg finishes the interview with the following statement:

They have not lived here. They do not understand that if you stand on the river bank and look 50 meters away, it is a different country. It is less distance from Haparanda to Tornio than if you walk from Gamla stan [Old Town] to Söder [the South Central] in Stockholm. If you set up a riot fence there, then you can understand how the reactions would be. But that is what they did here, because "no people live here".

Bengt Westman

On the 5th of October 2021, the day after our interview with Tornberg, we arrived at the City Hall in Haparanda once again. This time we were not there to disturb Tornberg with all our questions but to discuss with his colleague Bengt Westman. Westman, closing in on his 73rd birthday, came well prepared with a PowerPoint presentation for us to discuss regarding his involvement in

HaparandaTornio's upbringing. Ever since Westman was a child, he has been jumping across the border of Sweden and Finland, creating a strong connection to the Torne Valley culture. His background is within engineering, but he changed course when he came across pedagogy, teaching and politics. He has mostly been engaged in questions regarding youth, culture and leisure. Even if Westman was legally retired a couple of years ago, he seems to not be able to quit his job at the municipality board in Haparanda, in the same matter as the municipality having no reason to let him go. He says he is still thriving to further develop this unique place of HaparandaTornio, not only as a city but for everyone who lives here.

Westman started the interview by showing us on his PowerPoint how HaparandaTornio came about. He started his career when the maps of Tornio were portrayed as colorful and bright while Haparanda was shown as a dull outline in the background (Figure 31). In comparison, maps of Haparanda illustrated the border to Tornio as a barbed wire according to him. Growing up in Haparanda and Tornio, Westman never saw the cities being divided as shown on the maps, instead he wanted to portray them as they are in real life, a unity. Westman was a part of the upbringing of Provincia Bothniensis, but also the Torne Valley Council and later on the



Figure 31: Illustrations of Haparanda 1984 (left) and Tornio 1987 (right) (Westman, 2021)

Bothnian Arc²⁸, to create a cross-border cooperation along the entire border of Sweden and Finland, not only in Haparanda and Tornio. He was surprised by the positive response of the neighbouring countries, and still today there are municipalities applying to become a part of these corporations. Westman describes that the north may be portrayed as not many people live here due to people living more sparsely, in comparison to the further south, but when you put it all together it reaches a population of almost 1 million habitants. Many years ago Westman once had a meeting with Ingvar Kamprad, the founder of IKEA, in Stockholm, where he showed the map of the population density in the northern parts of Sweden, Finland and Norway. Kamprad pointed at Haparanda and Tornio and said "We will have an IKEA right here!". Westman says that the outcome of the launch of IKEA in Haparanda has become a popular and exotic meeting point for people not only from Haparanda and Tornio, but people across Norway and Russia, and of course the whole of northern Sweden and Finland (Figure 16, p. 34).

Collaboration

Westman has traveled a lot in Europe as a representative for HaparandaTornio discussing, teaching and presenting the concept of being a Twin City. He refers to the Öresundsregionen [Øresund Region], that comprises eastern Denmark and Scania in southern Sweden, taking a lot of inspiration from HaparandaTornio. The main difference is that Öresundsregionen includes the capital region of Denmark, which makes their government involved in a much broader sense. Stockholm and Helsinki are around 900-1000 km away from HaparandaTornio, which makes their decision-making not as relevant specifically for our region, says Westman. Westman explains that when people come and visit HaparandaTornio, they are puzzled about what we are actually doing up here. He tells us a story years ago, when he was having a lecture in

western Spain. They presented him to the audience by saying "Now listen carefully to what this man has to say, but whatever you do, you should definitely not do what he says. It is completely illegal", says Westman laughing. Another story Westman told us that we had a great laugh about was during the 2001 Bandy World Championship for men, which was supposed to take place in Tornio and Oulu in Finland. Throughout this time the Bandy team in Tornio had been using Arena Polarica for their home team. When introducing this to the former Russian President of the International Bandy Federation, he asked "Wait, so the bandy stadium we are going to play at, is it in Finland or is it in Sweden?" Westman answered "it is in Sweden". The response he got was "but that is not possible, it is Finland who are the organisers and not Sweden, we can not play in Sweden! Absolutely no Russian players will cross the border to Sweden". After this Westman noticed that it was lunchtime. So they decided to take a stroll with the car to find something to eat. Westman reminisced that they drove around for a while, and then he said "Now we have been in Sweden, now we have been in Finland, now we have been in Sweden, now we have been in Finland" and the Russian answered, "Have I been in Sweden? But is it illegal? I do not have a visa to be in Sweden?!". Westman concluded this story by saying that the World Championships was in the end held in Haparanda and that this story shows the transparency of how the border is presented to the outer world. Westman demonstrated that HaparandaTornio has also won national competitions of being the best collaborating municipalities in Sweden. Ironically, in one of these competitions HaparandaTornio was the only cross-border municipality that attended the competition and the other competitors who attended did not even feel like presenting anymore because HaparandaTornio had already achieved everything that the other collaborating municipalities were planning to do.

28 The Bothnian Arc is "a cross-border area on the border of Finland and Sweden that covers the most populated areas along the upper Bothnian Bay, spanning 800 kilometres. It has a population of around 710 000, across 5,5 ha (Nauwelaers et al., 2013).

Multilinguality

Westman explains the benefits of being a Twin City. He says that there are significantly more opportunities when you can utilise services, culture and languages from both sides. "Languages are a culture on its own", says Westman. He refers to a cultural educator who once said:

Every language has its own window. Depending on which window you look out from, you see a different picture when you think in various languages.

He sees the strength of being multilingual, speaking Swedish, Finnish, English and Meänkieli. However, this creates its own challenges of transmitting information within the municipalities. Finding employees who speak both languages is difficult, but as a solution to include everyone in the discussion is to translate everything to both Swedish and Finnish. Some people may think that it is boring to listen to both languages during meetings, but it creates a closer collaboration. Being able to speak both languages bonds people on a more personal dynamic but also creates more opportunities for both cities. Westman describes his involvement when introducing Språkskolan in Haparanda in 1989. The goal was for the students to learn the neighbouring language at an early age, so that in upper-secondary school students would be able to attend classes in both Swedish and Finnish. Yet, this goal has not yet been reached, according to Westman, but the interest still remains. Språkskolan has gained more popularity on the Swedish side due to good grades, however there is constantly a problem of finding suitable recruitment of teachers.

The COVID-19 Pandemic

Westman explains the tragedy when the border closed. Many workers from the City of Haparanda that lived on the Tornio side, had a hard time getting to work due to Rajavartiolaitto. Many contemplated even quitting their jobs. Westman points out that the way Rajavartiolaitto's border police portrayed themselves with guns in the holster and handcuffs hanging from their belt created a fear and exclusion for the habitants. The culture of living

by the border of HaparandaTornio was something Rajavartiolaitto did not have an understanding of, nor did the capitals, Stockholm and Helsinki, where the decisions regarding the regulations came from. The mentality changed for the people as well. When arriving in a car registered with a Swedish license plate, the Finnish people would turn their back on you, says Westman. Westman points out that it will take time to build trust again, "We have to be more concrete. We should not talk too much, instead take action and create things together, to show the habitants that this collaboration is valid. Instead of looking at our differences we should look at what unites us". He suggests that the regional languages are important to initiate further in being able to include everyone from the region to create a collective feeling of solitary.

Tuula Ajanki

During our almost three week visit in HaparandaTornio we had a hard time getting in contact with Tuula Ajanki. The 12th of October 2021 the day we visited Gula huset [The Yellow House] in the centre of Haparanda for another interview with Hanna-Leena Ainonen, Ajanki pops-up in the middle of the interview. We discuss briefly and she asks us to join her in her office after we are finished with our interview with Ainonen. Fifteen minutes later we are sitting surrounded by a mountain of paperwork across from Ajanki. Ajanki was born in Ylitornio and is the CEO of the Torne Valley Council.

Different approaches

Ajanki starts by explaining the countries' different strategies during the COVID-19 pandemic, however she thinks that it is important to learn from what has happened, because decisions like this have never been made before. In August 2020 Finland's government made the decision that habitants in border regions would be allowed to cross the border with a negative COVID-19 test (Institutet för hälsa och välfärd, 2021). However, when Sweden demanded a negative COVID-19 test to enter the country in February 2021 the Swedish government would not make exceptions for the border communities, which made it difficult for daily commuters because tests were really expensive in Finland, explains Ajanki.

The County Administrative Board of Norrbotten once called Ajanki to ask her assessment how the Torne Valley Council had experienced the border closing. She attended a COVID-19 Chancellery Meeting where she spoke about the situation. During the meeting they concluded that Sweden was the only Nordic country that thought about the border region's when making decisions that would affect the other bordering countries. Yet, they were not able to make exceptions for the border communities when the border closed to Sweden.

Ajanki explains that habitants that have had the worst time are the habitants who are Finnish but have moved to Sweden, who mostly speak Finnish and read and watch Finnish media. She indicates that the Finnish media has claimed that Sweden has not had the best COVID-19 strategy and that some habitants feel that Finland should have supported Sweden more. Ajanki says that they have felt abandoned by Finland.

Further actions

If the border were to close again, Ajanki believes collaboration with authorities is of great importance. Another important element is that the decision-makers need to understand *who* the local organisations and authorities are, and that *they* are the experts. She also thinks it is important to be allowed regional decision making. According to Ajanki, back in February 2021 Rajavartioliitto had said during a meeting that "you should not prevent people from crossing the border, but you should prevent the virus". Ajanki claims that you should allow healthy people to cross the border.

Ajanki sees that the COVID-19 pandemic and the closing of the border will only strengthen the cooperation, because you do not realise what you

have until it disappears overnight. Right before our meeting with Ajanki, she had a webinar with the Chamber of Commerce business where they spoke about the will to strengthen the cooperation again, the importance of the culture and the identity of the area. It may take some time to achieve but it is extremely important, asserts Ajanki.

To strengthen the mentality again the Torne Valley Council has applied for the leader project from The Swedish Board of Agriculture²⁹. If they get accepted they will hire two people that will direct their work towards culture, youth and language in the Torne Valley. Ajanki finishes by telling us that Kvänska, Torne Valley dialect and Meänkieli are almost the same language. "You should be proud to be a part of that. And when you are proud, then the pride spreads further", says Ajanki.

Jenna Laitinen and Eeva Skybäck

Once again a rainy Monday morning, on the 11th of October 2021, and we are on our way to the (only) local cafe in Haparanda to meet with Jenna Laitinen and Eeva Skybäck. Seeking a quiet place to have an interview in a fairly busy cafe was not the most optimal solution. Yet, Laitinen and Skybäck arrives with two big smiles on their faces and we greet awkwardly elbow to elbow. After settling down with a cup of coffee Laitinen and Skybäck start off by explaining that they are working as project managers for the Interreg-Nord project, TCOD. Laitinen works for the City of Haparanda, while living in Tornio, in comparison to Skybäck who works for Business Tornio³⁰ and is living in Haparanda. Both are efficient in Swedish and Finnish, making their collaboration closely intertwined. Their main duty as project managers is to manage the finances for each city, but they argue that they do not only work for the city they are employed at, instead they

29 The Swedish Board of Agriculture is Sweden's expert authority in the areas of agriculture, fishery and rural areas. The leader project fundings acts as support for projects and collaborations in locally led development who contribute to development in a leader area according to the area's development strategy, collaborations with other leader areas or actors outside a leader area (Jordbruksverket, 2021).

30 Business Tornio is a development company owned by the city of Tornio for local small and medium-sized enterprises (Business Tornio, 2021).

manage HaparandaTornio as one unit. They explain that it is hard to define HaparandaTornio, because it is neither Swedish or Finnish, it is something unique, a place inbetween. The COVID-19 pandemic has caused many difficulties for them, it was the first time they had to decide which side of the border was their 'home'. "You should not have to choose. HaparandaTornio is the Torne Valley, a borderless place", says Laitinen.

Interreg-Nord

We discussed some of the larger scale Interreg-Nord projects Laitinen and Skybäck have currently been working on, such as the rapids fishing in Kukkolaforsen. You could tell the excitement on their faces when they said that they are planning on applying for the UNESCO's Intangible World Heritage site by March 2022. Laitinen and Skybäck explain that it has been an interesting journey involving the local fishermen in this process of making the conservation management plan. Many do not realise how particular their way of rapids fishing is. It has been shown that the more the local fishermen share stories and knowledge they have gained throughout generations, the more they acknowledge the unique fishing practice they carry, and so do the local habitants. Laitinen and Skybäck, clarifies that this intangible cultural heritage would be dedicated for the fishermen themselves, on both the Swedish and Finnish side. Beyond this, Laitinen and Skybäck see the potential of generating more tourism through this means. It would create a trademark for the city, in this case HaparandaTornio, because the rapids fishing happens right on the border, justifies Skybäck. The timing is also perfect, Laitinen continues, "due to the pandemic, it has distanced us from each other, and by applying for becoming a Intangible World Heritage site, it would only bring us closer together again".

National differences

Laitinen and Skybäck are often running into the same problem at work, involving two counties at once. Skybäck points out that there are differences in laws, stakeholders and culture. They compare HaparandaTornio to other Twin Cities in southern Europe. There, usually one city that is the driving

force in the collaboration, which can be seen as a "big brother complex". The city with the larger capital or size is usually the driving force in the decision-making but in HaparandaTornio, this is not the case. Both actors are equally involved, making decisions together. "HaparandaTornio is still just a concept. It can not be legally defined. It has to follow one country's laws. Which makes the idea of 'one destination' challenging", says Skybäck.



Figure 32: Kukkola Village during Autumn 2021 (left)

Figure 33: Cone-shaped creels used for rapids fishing in Kukkolaforsen (right)

Laitinen and Skybäck point out that the COVID-19 pandemic had a toll on the Interreg-Nord program. Being dependent on international tourism, it has caused them to struggle to reach their initiated goals of the Interreg-Nord program. However, being a smaller destination, they have noticed that people are more drawn to explore such places, in comparison to more touristy places that are usually fully booked. National tourism in Sweden has also become bigger. Laitinen and Skybäck have noticed that people have a fascination of being able to wave from Kukkolaforsen over to the Finnish side. This can not be said to go both ways. Finnish tourism has lowered in HaparandaTornio due to the way the Finnish media has portrayed Sweden during the pandemic. "People think that COVID-19 just flies over a border, because Finns think that Sweden had such a bad COVID-19 strategy", says Skybäck. Both Laitinen and Skybäck have gotten pessimistic comments from habitants making assumptions of their daily commute. They also point

out how frustrating it has been with Rajavartioliitto. Everyday they had to make sure they had all the right paperwork to be able to go to work. Laitinen even says she was not able to pick her daughter up from preschool because she had been at work on the Swedish side. Even people working at the municipality have created stereotypes of one another. "We need to set an example for the habitants, that we are still *one* and should not be afraid of one another", says Laitinen.

Both argue that it is important to celebrate each other's differences while maintain the collaboration of HaparandaTornio, because without one or the other, the cities would be any regular small city. "We are very similar, but also very different. It is a completely different idea. We are borderless, but we should not erase what is Finnish and what is Swedish, nor what brings us closer. We should try to find a similar path and not fear of being different from everyone else", says Skybäck.

Hanna-Leena Ainonen

We met with Hanna-Lenna Ainonen on a beautiful sunny afternoon at Gula huset in Haparanda the 12th of October 2021. We sat down in her office across from each other and placed one phone on her table and pressed record. Ainonen works as a Cross-border Development Specialist at HaparandaTornio. She is employed by both Haparanda and Tornio which makes her position exceptional. She is originally from Ylitorneo on the Finish side, which demonstrates previous knowledge of how it is to live by the border and all the benefits it provides. Furthermore, she worked for 16 years as a teacher in Swedish and as chairwoman of The Faculty of Education at The Languages and Communication Unit of the University of Oulu, which was noticeable in the way she articulated Swedish. She applied for the Cross-border Development Specialist position in spring of 2020, just after the COVID-19 pandemic started. One of the job requirements for the position was to have good written and oral skills in both

Swedish and Finnish.

Ainonen's main task is to structure and organise joint meetings in different constellations with the City Council and municipality board in both cities, business associations and educational organisations, and to organise international meetings. Her task is also to inform both municipalities and the habitants of which decisions made. An example of her work is the multilingual website³¹ that was launched in the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic. The purpose was to form a platform where habitants could read about the regulations and rules that were enforced on both sides of the border. Ainonen explains that writing everything in both Swedish and Finnish is quite time consuming, but she would have not done it any other way.

"Motivation is the core of the cooperation"

HaparandaTornio represents cooperation, opportunities, and whatever you can pull together if you have the will, says Ainonen. She justifies by saying that "motivation is the core of the cooperation, both from a political and local standpoint". When she previously explained to people, who are not originally from the region, about the cooperation, they looked at her and asked "How can you cooperate? Does not the laws come in between?" She usually answers by saying, "Of course they do, but we work around it with help from the EU".

Ainonen has also been working with the Interreg-Nord project at Kukkolaforsen, as Laitinen and Skybäck³². She admires the culture the local fishermen have formed. They see each other as one village, even if they are in different countries. She mentions an example when they had a meeting on *Teams™* with the practitioners of traditional fishing during the COVID-19 pandemic. The meeting was about to start, and Jaakko, one of the practitioners, was missing. So they asked "But where is Jaakko? He should be here", then one of the fishermen looked

31 <https://haparandatornio.com/>

32 Jenna Laitinen & Eeva Skybäck, Project managers of Interreg-Nord, interviewed on the 11th of October 2021.

out the window [sitting on the Swedish side] and said "He is actually on the ice [on the Finnish side]. I'm going to shout at him!". Aiononen thinks that if this project does not meet the requirements of becoming a UNESCO's Intangible World Heritage site, the whole cooperation would still be an intangible cultural heritage for them, because it is something that has always existed.

Language is a culture

The bilinguality of the Twin City is of great value, according to Aiononen. It's not just about being able to speak more than one language, it defines you as a person. Yet, it is hard to convey this value to the habitants. Aiononen points out that there is a typical Finnish mentality of saying "if I do not know something perfectly, I do not know it". Aiononen says that there is a term called *The Silent Finn*. She explains it with an example: when a Finn follows a Swedish discussion and wants to say something. They start to think about the grammar "How is it again with subordinate clauses and main clauses...?". When the Finn has thought it through and is about to join in on the conversation, the topic has already past. That is why Swedish is a little bit weaker in Tornio according to Aiononen feeling amused.

Aiononen demonstrates that she is actively working in giving study guidance to younger local habitants, to show them that they can get a good education on either side of the border. HaparandaTornio wish to have a local university in the region, considering the circular economy. They have already established a classroom with modern equipment for the possibility of studying at a distance. Aiononen explains that the county of Norrbotten has made a calculation of how many workers are going to be needed within a few years, that number is 70.000, so one has to make the area and the cities more attractive.

A joint platform for citizen participation

There is no platform for citizen participation at the moment. However, Aiononen is planning to include a participation procedure, when they are updating their action plan and common strategy for next year. Tornio has a section on their website where you can

discuss ideas, Haparanda has not, but Aiononen sees the value of having a joint platform, to explore what the habitants wants and needs from the cooperation, especially after the pandemic.

Border control

Aiononen claims that the border was not noticeable before the COVID-19 pandemic. When Rajavartioliitto came, it was a bit shocking, they even checked her car once if she tried to smuggle people across. She says that some habitants got scared of Rajavartioliitto carrying guns, but the habitants got used to the circumstances quickly. However, when the border opened one week during the summer of 2020 (Folkhälsomyndigheterna, 2021), you could see that everyone was going somewhere. When the border closed again all that activity just stopped abruptly. Aiononen explains the current situation when you cross the border with a car. Rajavartioliitto have changed their approach and solely stop cars with a LED-light stick through their car windows and ask "where do you live?", and then says "good afternoon" and let the driver through. Aiononen thinks this is a bit of waste of money. She says that it is obvious that Rajavartioliitto have become very tired and wish they could leave. She continues by saying that they need to have a common plan for HaparandaTornio if the border were to close again, because it should not be possible to close the border here. This has been an impossible situation for families, for school children, and for those who take care of their parents who live on the other side of the border.

Mia Lindqvist

The same day we met with Jenna Laitinen and Eeva Skybäck we walked from Haparanda over the border to Tornio to meet with Mia Lindqvist at her favorite local cafe. Lindqvist arrived with fogged glasses due to the temperature difference inside and outside and in combination of wearing a face mask which remained on throughout the interview. Lindqvist is an ambassador for the HaparandaTornio collaborative project and is the representative from Tornio. She was born in Tornio 27 years ago, lived in south of Finland for six years but moved back to Tornio 2020, and fell in love

with the city and its outdoor scenery, which she did not appreciate before. These positive feelings towards the city was also the reason she applied for becoming an ambassador for HaparandaTornio. Her tasks as an ambassador is to update social media (Figure 34) as well as write an article once a month together with Haparanda's ambassador. Last month, they wrote about the traditional rapids fishing in Kukkolaforseen, which she previously thought was a common way of fishing. She says she learns a lot about her home being an ambassador. Other things the ambassadors write about are different happenings and what to do in the region during various seasons. The articles are written in English, but Lindqvist speaks Finnish, a little bit of Meänkieli, and understands Swedish. She does not actively speak Swedish because almost everyone in Haparanda speaks Finnish, so she has never needed to speak it. Therefore the interview was held in English.

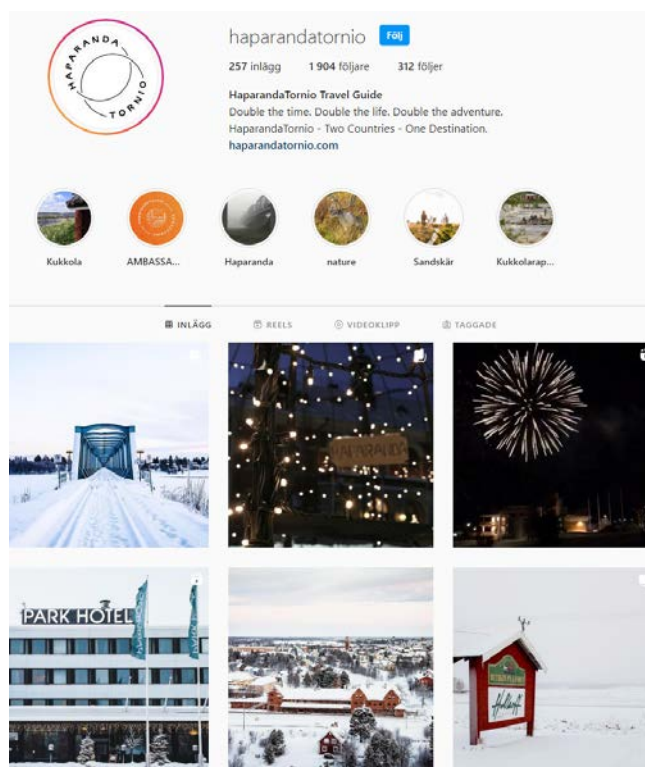


Figure 34: HaparandaTornio's Instagram profile (HaparandaTornio, 2022)

Our city during the COVID-19 pandemic

Lindqvist tells us that HaparandaTornio being "one city in two countries" is very accurate. She has

never thought about this place being two different countries because she has family on both sides, and it has always been "our city". She has also never thought about the action of her crossing the border, because she has never physically seen it, it has been more observed as "just crossing a bridge" in the city. However, her mindset changed during the COVID-19 pandemic.

When the COVID-19 pandemic hit, and the riot fence was put up at Victoriatorget, it was the first time she actually "understood" that HaparandaTornio are two different countries. She always knew it, but the riot fence made it real. This has resulted in an uneasy feeling visiting Haparanda, even if she is allowed to cross the border again. She says it feels like she is doing something wrong, this has mostly to do with Rajavartioliitto's engagement. She would have wished for the border to have closed around the region of HaparandaTornio instead of in the middle of the city. This is because the closing of the border has resulted in an "us and them"-mentality, according to her.

Lindqvist have high hopes that HaparandaTornio will come back to the way it was before the COVID-19 pandemic, if not even better. She has seen some cultural events arising, on both sides of the border, and thinks that is the way to get people to change their mentality back. Another event she is looking forward to is Happy New Twice, which she hopefully will be going to with a friend and colleague from Haparanda.

Gränsskolan in Haparanda

The 13th of October we visited Gränsskolan in Haparanda. Prior to our visit we contacted the student council asking them to present our online survey to the students from secondary school to answer. We got around 60 students to participate in our survey. Furthermore, we got invited to talk to a group 6, 15-year-old students, from grade 9. We discussed their views regarding the collaboration of HaparandaTornio, and how they had experienced the COVID-19 pandemic in their corresponding hometowns. The group included three girls from the Finnish class, two of them living in Tornio and

the one in Haparanda, and three boys from the Swedish class all living in Haparanda. We started by brainstorming on a whiteboard (Table 2) what they thought was typical Swedish and Finnish. Then we moved on by asking them what they thought was typical specifically for Haparanda and Tornio. At last we asked what they thought is common in HaparandaTornio and what their favorite thing about the opposite town they live in is. Many of the answers reviewed better food or shopping choices. Some discussed more of the different environments such as parks, tourist attractions and open space for spare-time activities. We noticed that it was harder for them to point out the things common for HaparandaTornio. They mostly referred the common things to the actual border where they thought nothing was really happening except for Rajalla.

Living by a border(less) city

We asked the youth what their thoughts were about living in a border(less) city. They told us that it is pretty special because both cities are fairly small, and if you are missing something in your city you could just walk over the border and find it on the other side. The youth claimed that "for others not living in a place like this, our concept of walking to another country may seem foreign to them, but for us it is everyday life". The two girls living in Tornio

explained that they cross the border everyday to get to school, while the rest of the youth cross the border weekly for either shopping, hobbies, social activities or family. The kind of transportation method they usually use is a mixture between cars, bikes and walking. But since the COVID-19 pandemic, they have been more cautious regarding what transport they have been taking, due to the rules have to some extent differed for pedestrians and cars. However, one of the boys said that it was way too easy to just jump over the riot fence when it got dark.

The COVID-19 pandemic through the eyes of a teen

We continued discussing how the COVID-19 pandemic affected their lives. The girls living in Tornio told us that they were not able to go to school for two months. This was not because of the border closing, but due to the majority of pupils who live in Tornio are using the provided school bus transportation which was not operating in Finland during this time. Therefore the School Board suggested distance studies for pupils living in Tornio, while the other youth living on the Swedish side only had to do online schooling for two weeks.

The biggest difficulty all of the youth had was not being able to see friends and family that lived on the other side of the border. They had also noticed a more resistance getting into Finland. Yet, all of

What is typical Swedish?	What is typical for Finland?	What is typical for Haparanda	What is typical for Tornio?	What is typical for HaparandaTornio?	What is better on the opposite side of the border you live?
Herring, Ikea, meatballs, Volvo, Midsummer, falu-sausage, dad, falu red color	Alcohol, sauna, kalakukko (traditional eastern Finnish dish), Moomin, swans, Sauli Niinistö, Marimekko	Epa tractors, snus shops, a small police force, Riekkola, better sweets and milk	Moped boys, Rajalla, salmiak, Meerin grilli, nothing, Arbureetturin park, Ala-Tornio, many old churches, better water	the border, Rajalla, river, desert, nothing to do, golf course, skating square / places, shared names of some places, the pit outside of Rajalla, The travel center	Haparanda: much cheaper in general, better candy and ice cream from IKEA, Tornio: BMX tracks, clothing stores, cheaper alcohol, nicer views and landscapes to take pictures in, swimming hall, family

Table 2: Results of brainstorming session with the 9th graders

them crossed the border at some point during the COVID-19 pandemic, but they felt more unwanted and mostly annoyed having to carry around their passport everywhere. The increase of police force was somehow exciting but also silly. According to the youth, the police got bored and started undercover to fine young moped and EPA tractor drivers. The youth also complained about the unfairness of the decisions coming from Helsinki of closing the border. The youth explained that Finnish people living in other parts of the country came to Haparanda to buy snus, which also increased the infection rate to rise in the region. As seen in the *Scientific Journal of Nordic Studies on Alcohol and Drugs* (Wikstöm, 2020), it has been significantly harder to obtain snus for personal use in Finland, due to the travel restrictions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. As the price of snus rose during the COVID-19 pandemic, the illegal import of snus from Sweden to Finland through freight traffic increased.

The youth indicate that the habitants in HaparandaTornio got all the blame for the infection rate to rise. However, all of them agreed that their attitudes towards each other in Haparanda and Tornio has not changed and they have a strong belief that everything will go back to as it used to.

Open disussion and refections

One interesting aspect we were discussing was the comparison between the swimming halls in Haparanda and Tornio. The youth pointed out how much they enjoy going to the swimming hall in Tornio, not only because it is much bigger and has a jumping tower and a slide, but also because the trip to the swimming hall is exciting in itself. When going to the swimming hall in Tornio it would usually take a longer time to get there and to get back to school, which in return would stall the rest of the day's studies. The youth said that they do not mind that they share one swimming hall, and if Haparanda builds its own swimming hall, it better be as good as Tornio's.

As an ending note, we asked the youth what they wished to have collectively in HaparandaTornio and to make a drawing of what they thought represented

HaparandaTornio. They wished for a real grass football field, a larger shopping street, more clothing stores and a bigger variation of restaurants.



Figure 35: Combined drawings from the group discussion with the 9th graders (Gränsskolan, 2021)

Survey

The survey was sent out to five Facebook groups in the local area around Haparanda and Tornio. An attempt was made to get admitted to four more groups on Facebook, however this attempt was not achieved. It was evidently harder to get accepted to Finnish Facebook groups than to Swedish ones, but through recognition of our work by a local habitant, we got accepted to post our survey in two Finnish groups.

There were in total 161 respondents that fully completed the survey, and 118 respondents that at least accessed our survey. Making it 279 participants all in all. Yet, there were 227 answers to the four first opening questions demonstrating that there was an interest in the subject itself. However, a decision was made to only include the answers from the fully completed surveys, this will grant the option of comparing questions and answers with one and another.

As the survey was posted on a digital social media platform (Facebook), access to a device with an internet connection was required. This means that a certain group of Haparanda and Tornio's habitants, may have been excluded from the survey. Thus, this study does not use the results to explain the entire population's perspectives and opinions regarding cross-border transit, the effects of COVID-19 pandemic, and their definition of HaparandaTornio's tangible and intangible cultural heritage. On the other hand, the results are used, together with other empirical data, to understand the views of the average person from HaparandaTornio on this matter.

Opening questions

The survey began with quantitative questions including age, gender, level of occupation and education (Table 3, 4, 5 & 6).

Based on the surveys quantitative question regarding age, it is noted in our survey that 21% of the people who answered were between the ages of 25-44 years old. When comparing it to statistical

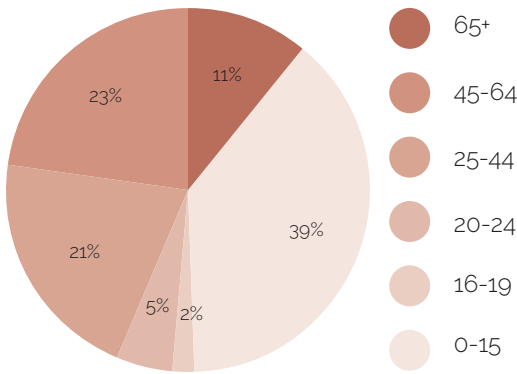


Table 3: Age

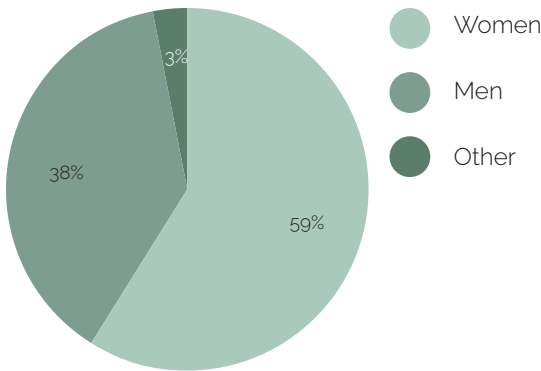


Table 4: Gender

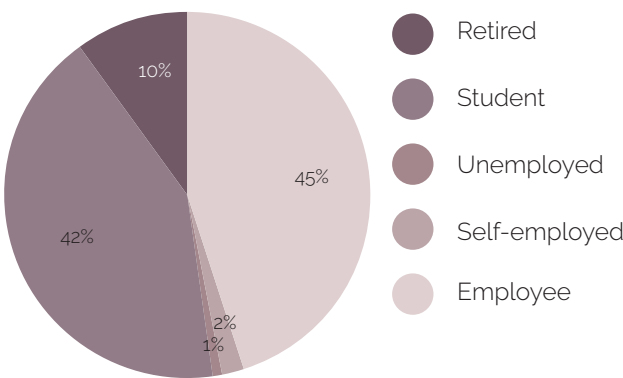


Table 5: Occupation

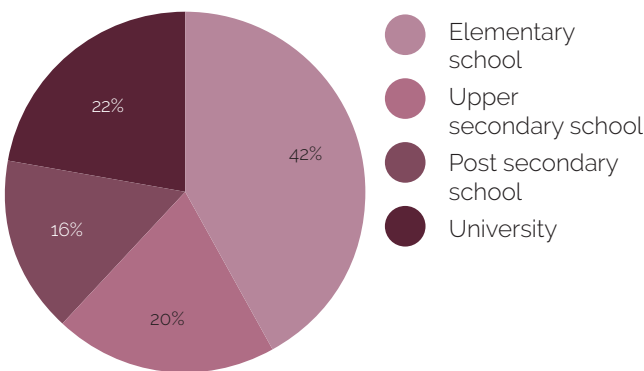


Table 6: Highest education

data from Haparanda in 2020 and Tornio in 2021, combined, there is currently living 21,3% within that age group in Haparanda and Tornio (Regionfakta, 2020b; Tilastokeskus, 2021). Regarding the current occupations of the respondents, the survey shows that 42% of the respondents are students. However, the statistical data show only 7,5% are currently studying in Haparanda and Tornio (Regionfakta, 2020a; Tilastokeskus, 2019). This shows that a significantly higher percentage of students have participated in our study than the average rate in the city of Haparanda and Tornio. Of the respondents, 59% answered that their gender identity is female, while the City of Haparanda and Tornio states that 49% of the combined city's population is female (SCB, 2020; Tilastokeskus, 2021). When it comes to the residency of the respondents, the true representation is that Tornio (21 335 habitants) has more than two times as many habitants as Haparanda (9601 habitants) (Ekonomifakta, 2020; Tilastokeskus, 2021). In comparison, more people from Haparanda participated in relation to the population of Tornio. The survey gives a relatively representative picture of the region's population, but the survey mainly illustrates the targeted groups on Facebook.

Results from the survey shown in the Tables 8-12 (p. 70-73), has been filtered by the question 'where do you live?' to identify on which side of the border (Sweden or Finland) the respondents live on. 112 participants answered Sweden and 48 participants Finland. Table 8 and 9 shows which nationality and population group the respondents identify themselves as. Here, only one option could be chosen in the survey. Furthermore, the respondents were asked which languages they speak (Table 10). It was possible to choose multiple languages.

Habitants living on the Swedish side of the border

Almost half (48%) of the respondents living on the Swedish side identify their nationality as Swedish, the same applies to which population group they identify themselves as (56%). Still 97% of the participants speak Swedish. Only 17% identified their nationality as Finnish. Yet, the double amount

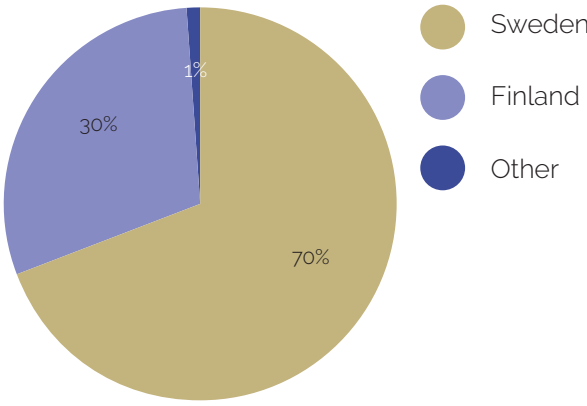


Table 7: Where do you live?

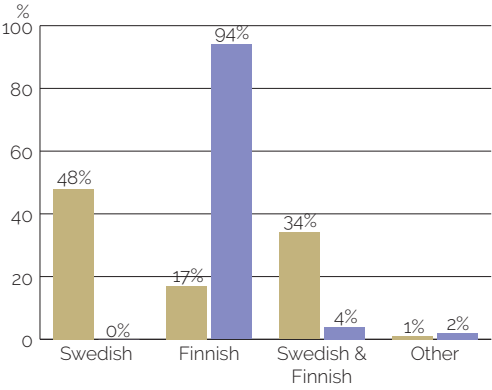


Table 8: Nationality regarding living in Sweden or Finland

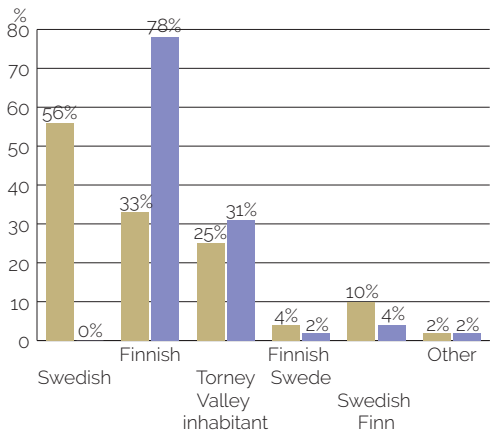


Table 9: Population group regarding living in Sweden or Finland

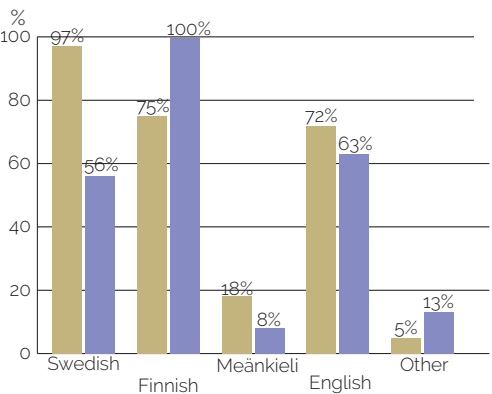


Table 10: Spoken language

of the participants (33%) see themselves as the population group Finnish and ¾ of the participants speak Finnish. 34% see themselves as both Swedish and Finnish and ¼ as the population group Torne Valley inhabitant. 18% claim to speak Meänkieli, while only 8% of the participants living on the Finnish side of the border claim to speak Meänkieli.

Habitants living on the Finnish side of the border

In comparison, respondents living on the Finnish side of the border, none identified their nationality as Swedish nor as the population group Swedish. However, 56% claim to speak Swedish, which is less than the amount of respondents living on the Swedish side speaking Finnish. All respondents claim to speak Finnish but only 94% identified their nationality as Finnish and even less of the participants identifies themselves as the population group Finnish (78%). 31% of the respondents sees themselves as a Torne Valley inhabitant.

"We and them"-mentality

One of the questions of the survey was an open-ended question asking if the respondents experience a "we and them"-mentality between Haparanda and Tornio habitants. The most frequent answer was that the "we and them"-mentality developed due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and how the different countries have had inconsistent restrictions which has affected the perception of the habitants. Another factor that has caused the "we and them"-mentality is the language differences in each country. To present some chosen comments from the respondents, the bolded text shows the initial comment from the respondents in their spoken language and below a translation to English.

Torniolaiset kokivat haaparantalaiset uhkana kun ylittävän rajan ja mahdollisesti tuo en Covidin. Suomessa asuvat halveksivat haaparantalaisia, haaparannalla asuessa koki huonommaksi vähempi arvoiseksi Suomessa asuviin tai perus ruotsalaisiin.

The people of Tornio saw Haparanda habitants as a threat when they crossed the border and

possibly brought COVID-19 with them. Those who lived in Finland despised Haparanda habitants, while those who lived in Haparanda felt inferior to those who lived in Finland or to the basic Swedes.

Även om vi är två städer bredvid varandra så är vi fortfarande två städer i olika länder.

Even though we are two cities next to each other, we are still two cities in different countries.

Other answers are shown in Figure 36 below. The larger the font is, the more frequent the answer was.



Figure 36: "We and them" mentality

Tangible cultural heritage

When asked about what tangible cultural heritage unite HaparandaTornio, the most frequent answer was Rajalla and the Torne River as a close second. Figure 37 (p. 72) contains the rest of the answers.

Intangible cultural heritage

Regarding what intangible cultural heritage that unites HaparandaTornio, there were 58 respondents that answered "I do not know" or "I do not understand the question", which is 36% of all the respondents. A decision was made to exclude those from the illustration (Figure 38, p. 72), to show what the respondents do believe is uniting intangible cultural heritage. However, an analysis about this

will be made later in the thesis. The most frequent answer excluding "I do not know" was the New Year's Eve celebration Happy New Twice, also the colours yellow, blue and white, which are the official colours of the Torne Valley (Israelsson, 2008).



Figure 37: Tangible cultural heritage



Figure 38: Intangible cultural heritage

Some chosen comments regarding the intangible cultural heritage in the survey:

Kysymyksessä listatut tekijät eivät ole minulle merkityksellisiä. Enemmänkin rajan molemmiin puolin asuvien ihmisten yhdessä tekeminen, eli tehdään yhdessä asioita esim. musiikkia, jääpalloa,

moottoripyöriä. Toinen on ehkä joppaus nykyisissä muodoissaan.

Listing things connected to intangible cultural heritage does not matter to me. It would be more relevant to mention the togetherness of the people living on both sides of the border. Things we do together such as music, play hockey and motor sports. The second thing mentioned is perhaps presented in present form.

Rajaton raja, ylpeys ainutlaatuisuudesta, joen tuoksu.

Boundless border, pride in uniqueness, the scent of the river.

The border

Questions about how often the respondents cross the border and the reason why they cross the border was also asked in the survey. As shown in Table 11, 1/2 of the respondents living on the Finnish side cross the border at least once a day, while 12% of respondents living on the Swedish side cross once a day. It is more common for the respondents living on the Swedish side to cross the border at least once a week.

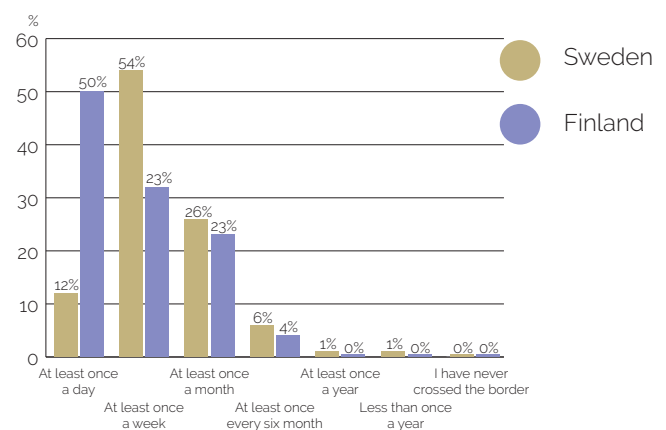


Table 11: How often do you cross the border?

The main reasons respondents living on the Finnish side cross the border are for shopping (38%) and school (35%), and for the respondents living on the Swedish side shopping (44%), as shown in the Table

12 below. The most frequent answer in the category "other" was that respondents from the Sweden side crossed the border to visit their cottage on the Finnish side, other reasons were visiting a specific place or buying a specific product, for instance gas (Table 12). Other reasons the respondents cross the border are because they have family (39%), have friends (58%) and participate in events (35%), on either side of the border, as seen in Table 13.

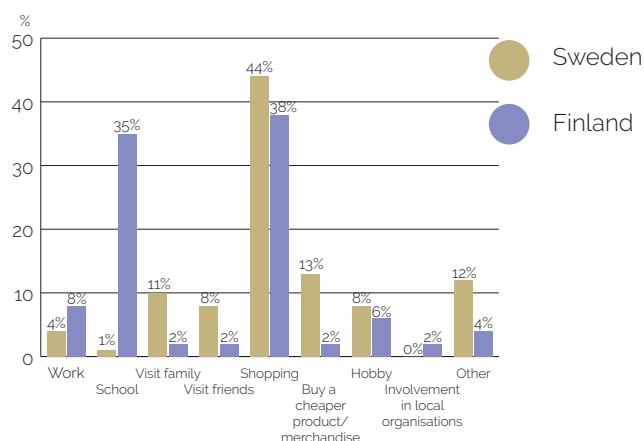


Table 12: What is the main reason you cross the border?

Please fill in the following statements:	Completely true	Partly true	Not entirely true	Completely not true
I work / Study on the other side of the border	18%	7%	6%	70%
I have family on the other side of the border	39%	26%	8%	27%
I have friends on the other side of the border	58%	23%	9%	10%
I have a hobby on the other side of the border	21%	20%	11%	47%
I shop on the other side of the border	59%	36%	5%	0%
I am involved in local organisations on the other side of the border (such as concerts, exhibitions, going to the cinema, sporting events etc.)	9%	19%	15%	60%
I participate in events on the other side of the border (such as concerts, exhibitions, going	35%	34%	14%	17%

Table 13: Results of respondents' border crossing activities

The cooperation

When asked if the cooperation between Haparanda and Tornio has been affected during the time the border was closed, 51% of the respondents answered yes. The respondents answering yes got a follow up question describing in what way the cooperation has been affected. The most common answers were that the border was actually closed, it created a distrust, as well as the "who that infected who" mentality (Figure 39).

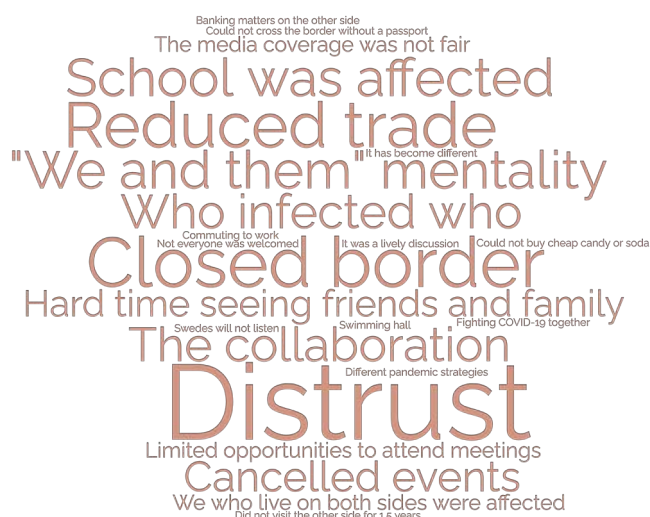


Figure 39: In what way has the cooperation been affected by a closed border

Some chosen comments regarding in what way the cooperation was affected:

En växande irritation mot just Finland kom med stängda gränser och beskyllningar om att COVID-19 kom från Haparanda. Medan finnarna åkte över hur som helst.

A growing irritation towards Finland in particular came with closed borders and accusations that COVID-19 came from Haparanda. While the Finns went over anyway.

Maiden täysin erilaiset pandemia strategiat, muuttivat ainakin rajatyohtekijöihin suhtautumista, erityisesti pandemian alussa, suomi julkaisi avoimeisti eri paikkakuntien korona tilanteet, ja ruotsista tietoa ei tullut. Muistan eräänkiin lounas

hetki tilanteen kun haaparantalaiset tykkäsivät että me torniolaiset tuomme haaparantaan koronan ja että teitä pitäisi varoa. Samanlaiseen tilanteeseen törmäsin myös ruoka kaupassa kun eräs nais henkilö kovaan ääneen totesi että "mitä helv. Suomalaiset tänne tukkivat pysyisivät nyt omassa maassaan".

The completely different pandemic strategies of the countries, at least changed the attitude towards the border control workers, especially in the beginning of the pandemic, Finland openly published the COVID-19 status of the different regions, and no information was received from Sweden. I remember one situation during lunch when some people living in Haparanda thought that we from Tornio brought COVID-19 to Haparanda and that they should be cautious of us. I also came across a similar situation in the food store when a female person loudly stated that "what the hell, why are the Finns squeezing in here they should remain in their own country".

When asked if HaparandaTornio communicated clear information about border crossings during the COVID-19 pandemic 40% of the respondents answered no while 45% answered yes (Table 14).

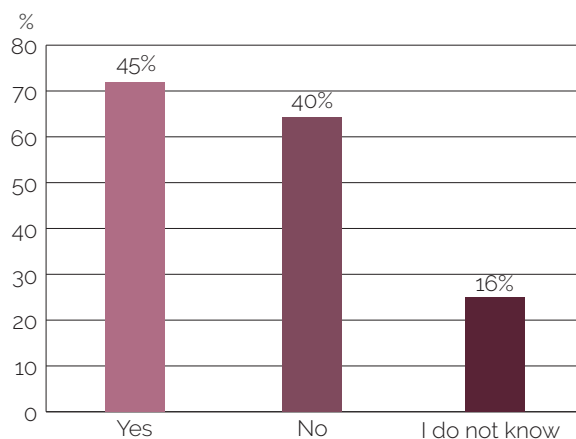


Table 14: Did HaparandaTornio communicate clear information during the COVID-19 pandemic?

The respondents were also asked the question "Has the cooperation between Haparanda and

Tornio changed after the border has reopened?". By the 21% of the respondents who answered yes, the most frequent answer was that it feels more normal. However, some of the respondents claim that HaparandaTornio should be more careful with cross-border collaboration.



Figure 40: In what way has the cooperation changed after the border was reopened?

Some chosen comments regarding in what way the cooperation has changed after the border has reopened:

Rajan olemassa olon tiedostaminen, ja pelko siitä että se voidaan myös sulkea.

Awareness of the existence of the border, and the fear that it can also be closed down.

Ihmiset välttävät ylitystä vielä, pohditaan onko mitään oikeaa tarvetta mennä rajan yli.

People still avoid crossing, we wonder if there is any real need to cross the border.

På ett bra sätt för jag har fått mer kompisar på andra sidan.

In a good way because I have made more friends on the other side.

09. Discussion and analysis

The discussion and analysis is divided into five parts; First, defining HaparandaTornio as a collaborative cross-border region. This will be discussed through four different phases. Second, examine the identity of the cross-border region. Third, elaborates on the consequences of the border closing during the COVID-19 pandemic. Fourth, consider a method if the border were to close again. Fifth, being a reflective section of our work during writing this thesis.

A collaborative cross-border region

You may say that the institutionalisation of HaparandaTornio began already 400 years ago, when the village of Tornio was founded and came into view as an important trading town for northern Sweden and Russia (Tornedalskommunernas Historiebokskommitté, 1993, pp. 181–194). From the 17th century onwards, HaparandaTornio have been resolutely differentiating themselves from their surroundings by utilising their own regional decision-making (Tornedalens museum, 2021a). In the following paragraphs, we have summarised how the institutionalisation in HaparandaTornio can be investigated through four different phases, starting from when Finland claimed their independence in 1917 (Lindberg, 2011). By this we will be able to identify what defines HaparandaTornio as a collaborative cross-border region. We will present these phases with examples and results of our empirical data discussed in this thesis. The first phase involves the motion of introducing individual projects for common use, such as the station building, railway bridge and the swimming hall. Second phase concerns the proposal for joint local policy agreement, such as Provincia Bothniensis engagement of instituting Språkskolan. Third phase involves creating a joint body and the declaration of becoming a Twin City, initiated through the establishment of EUROCITY, which later was adopted to the shared name-HaparandaTornio. The fourth phase discusses if there is a certain responsibility for maintaining the characterisation of being a Twin City in the region of HaparandaTornio.

Phase one - Motion of single projects

Haparanda and Tornio started their process of institutionalisation by implementing common use facilities as individual projects. The earliest uniting individual projects are the station building in Haparanda and the railway bridge linking Haparanda and Tornio (Haparanda Stad, 2021b; Riksantikvarieämbetet, 2003a). These structures represent the prologue to the orchestrated tangible connection, composing a more transparent threshold between the two cities. Historically these structures have played an important role in the transaction of goods and movement between the two cities, merging the local cultures into becoming more dependent on each other in terms of exchange. These structures demonstrate immediate attention to the different railway widths between the two countries. According to the Swedish National Heritage Board (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 2021) these structures should be preserved, due to the acknowledgment of the being one of the first historically organised infrastructure for the cities to be able to collaborate. Pursuant to the Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS, 2013, p. 2-3), the station building and the railway bridge hold a cultural significance of aesthetic, historic, scientific, social and spiritual value of the past, present and future generations, and should therefore be conserved to retain its cultural significance. Since the closing of the station building in 1992 (Haparanda Stad, 2021a), there has been a conservation process making sure the place retains its cultural significance, while at the same time introducing a new electrified signal system for the railway, permitting the station building to reopen for the public in the spring of 2021. The restoration sought to return the station building to a known earlier stage by retaining its existing tangible elements, such as its architectural characteristics. This has allowed the City of Haparanda to access the station building's original function again, while remarking its associations of the past (Haparanda Stad, 2021a; Australia ICOMOS, 2013, p. 2-3).

As Schultz (2002, p. 235) points out, the first documented cooperative financial agreement of the cooperation was the shared swimming hall in Haparanda introduced in the 1960s. It set an example of how to merge two smaller towns' facilities to allow habitants to access a broader range of activities in the region. Tornberg³³ mention that the swimming hall in Haparanda has, since February 2020, been closed down and the more modernised swimming hall in Tornio, was supposed to assemble the same function and use for the habitants on both sides of the border. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the concept of shared facilities was challenged due to the border closing. As seen on the survey (Figure 40, p. 74), respondents living on the Swedish side of the border, mentioned that the restrictions caused them not being able to access the swimming hall in Tornio. This questions the reasoning of Haparanda being dependent on Tornio, and vice versa, whether both cities should have their own facilities in case the cities would not be able to share facilities anymore. Yet, the restrictions in Finland ruled public facilities to close (Duchene et al., 2021, p. 2), such as the swimming hall, which implies that **no** habitants were able to use the swimming hall anyhow. The argument of having an own swimming hall in Haparanda in regards to this logic, rules against. However, if the appeal rises of more habitants wanting to swim indoors, there might be a need for two swimming halls in the region of HaparandaTornio to meet the popular demand. As Tornberg³⁴ mentions, the City of Haparanda are planning to build a new swimming hall due to the received feedback from the habitants during the COVID-19 pandemic. He also mentions the new swimming hall in Haparanda would particularly be for school children to access swimming tuition to learn the required ability to swim, regardless of the situation (unless future restrictions would be implied). For the record, we would like to comment on the behalf of the youths' wishes from Gränsskolan. They wish that the new swimming hall in Haparanda will be at least as nice

33 Sven Tornberg, Chairman for the City Council in Haparanda, interviewed the 4th of October 2021.

34 Sven Tornberg, Chairman for the City Council in Haparanda, interviewed the 4th of October 2021.

as Tornio's, to retain their enthusiasm of going to the swimming hall.

Phase two - Joint local policy agreements

Haparanda and Tornio began modeling a systematic cooperation by joint policy agreements, in consolidation to the cross-border association Provincia Bothniensis was founded in 1986. These policies were planned through joint meetings and discussions regarding common interests, as well as how to develop Haparanda and Tornio's collaboration further. At Provincia Bothniensis' first meeting they asked different corporations (not habitants) in Haparanda about the specific corporation's structure, the corporation's view of their business and its relationship to the border, the corporation's market and its relationship to the border, as well as the corporation's view of cooperation for the border area (Haparanda, 1986, p. 1). The questionnaire was only sent out to corporations in Haparanda, which may be debated against the fundamental idea of HaparandaTornio cross-border collaboration where both cities would have an equal representation. Yet, the concept of EUROCITY had not yet been introduced, which made the initiative more anchored in Haparanda, and Provincia Bothniensis the driving force in raising the early on questions of collaboration.

Provincia Bothniensis can be argued to have consolidated all three propositions resulting from the first meeting. First proposal was to overcome the threshold of the administrative differences, such as laws and regulations between Sweden and Finland, and instead indulge in their diversity (Haparanda, 1986, p. 1). This can be shown through the support of European Landscape Convention (ELC) which has encouraged decision-makers in embracing sustainable development in areas such as urban cross-regional landscapes (Council of Europe, 2004, 2021). ELC has supported the challenges in the field of human rights, democracy and the rule of law by allowing areas such as HaparandaTornio to protect, manage and plan their landscapes through

local necessity means. Other councils supporting the administrative differences between the two countries are the Nordic Council and the Torne Valley Council. The Nordic Council has authorised citizens to move freely within the Nordic countries without the need of showing a passport (Nordic Cooperation, 2019) allowing habitants to emerge in the different cultures. While, the Torne Valley Council has approached and are actively discussing state decisions, affecting the cross-border habitants day-to-day life (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001, pp. 38–39).

The second proposition made by Provincia Bothniensis (Haparanda, 1986, p. 1), was to create forums such as joint fairs and exhibitions that would generate interest, knowledge and discussions regarding the region's cross-border collaboration. This can be seen through the initiative of the Torne Valley museum, which exhibits the Torne Valley inhabitants common roots and how the proximity of the border influences the every-day life of the local habitants (Tornedalens museum, 2021a). Another stride has been the association of Arbets- och tillidsammans³⁵, who manage in finding regional labor opportunities across the border as well as cross-border administrative issues in consideration of the habitants. Both Torne Valley museum and Arbets- och tillidsammans can be seen as an approach of one-way informing local habitants, by giving them a manifesto for their own interpretations and judgment of the cross-border collaboration.

The third proposition was to coordinate shared activities where people can meet, but also set a good example for other cross-border regions on how you can collaborate through common events (Haparanda, 1986, p. 1). This can be seen through collective celebrations such as Happy New Twice and the festival Kalott Jazz & Blues, and shared sport facilities such as Meri-Lapin Golf Klubi and Arena Polarica (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001). Another factors has been the cross-border collaboration of Språkskolan and Gränsskolan, which has played an important role by setting an example of how border

35 Sven Tornberg, Chairman for the City Council in Haparanda, interviewed the 4th of October 2021.

regions can collaborate in educational purposes regarding children and youth with multilingual backgrounds (European Commission. Directorate-General for Regional Policy, 2011, p. 21). The survey, on the other hand (Table 13, p. 73), demonstrates that the respondents do not have a considerable high engagement in cross-border events, with exceptions of Happy New Twice. Tornberg³⁶ validate that the respondents may have answered in such reasoning due to the COVID-19 pandemic causing events to be cancelled, as a consequence the respondents did not reflect on previously held events.

It can be said that HaparandaTornio has achieved the three mentioned propositions from the first meeting of Provincia Bothniensis (Haparanda, 1986, p. 1). We would like to add some additional accomplishments HaparandaTornio have reached through their process of joint local policy agreements. Here includes a joint chancellery, as well as hiring an employee, Hanna-Lenna Ainonen, whose task is to work directly with the cross-border development, which is one of its kind in HaparandaTornio.

Phase three - Creating a joint body

HaparandaTornio entered the third phase of their institutionalisation in 2004 when EUROCITY was endorsed, and later adopted to the shared name - HaparandaTornio (European Commission. Directorate-General for Regional Policy, 2011, p. 21). Tornberg³⁷ explains, ever since then, HaparandaTornio has sanctioned a regional government, with cooperative management groups, and a cooperative non-decision-making municipal board, who have meetings twice a year where they discuss common issues. Each municipality are then responsible to stage more internal regular meetings in regards to the topics discussed and decisions made. The cooperation and decision-making in HaparandaTornio take place between different formal actors, using a top-down approach,

previously mentioned by Schultz (2002) and Panda (2007), which has resulted in a mutual trust and well balanced functioning cooperation. However, this approach has been criticised by Fainstein (2010) as habitants want fair, transparent and inclusive processes. Due to the cooperation functions on a higher hierarchy, there remains a gap concerning accessing information by the habitants, as illustrated in our survey (Table 14, p. 74). Habitants noted that they were lacking clear information during the COVID-19 pandemic causing confusion of the corporations activity during the time.

Phase four - Responsibility

The interviewees have shown high hopes and motivation for the forthcoming collaboration. Laitinen³⁸ discusses the importance of decision-makers to set an example for the habitants - how to act towards each other. HaparandaTornio is still *one* and the habitants should not, all of the sudden, become afraid of each other. While Ajanki³⁹ argues that it may take some time to strengthen the cooperation and trust again, but that it is extremely important to maintain.

HaparandaTornio created a joint body by declaring themselves, with the support of the European integration process, as a Twin City with the aim of becoming a unified town. HaparandaTornio have cultivated their relationship through public services. They have established common fire and rescue services, a joint sewage treatment plant, Resentrum and tourist agencies grounded in a common culture, kinship and tradition. The outcome has been rooted generally in a positive experience and has determined a long lasting cooperation for HaparandaTornio (European Commission. Directorate-General for Regional Policy, 2011, p. 21).

When asking the decision-makers and representatives from Haparanda and Tornio what

36 Sven Tornberg, Chairman for the City Council in Haparanda, interviewed the 4th of October 2021.

37 Sven Tornberg, Chairman for the City Council in Haparanda, interviewed the 4th of October 2021.

38 Jenna Laitinen, Project manager of Interreg-Nord in Sweden, interviewed the 11th of October 2021.

39 Tuula Ajanki, CEO of the Torne Valley Council, interviewed the 12th of October 2021.

defines HaparandaTornio as a cross-border region, all of them said something in line with "one city in two cities", "boundlessness", "cooperation", or "Twin City". It may be argued that the region of HaparandaTornio was used as a case study for the upbringing and construction of the criteria of becoming a Twin City, mentioned by Schultz (2002). Yet, to be defined as a so-called double town, by Buursink (1994) definition: "towns that aim at cooperation and supplementing each other" (Figure 24, p. 42) there needs to be further action. It is noted that HaparandaTornio can be defined as a double town through the recognition of city planning processes that share close communication and collaboration.

The criteria mentioned by Schultz's (2002) were as follows; a shared history, open borders, river that both separates and connects the cities, the use of the neighbour's language, common urban planning, participation in cultural life, as well as being influenced by regional media. Though, HaparandaTornio checks off all the above criteria, Schultz (2002) declares that being a Twin City can both be demanding and challenging, and additionally, generate more dreams and visions rather than concrete transnational integration. This can be noticed in how highly the interviewed decision-makers were speaking about HaparandaTornio. They had an easier time visualising what HaparandaTornio could be, than actually giving specific examples on how to proceed with the collaboration. Westman⁴⁰ also claims that actions speak louder than words by saying "We have to be more concrete. We should not talk too much, instead take action and create things together, to show the people that this collaboration is valid. Instead of looking at our differences we should look at what unites us".

It is worth mentioning the different way HaparandaTornio is being portrayed when combining two cities' size and population. In short,

size matters. As Westman⁴¹ mentions, within the decision-making sector, people create close bonds together being able to discuss regional decisions on a more personal level, due to the smaller scale. However, being able to connect across borders broadens one's view by still maintaining its essence. If this attitude would be carried out to how inhabitants interact with each other, it could generate a stronger bond of being able to voice the inhabitants' opinion to decision-makers on a larger scale.

To conclude, HaparandaTornio have evolved successively strengthening their identity of being defined as a cross-border region. Historically, the cooperation has always been treasured to exist, and disrupting this progression is not visible as far as we can see. However, there needs to be a continuous initiative of single projects, further local policy agreements and maintenance to meet the requirements of being defined as a Twin City. This is crucial to maintain HaparandaTornio's cross-border collaboration, not only politically but also on grassroot level, to sustain a mutual trust with the local inhabitants (White 1996, pp. 8–9).

The identity of the cross-border region

Right to the landscape

When the COVID-19 pandemic unfolded in March 2020 (Folh lsmyndigheten, 2021; Institutet f r h lsa och v lf rd, 2021), the concept of right to the landscape (Egoz et al., 2016) was challenged in the region of HaparandaTornio. HaparandaTornio are naturally divided by a river, but in practice have become a region by physical influence, such as bridging the two cities (Lund n & Zalamans, 2001). These bridges symbolise a transparent border through shared intangible influences such as traditions and customs (Juillard 1962, p. 440). It shows that HaparandaTornio is a cultural landscape; it has been formed organically through its local inhabitants' culture and natural elements (UNESCO,

⁴⁰ Bengt Westman, City of Haparanda, interviewed the 5th of October 2021.

⁴¹ Bengt Westman, City of Haparanda, interviewed the 5th of October 2021.

2008, p. 85). To understand the local recognition and relationship between the habitants and the region of HaparandaTornio, Egoz (2016, pp. 2–5) specifies that landscape can be seen as a relationship between humans and their surroundings which changes through time, location and culture. As Harvey (2015, p. 918) adds, the longer we accept the landscape's natural changes, without trying to disrupt it, the easier it is to find a connection to it. Antrop (2005, p. 27) mentions, coherency strengthens our understanding of recognising one's personality. It is noted that the COVID-19 pandemic disrupted the natural development of HaparandaTornio's vision of being identified as a Twin City⁴², by a sudden shift, which changed the judgement of how the relationship to the landscape may be approached. As Harvey (2015, p. 918) and Antrop (2005, p. 27) discuss, due to the separation one may have had a precariousness to identify themselves in one's position in society and spatial location. This goes against the local perception of how the local habitants identify themselves in HaparandaTornio (Table 7, 8, & 9, p. 70). As Laitinen⁴³ puts it "you should not have to choose", in the sense of being identified either as Swedish or Finnish. For instance, as Lundén and Zalamans (2001, p. 36) discuss, there are five different major population groups in the region of HaparandaTornio - Finland Finns, Sweden Swedes, Torne Valley inhabitants, Sweden Finns and Finland Swedes. In our survey we asked our respondents what nationality and population group they would define themselves as. We noticed that respondents from our survey living in Sweden (Haparanda), had a broader division of nationalities and population groups than the respondents living in Finland (Tornio). None of the respondents living on the Finnish side identified themselves as Swedish, yet 94% of the respondents identified themselves as having a Finnish nationality and 78% as being in the Finnish population group. While, 17% of the

respondents living on the Swedish side identified their nationality as Finnish and 48% as Swedish. In regards to population groups, respondents living on the Swedish side, 1/3 identified themselves as Finnish and 56% as Swedish. There was still a fairly even division of being identified as a Torne Valley inhabitant, 1/4 of the respondents living in Sweden and 31% of the respondents living in Finland. This shows that regardless of which side of the border you live on, you may still identify your nationality contrary to the norm and that which population group you define yourself as is a individual judgment. Being a multilingual region complicated the thought of "having to choose" on which side of the border you want to be identified as, because the different population groups have been merged into the different cultures throughout centuries.

Lawlessness

As mentioned HaparandaTornio shares a certain attitude that can not be referred to as either Finnish or Swedish. As Skybäck⁴⁴ explain, the mentality differs in Sweden and Finland which makes the border(less) region special in the way they approach the traditional way of following nationalistic ideology. There is a certain lawlessness in HaparandaTornio. This can be seen through the transnational phenomenon of smuggling in HaparandaTornio which was in earlier years seen as taboo, but is celebrated today as a local remembrance of the past (Halme & Kallio-Seppä, 2010, p. 401). Ironically, smuggling can also be emulated on today's illegal export of snus from Haparanda to Finland⁴⁵ (Wikström, 2020). Another way of seeing the culture of lawlessness in HaparandaTornio would be to study the installation of the local letterboxes, where the goal was to achieve efficiency within the region. When explaining this to the outer world, as Westman⁴⁶ mentions, people do not understand the broadness of HaparandaTornio's

42 Collective results from our survey and interviews.

43 Jenna Laitinen, Project manager of Interreg-Nord in Sweden, interviewed the 11th of October 2021.

44 Eeva Skybäck, Project manager of Interreg-Nord in Finland, interviewed the 11th of October 2021.

45 Gränsskolan, group discussion with the 9th graders, 13th of October 2021.

46 Bengt Westman, City of Haparanda, interviewed the 5th of October 2021.

collaboration until they visit HaparandaTornio. After visiting it seems inevitable that this is how it should be, whether it is legal or not. Ainonen⁴⁷, Laitinen and Skybäck⁴⁸ all point out the difficulty being defined as a Twin City, you often run into the obstacle of following one country's law, which is also mentioned by Schultz (2002). In HaparandaTornio's case, with the support of the EU (European Union, 2018, p. 6), they are able to find means that support the collaboration instead of detaching them. By that, HaparandaTornio have to look beyond the national regulations.

When reflecting how on HaparandaTornio got affected during the COVID-19 pandemic, it seems like the habitants were not used to following a certain system of laws, due to the constant mixture of Swedish and Finnish culture. When splitting the region in half, the habitants' first reaction was to point fingers at each other, amplifying the "we and them"-mentality, or as some habitants pointed out in the survey, it created a "big brother complex" (Figure 36, p. 71). Laitinen and Skybäck⁴⁹ explained this concept as - one city being the driving force. As an example the Öresundsregionen where the capital region of Danmark is involved in a much broader sense⁵⁰. In these cases, one city is seen as the driving force, instead of being defined as a double town (Buursink, 1994). When the border closed it may have created the idea of Haparanda and Tornio 'rioting against' each other⁵¹, but in fact we believe Rajavartioliitto were the ones penetrating the 'fight'. Skybäck⁵² mentions that HaparandaTornio should not fear of being different from everyone else, and by putting up a riot fence, this idea got provoked. Whether a riot fence was there or not,

there has always been a desire to access the other side of the border. As Ainonen⁵³ revealed during one week in the summer of 2020, when the border reopened briefly, everyone was going somewhere. After the border closed again the activity stopped abruptly. This shows a certain eagerness of seeking to the other side of the border in terms of perhaps shopping, visiting family or friends, or generally just wanting a change of scenery (Table 12 & 13, p. 73). Having to follow orders from the capitals was not an attractive idea and was challenged, not only by the youth jumping the fence⁵⁴ but also by habitants questioning why their city had been ripped apart⁵⁵. It was not just a pandemic, it was a violation against the habitants right to the landscape.

Language

Language has played an important role in preserving the identity of HaparandaTornio. The region's languages has gone from being closely integrated with the Finnish language before 1809 (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001, p. 35; Paasi & Prokkola, 2008, p. 18), as it once was one village, to gradually becoming more Swedish in the late 1800s. During World War II the so-called "Swedification" got to the extent that the Finnish language was subtracting in Haparanda due to Sweden's nationalistic ideology and military presence (Germundsson, 2005, p. 24; Hobbsawm, 2012, p. 102; Lundén & Zalamans, 2001, p. 35). This took a turn when the cities became more integrated with one another, and the Finnish language gained more acceptance and became the dominating language once again. As seen in our survey (Table 10 p. 70), 97% of the respondents living in Sweden speak Swedish, 75% speak Finnish and 18% Meänkieli, in comparison to the respondents living in Finland

47 Hanna-Leena Ainonen, Cross-border Development Specialist at HaparandaTornio, interviewed the 12th of October 2021.

48 Jenna Laitinen & Eeva Skybäck, Project managers of Interreg-Nord, interviewed on the 11th of October 2021.

49 Jenna Laitinen & Eeva Skybäck, Project managers of Interreg-Nord, interviewed on the 11th of October 2021.

50 Bengt Westman, City of Haparanda, interviewed the 5th of October 2021.

51 Sven Tornberg, Chairman for the City Council in Haparanda, interviewed the 4th of October 2021.

52 Eeva Skybäck, Project manager of Interreg-Nord in Finland, interviewed the 11th of October 2021.

53 Hanna-Leena Ainonen, Cross-border Development Specialist at HaparandaTornio, interviewed the 12th of October 2021.

54 Gränsskolan, group discussion with the 9th graders, 13th of October 2021.

55 Sven Tornberg, Chairman for the City Council in Haparanda, interviewed the 4th of October 2021.

where all respondents speak Finnish but only 57% speak Swedish and 8% speak Meänkieli. The reason for this can be traced back to Haparanda being a multilingual municipality, whereas Tornio has not to the same extent⁵⁶ regardless of Finland having mandatory Swedish education (Sundell, 2015, p. 6). In addition to Tornberg⁵⁷ claiming that 80% of habitants living in Haparanda are at least bilingual, which indicates that the Finnish language is more accepted in Haparanda than the Swedish language is in Tornio.

Being able to use your language of preference is seen as a strength of coming from the Nordic countries. As the Nordic Language Convention states, we should be able to use our mother tongue to the extent of being able to communicate with authorities and other public agencies within the other Nordic countries (Nordic Co-operation, 2019). This is something HaparandaTornio has actively been working on to achieve. As Tornberg⁵⁸ acknowledges, it is not easy to be a multilingual municipality but the diversity in terms of culture and language, can be seen as a greater opportunity to take advantage of the conditions already existing. The hardest part seems to be to convey the importance of being a multilingual region to the habitants of HaparandaTornio. Ainonen's⁵⁹ effort in creating the multilingual website for HaparandaTornio in the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, shows great assets in being able to access information and restrictions from both countries. However, this does not counteract the cultural differences of Haparanda being more integrated in the Finnish language than Tornio in Swedish. Due to Finnish being more socially accepted in Haparanda also strengthens Ainonen's⁶⁰ conception of the Silent Finn or as Lindqvist⁶¹ mentions, she never

had to learn Swedish because of the convenience of communicating in Finnish in Haparanda. As Westman⁶² discusses, listening to both languages during meetings creates a closer collaboration and invites everyone working within the region. This also supports the UN Global Goal Target 11.3 (UN, 2021a) of enhancing inclusiveness and sustainable urbanisation and capacity for participation, in discussions of planning and management of sustainable human settlement within the region. This shows that merging the two languages in decision-making processes has a certain durability in the long run. Yet, we perceive that habitants in Tornio show a large resistance and negative attitude towards the Swedish language which can be traced back in history to the efforts in strengthening the Swedish language in the aftermath of World War II, and in the Provincia Bothniensis compilation of answers to the questionnaire concerning the collaboration from 1986 (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001, p. 35; Haparanda, 1986, p. 41). The mentality of not wanting to indulge in the Swedish language may be projected due to this. We believe due to Finland being exposed to both Sweden's and Russia's conquest ambitions ever since the early Middle Ages, they feel a certain proudness of being independent at last. Therefore, strengthening their own language. This mentality may not be changed, however, it may be easier to endorse Meänkieli which is spoken on both sides of the border. By increasing educational support of teaching Meänkieli, the habitants would have their own creole language (Pinker, 2015, p. 33), which would in return strengthen their autonomous regional identity.

Education

To expand the tradition of being a multilingual cross-border region, there needs to be concrete strategies

56 Hanna-Leena Ainonen, Cross-border Development Specialist at HaparandaTornio, interviewed the 12th of October 2021.

57 Sven Tornberg, Chairman for the City Council in Haparanda, interviewed the 4th of October 2021.

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59 Hanna-Leena Ainonen, Cross-border Development Specialist at HaparandaTornio, interviewed the 12th of October 2021.

60 Hanna-Leena Ainonen, Cross-border Development Specialist at HaparandaTornio, interviewed the 12th of October 2021.

61 Mia Lindqvist, Ambassador for HaparandaTornio, interviewed the 11th of October 2021.

62 Bengt Westman, City of Haparanda, interviewed the 5th of October 2021.

to maintain such heritage. Westman⁶³ elaborates on Språkskolan and Gränsskolan's engagement in reaching their full potential. As their initial goal was to teach children at an early age to learn their neighbouring language, to later be able to attend classes in both Swedish and Finnish, has shown to be limited. When we visited Gränsskolan⁶⁴, we could hear a constant mix of both Swedish and Finnish in the hallways and were fortunate enough to take part in a synthesised discussion in both languages with the 9th graders. This shows that whether the goal has been reached or not, the youth are still being cultivated in an environment of multilingualism which broadens their horizon of recognition of the different cultures and by that setting an example for others. Whether or not the Swedish school system has become more liberal for international commuters, a resistance maintains being able to ask for instructions in Finnish in Sweden (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001, p. 36). Once again, a way to conquer such resistance would be to change the mentality, and instead be proud of being a multilingual region, as Ajanki⁶⁵ mentions "pride will spread pride". To allow students to acquire knowledge of the neighbouring language would support the UN's Global Goal Target 4.7 of supporting sustainable development to generate appreciation of cultural diversity and to promote a culture of peace (UN, 2021a).

Interreg-Nord's involvement in HaparandaTornio's intangible cultural heritage

Interreg-Nord's project Two Countries - One Destination (TCOD) has played an important role for HaparandaTornio to construct a framework of how the two cities can collaborate, in recognising the importance of preserving the intangible cultural heritage of the traditional rapids fishing in Kukkolaforseen⁶⁶ (European Union, 2018, p. 6). Doing distinctive research on a place plays

an important role in understanding its cultural significance. A common underlying importance when discussing cultural landscapes is that it is intentionally created by man and its local culture (UNESCO, 2008, p. 85). Interreg-Nord is actively involved with the local fishermen of Kukkolaforseen⁶⁷ which is crucial in the conservation process of retaining the rapids fishing's cultural significance (Australia ICOMOS, 2017, p. 2). It shows that Interreg-Nord is acknowledging the activities and traditional and customary practices that the practitioners of the rapids fishing have knowledge of through their engagement in the cultural practice (Australia ICOMOS, 2017, p. 2). White's (1996) concept of four levels of participation would place the intervention of the conservation process in Kukkolaforseen in the form of representative- or even transformative participation, due to the involvement of the practitioners 'at the grassroots'. For Interreg-Nord to clearly articulate in their conservation management plan and avoid loss of relevant information of the cultural significance of Kukkolaforseen, and in understanding the place value, the engagement from the practitioners in the process is essential (Australia ICOMOS, 2017, p. 3). However, it is important to involve all actors that have a recognition of the specific intangible cultural heritage (Australia ICOMOS, 2017, p. 7). In our survey, we noticed the question in regards to which intangible cultural heritage unite HaparandaTornio (Figure 38, p. 72), 58/161 of the respondents answered "I do not know" or "I do not understand the question", which is 36% of the respondents all in all. This shows that intangible cultural heritage may be seen as an abstract phenomenon and the concept may be hard to grasp (p. 69-70, in results from survey regarding intangible cultural heritage). We argue that Interreg-Nord's application of becoming an Intangible World Heritage site of preserving the traditional rapids fishing in Kukkolaforseen has

63 Bengt Westman, City of Haparanda, interviewed the 5th of October 2021.

64 Gränsskolan, group discussion with the 9th graders, 13th of October 2021.

65 Tuula Ajanki, CEO of the Torne Valley Council, interviewed the 12th of October 2021.

66 Jenna Laitinen, Project manager of Interreg-Nord in Sweden, interviewed the 11th of October 2021.

67 Jenna Laitinen, Project manager of Interreg-Nord in Sweden, interviewed the 11th of October 2021.

not been recognised enough by the local habitants. There should be further evaluation of having presentations of the project and open discussions to find out if other relevant material or knowledge of the rapids fishing in Kukkolaforsen has been overlooked. Tangible heritage is usually easier to spot because it is something you can physically see or touch, in comparison to intangible heritage. Not being able to identify an intangible cultural heritage, can lead to the relationship between the fabric of a place and the cultural practice to weaken (Australia ICOMOS, 2017, p. 6). As mentioned, Interreg-Nord has an important duty to involve all relevant actors during the procedure of submitting the conservation management plan (Australia ICOMOS, 2017, p. 7). We can not stress this enough, citizen participation is important to be able to spread knowledge of the cultural significance to be able to preserve intangible cultural heritage. To reach the full potential of maintaining successful citizens participation, the decision-makers have to speak with the intent of further implementations to the heritage, rather than for their own recognition or gaining more power (Cooke & Kothari, 2001).

According to Tornberg⁶⁸, by preserving the intangible cultural practice of Kukkolaforsen, it would strengthen the identity of the region, while Laitinen and Skybäck⁶⁹ see the potential for generating more tourism for HaparandaTornio, and in that way expand the Twin Cities' trademark of HaparandaTornio further. This can all be mirrored to the UN's Global Goal Target 8.9 of promoting beneficial and sustainable tourism (UN, 2021a). It would produce more job opportunities that would promote the local culture and product. Bear in mind, the rapids fishing holds a long traditional practice (Haparanda Stad, 2020b), that can only be maintained by a continuation of performing the practice (Australia ICOMOS, 2017, p. 3). If Kukkolaforsen were to become on UNESCO's International List of Intangible Cultural Heritage,

we believe there would be a great deal of support of possibly being able to involve visitors 'hands on' in the practice and by that mean spread knowledge. Gaining economical growth through tourism, would sustain the practice and possibly mark the Torne Valley's history and culture internationally. This would also support the UN Global Goal Target 11A., by create a stronger national and regional development planning (UN, 2021a). It would further support positive economic, social and environmental links between urban, peri-urban and rural areas by strengthening national and regional development planning.

As previously shown in Figure 18 (p. 37), all sites claimed in the UNESCO International Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage are conceptualised together with the UN Global Goals (UNESCO, 2021). As an addition to the petition of Kukkolaforsen applying for becoming an Intangible World Heritage site, we would like to contribute by placing the rapids fishing in relation to our knowledge and experience of Kukkolaforsen and its relevance to the UN Global Goals we find in particular importance as mentioned throughout this thesis (Figure 41). By composing Kukkolaforsen in the graphic

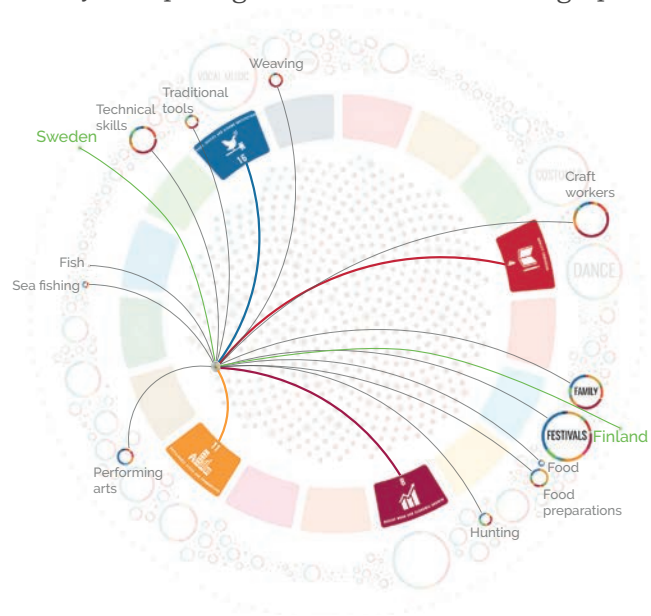


Figure 41: Kukkolaforsen as a World Heritage site connected to the UN Global Goals (Based on UNESCO, 2021)

68 Sven Tornberg, Chairman for the City Council in Haparanda, interviewed the 4th of October 2021.

69 Jenna Laitinen & Eeva Skybäck, Project managers of Interreg-Nord, interviewed on the 11th of October 2021.

visualisation it will support and visually navigate the various elements of the place. The chosen Global Goals are the ones we believe would not only strengthen and support the intangible cultural heritage of Kukkolaforssén but also reflect upon the collaboration of HaparandaTornio.

The effects of the border closing

The landscape is ours

The landscape should be a "product of the people", and as Tuan (1979) disclose a place can bring a larger emotional charge, due to its history and meaning for the people in this place. Sörlin (1999, p. 109), also points out that we create connections and memories to a place that we feel a certain belonging to. When the separation of the regions of HaparandaTornio came into question during the COVID-19 pandemic (WHO, 2020), there is a risk for the national ideology to naturalise landscapes and therefore the true heritage perspective would not be visible, which Germundsson (2005, pp. 23–24) indicated earlier. When the border closed during the COVID-19 pandemic it may be compared to the separation of The Kingdom of Sweden in 1809 (Lundén & Zalamans, 2001, p. 35), which also had a major impact on the cultural and social life for the habitants living by the border. However, this time the separation occurred by cause of a virus instead of war. During the COVID-19 pandemic Haparanda and Tornio were compelled to follow the respective countries national regulations, which were determined in Stockholm and Helsinki, both located more than 900 km away from HaparandaTornio, which makes their decision-making not as relevant specifically for the region of HaparandaTornio per se⁷⁰. This may have resulted in Haparanda and Tornio having the responsibility to pursue on their own an individual identity for the cities (Juillard, 1962), which goes against the vision of HaparandaTornio having a transnational interaction. Whether or not this was

obliged, according to our interviewees business was carried out as usual.

It is noted that HaparandaTornio remains just as a concept and can not be legally defined⁷¹. As Ingold (2011, p. 145) points out "space is nothing, and because it is nothing it cannot truly be inhabited at all", whereas the concept of wayfaring shows that the way we move in a place creates paths that intertwine with other paths, which design the human existence that is junctioning to a place and time. Olwig's (2006, p. 176) reasoning shows that nothing can still be something, it relies on the function of the place, which correlates to the interaction and use of space is necessary to indicate its purpose in HaparandaTornio. Every place is unique, just like people, which develops an identity and personality over time, and should therefore be understood from the people living or using it (Tuan, 1979, p. 213). In spite of this, there was no admission of HaparandaTornio changing their method of collaboration due to the erratic situation. As Ajanki⁷² mentioned, if the border were to close again, it would only strengthen the cooperation further, because of the gained knowledge throughout this occurrence. The collective knowledge HaparandaTornio shares is deeply rooted in the history and geography. Meaning that the use of territory will consequently be shared to the generations to come (Germundsson, 2005, pp. 23–24; Sörlin, 1999, p. 109).

The threshold

Juillard (1962, p. 440), argues that all regions are different, and should be presented with time to grow into becoming what they are, and can not be defined in a moment of disruption. Furthermore, a region should be subdivided by natural conditions or territory of an ethnic group. The border between HaparandaTornio, can thusfore rather be seen as a uniting seam than an isolating barrier, with Lynch (2008, p. 65) definition of edge, characterised through its history and the way the cities are drawn

70 Bengt Westman, City of Haparanda, interviewed the 5th of October 2021.

71 Eeva Skybäck, Project manager of Interreg-Nord in Finland, interviewed the 11th of October 2021.

72 Tuula Ajanki, CEO of the Torne Valley Council, interviewed the 12th of October 2021.

on maps today, as one city in two countries. When the border closed due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and a so-called linial element, in this case the riot fence, enhanced the division of the intersecting regions, the threshold became distinctly more visible in comparison to how it had been recognised before. It shows a resemblance of how the maps of Haparanda and Tornio were portrayed after 1809, before the Provincia Bothniensis delegation, as discussed with Westman⁷³ (Figure 31 p. 57). He emphasised that the map of Haparanda used to illustrate the border to Tornio as a barbed wire. This may be a question of interpretation, but whether or not this would be the case, the illustration indicates a certain blockade that can only be scrutinised by being present at the border.

The border has been relatively unrestricted with the exception of World War I, World War II, and now, according to Ajanki⁷⁴, Paasi and Prokkola (2008, p. 18). Yet, Tornberg⁷⁵ discloses that the border has previously had an extended border control but has never been closed to this extent before, not even during war time. Lindqvist⁷⁶ mentions she had not even reflect upon HaparandaTornio having a border until it was physically drawn by a riot fence. Berenguer Asuncion (2020) claims that a liminal space can be seen as a "design" element that would in theory invite people to stay, or as a place between one destination and the next. During the COVID-19 pandemic the border became rather a place of longing for the past, of being able to see friends and family⁷⁷. As Lowenthal (1975, pp. 4–6) may have described it as a tangible association of the intangible remembrances of a place. The riot fence could be seen as a symbol of nostalgia (Lowenthal, 1975, pp. 4–6), because of the knowledge the habitants share of the past. The habitants of HaparandaTornio will

remember their riot fence as their "Berlin Wall", through fragments of particular past events that can be correlated to their own experience. Remembering the time when the riot fence was present may alter how it may be portrayed through publications, lectures, exhibitions, museums and internet sites in the future (Fitzpatrick, 2018, pp. 223–227; Winter, 2010, p. 9). As mentioned, the border can only be interpreted by being simply at the border. Therefore, it is important to remember and document the shared knowledge of the time during the COVID-19 pandemic. By that the authenticity of this era will remain with the habitants (Edwards & Hart, 2004).



Figure 42: *Rajavartiolaitto controlling the border passage to Finland the 9th of October 2021.*

It is one thing to mark a boundary, but to place guards to patrol it communicates a definite barricade, such as the Berlin Wall (Fitzpatrick, 2018, pp. 223–227). As Tornberg⁷⁸ and Westman⁷⁹ described it, Rajavartiolaitto has had little to no understanding of how the cross-border life in HaparandaTornio operates. Rajavartiolaitto did not only create fear for the habitants, not to mention children, experiencing fully uniformed and armed police officers while going to school. A cloud of sadness settle on the

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76 Mia Lindqvist, Ambassador for HaparandaTornio, interviewed the 11th of October 2021.

77 Gränsskolan, group discussion with the 9th graders, 13th of October 2021.

78 Sven Tornberg, Chairman for the City Council in Haparanda, interviewed the 4th of October 2021.

79 Bengt Westman, City of Haparanda, interviewed the 5th of October 2021.

habitants, realising it would take some time to return to a normal state and before being able to see family or friends again living on the other side of the border. To mention some consequences of the guarded border: some people contemplated quitting their job, people getting rejected picking up their children from school, being suspected of human trafficking, children having to carry their passports around, generally creating an apprehensive feeling of doing something wrong, and feeling unwanted or abandoned⁸⁰.

The blame game

According to Lindqvist⁸¹ and the survey (Figure 36, p. 69), the consequences of the border-closing has resulted in a "we and them"-mentality. This may have matured due to the different national COVID-19 restrictions in each country, as seen in our survey (Figure 36, p. 69), which caused the sudden shift of mentality of how people approach each other in the intersecting region. Westman⁸² characterises such mentality, with the example of arriving in Finland with a Swedish registered car, the Finns would turn their back on you, showing a particular attitude. As Laitinen and Skybäck⁸³ mentions, the Finnish media did not work in favour for the region. The way the Finnish media portrayed Sweden during the COVID-19 pandemic caused the tourism industry to lower in HaparandaTornio and the obscured thought of the virus "flying over the border" became gratifying. A "we and them"-mentality may have risen from this time, Tornberg⁸⁴ argues per contra, that this mentality has always existed, but may have intensified during the COVID-19 pandemic.

It can be claimed that the trust from the habitants towards the collaboration and the bordering cities has shifted, as seen in the survey (Figure 40, p. 71).

The reason for this can be the lack of knowledge in how the different countries made decisions regarding restrictions during the COVID-19 pandemic. As Finland had stricter regulations than Sweden, it may have been easier for the habitants in Tornio to "blame" the habitants in Haparanda for not being more cautious. Yet, the different countries regulations could have been studied further by the habitants through Ainonen's⁸⁵ engagement in the bilingual local website describing the different regulations. Another belief and accusations the habitants gathered was that the transmission of the COVID-19 came from the neighbouring country (Figure 39, p. 71). We want to end these speculations by mentioning the study made of the different control strategies in the Nordic countries and how it affected the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic. Even if Sweden was portrayed as a fairly liberal country in comparison to the other Nordic countries in terms of restrictions, the habitants that were not restricted by the Finnish entry ban, moving across the border, were the ones who brought the virus to Finland. Swedish habitants were not allowed to cross the border without fulfilling the requirements such as a negative COVID-19 result or having relation to the other side (Duchene et al., 2021). The biggest transmissions came in this case either from habitants living in Finland, habitants having a relationship on the other side of the border, or habitants with double residency bearing the virus to the Finnish side. Furthermore, Ajanki⁸⁶ claims that Sweden was the only Nordic country who considered the possible consequences of closing the border in regards to border regions when making the national restrictions. This had an opposite effect, as seen in our survey (Table 11, p. 72), habitants living on the Finnish side of the border crossed the border more frequently, than the habitants living on the Swedish

80 Collective results from our survey and interviews.

81 Mia Lindqvist, Ambassador for HaparandaTornio, interviewed the 11th of October 2021.

82 Bengt Westman, City of Haparanda, interviewed the 5th of October 2021.

83 Jenna Laitinen & Eeva Skybäck, Project managers of Interreg-Nord, interviewed on the 11th of October 2021.

84 Sven Tornberg, Chairman for the City Council in Haparanda, interviewed the 4th of October 2021.

85 Hanna-Leena Ainonen, Cross-border Development Specialist at HaparandaTornio, interviewed the 12th of October 2021.

86 Tuula Ajanki, CEO of the Torne Valley Council, interviewed the 12th of October 2021.

side, due to the border being open, advocating the result from the study made by Duchene et al. (2021).

As mentioned by the youth at Gränsskolan⁸⁷ and as an observation in our survey (Table 12 & 13, p. 73), habitants from Finland tend to seek over the border particularly for shopping because it is cheaper. Ironically the only ones who estimated the conclusion of Finland bringing the transmission to themselves, were the youth from Gränsskolan and the respondents in our survey, who mentioned that Finnish people continually came to Sweden however they wanted, mostly to buy snus, causing the infection rate to rise (Wikstöm, 2020; Duchene et al., 2021). As the youth indicate, the attitudes towards each other in HaparandaTornio have nevertheless changed and everything will go back to normal sooner than later. Maybe it would be comforting acknowledging the youth prediction of the future once again?

The Recovery

The outcome of the border closing will put a mark in the linear fashion of time for the region of HaparandaTornio. As Till (2009, p. 95) designates, there will be an understanding of what has previously happened, but it is important to live in the present and work towards the future instead. Some will choose what they want to remember, because for some, the past can also create unpleasant reflections (Winter, 2010, pp. 4–18). The way the future will portray the border closing will therefore determine how the time during the pandemic will be remembered. The riot fence was placed as a contemporary structure on the border, which was later taken down when the restrictions were discarded to some extent (Folkhälsomyndigheten 2021; Institutet för hälsa och välfärd, 2021). Instead of camouflaging the riot fence existence for good, we believe it could partially be brought back as a public symbol, to highlight what had once happened. As Tuan (1979, pp. 236–244) explains, public symbols of a place allow visitors not only to see but to reflect and spread awareness on the effects, such as a fence,

may have created for the local habitants. We believe the riot fence can in the future be portrayed as a token for the collaboration of HaparandaTornio, and become an intangible cultural heritage of the importance of the collaboration and retaining an open border. Instead of being remembered as a symbol of sorrow and longing, become a symbol of strength and will. The same concept applies for the remains of the Berlin Wall where people have had a chance to make their own assumptions of its existence in the past and its representation in the present day (Fitzpatrick, 2018, pp. 223–227).

When asked in our survey how the cooperation has changed after the border was reopened, with lesser regulations than before, there was a clear division of perceptions of how things were (Figure 40 p. 72). Some said that it feels normal again, but some also mentioned their vigilance of further cooperation and that they may never recover from this. Osborne (1995, p. 42) on the other hand, suggests that the present slowly scrapes away the past and at the same time obliterates the radical future, thus connecting the present away from both the past and the future. It is important to note that time can be freezed in the sense of choosing instances that show the progress of moving forward from the uncertainties of time (Till, 2009, p. 79). We recognise the possibilities for the habitants to share their personal stories of the COVID-19 pandemic if the riot fence would be brought up in the sense of a public symbol. If we do not mark history through the existence of the riot fence, the remembrance of the time would possibly be neglected.

There is a difference in how we approach a closed border both mentally, as photographs will freeze time through certain instances, and physically by putting up a riot fence and guarding it. As Till (2009, pp. 78–79) mentioned the way we illustrate time, through photography will portray time the way we want to remember it. We believe it is important to document this time during the COVID-19 pandemic though the lens of the local habitants. Discussed

87 Gränsskolan, group discussion with the 9th graders, 13th of October 2021.

by Edwards & Hart (2004) it will not only manifest the social relationships between the photographer and their motive, but also capture the history of this time and create a sincere understanding how the habitants of the region were affected. The photographs will render the physical feeling the habitants had when the border was closed. We should not neglect the feelings that arose as shown in Figure 39 (p. 71), instead tackle these emotions together to remember the importance to retain an open border.

Method if the border were to close again

In hindsight, no one could have predicted the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic, which resulted in rapid decisions compelled nationally. During our thesis, interviewees have presented us with different methods on how the cross-border region HaparandaTornio could respond were the border to close again.

Communication

If another recurrence would potentially force the border to close again, Tornberg⁸⁸ and Westman⁸⁹ argue that the number one priority is to inform and educate decision-makers in the corresponding capitals on how cross-border regions are dependent on their neighbouring cities' engagement and collaboration. When such knowledge has been well-advised, national decision-makers would have a broader understanding of the contrasting demands different region's have in Sweden and Finland. Ajanki⁹⁰ supports this by emphasising that the local decision-makers are the experts in regards to the

cross-border region of HaparandaTornio, and the national authorities should consider transmission of information and collaborate with the local authorities. Tornberg⁹¹ mentions the concept of a border passport proposed by Ajanki⁹². The border passport would allow habitants living in the cross-border region to move more unrestrictedly across the border regardless of the situation.

On the other hand, Lindqvist⁹³ would have hoped for the closed border to appear around the region of HaparandaTornio instead of in the middle of "the city". In theory this could be compared prior to the nationalisation of Sweden in the late 1700s by having a tariff fence surrounding the city (Lindberg, 2002; Tornedalens museum, 2021a), which would have in retrospect counteracted HaparandaTornio being split into two. However, on a national aspect, regulating people to move freely across national borders would have raised even further and rather difficult questions of the habitants right to the landscape.

Local attraction and education

To strengthen the local mentality of being a cross-border region, Ainonen⁹⁴ mentions that the "motivation is the core of the cooperation, both from a political and local standpoint". To transform these words into actions the Torne Valley Council have recently applied to the leader project, organised by The Swedish Board of Agriculture, to further develop the opportunities for culture, youth, and language in HaparandaTornio, according to Ajanki⁹⁵. Ainonen⁹⁶ continues by stating that a local university would be of great interest, to not only broaden the local understanding, but also make the area more

88 Sven Tornberg, Chairman for the City Council in Haparanda, interviewed the 4th of October 2021.

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93 Mia Lindqvist, Ambassador for HaparandaTornio, interviewed the 11th of October 2021.

94 Hanna-Leena Ainonen, Cross-border Development Specialist at HaparandaTornio, interviewed the 12th of October 2021.

95 Tuula Ajanki, CEO of the Torne Valley Council, interviewed the 12th of October 2021.

96 Hanna-Leena Ainonen, Cross-border Development Specialist at HaparandaTornio, interviewed the 12th of October 2021.

attractive. Laitinen and Skybäck⁹⁷ also mention that the timing of the application for the World Heritage site of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Kukkolaforsen is perfect, as the COVID-19 pandemic has distanced the countries from each other. If Kukkolaforsen were to be claimed as a World Heritage site, it would only bring the Torne Valley closer together by the habitants being able to pinpoint something to be proud of historically. We believe that Lindqvist's⁹⁸ role as a local ambassador is of great importance in this matter. Her input in spreading awareness of current events in HaparandaTornio on social media brings a more approachable podium for habitants to participate and discuss. Tornberg⁹⁹ points out that the COVID-19 pandemic extended the nationalistic views towards the people across the border. Having a local "influencer" would only strengthen the importance of sustaining shared meeting places as opportunities for people to come in contact with one another, as it once has been.

Autonomous municipality experiment

Tornberg¹⁰⁰ expressed his aspiration of the Torne Valley. He wishes HaparandaTornio would become an autonomous municipal experiment, which would arguably make it easier for habitants to live in a cross-border region. Yet, due to the lack of transmission of information during the current regulations and national law, relating to work, taxes and school, such an experiment remains debatable. However, the concept of being an autonomous municipality would not be the first time for HaparandaTornio. It can be reflected back to when Tornio was first founded and became known as an important trading and shipping place for northern Sweden and Russia (Joenniemi & Sergunin, 2011, p. 235). The local merchants gained authority and wealth through the local merchandise, and by that

incorporated different laws and regulations for the region to attain a profitable market (Tornedalens museum, 2021; Tornedalskommunernas Historiebokskommitté, 1993, pp. 181–194). The local decision-making distanced the region from its country-side which could be reflected on today's HaparandaTornio's vision of being unconventional from its surroundings. Whether HaparandaTornio would be willing to experiment with the concept of being an autonomous municipality the verdict needs to come cooperatively from the jurisdiction in Stockholm and Helsinki. Tornberg¹⁰¹ points out that the Nordic Council has recognised that there are issues with the national regulations of the everyday life for the habitants living in a cross-border region. These issues are currently being reviewed and discussed by the Nordic Council on how to solve them. The discussion of becoming an autonomous municipality may be raised again.

Participation is key

HaparandaTornio collaboration practices, seen as a top-down approach (Schultz, 2002), has also been demonstrated when discussing the topic of citizen participation in our interviews with the decision-makers. Both Tornberg¹⁰² and Ainonen¹⁰³ admit, the City of Haparanda is lacking in citizen participation, while City of Tornio has a segment on their official website for habitants to share their input. However, Ainonen¹⁰⁴ is planning on including citizen participation in their upcoming action plan, and further development of the joint platform is of interest. Shaw et al (2017) claim that participation can contribute in involving people and groups that may be outside the formal governments and local authorities in decision-making. Laird (1993) asserts that such involvement can strengthen a community and make habitants more aware of the processes of

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the region. Harvey (2009) continues by claiming that there is a collective responsibility to participate. Cooke and Kothari (2001) on the contrary, criticise participation. They mean that participation is used way too lightly with promises of increased autonomy and appropriate development and might lead to injustice, which can translate to more power to the people already in power. Participation thereby involves power, in one way or another, as well as trust, so does the concept of social capital. Bourdieu (1986) also connects power to the concept of social capital, which can be an enhancement factor for the likelihood for habitants to want to participate, which for Harvey (2009) is one of the most valuable liberties, even though the most neglected, or to some extent forgotten. Putnam (2001) also argues that people in power may use social capital to gain benefit for a specific interest group. This is where trust occurs. Coleman (2000) claims that "an individual trusts if he or she voluntarily places resources at the disposal of another party without any legal commitment from the latter, but with the expectation that the act of trust will pay off". Therefore trust depends on people's knowledge, motivation and belief. Putnam (2001, p. 319) argues that "when trust and social networks flourish, individuals, firms, neighborhoods and even nations prosper" which makes social capital thrive. Putnam (2001) also claims that bridging social capital between border towns, such as HaparandaTornio, can foster better information and knowledge in between. To avoid participation leading to injustice, one should look at participation as a process, where local cultures create their own unique environment through negotiating meanings and values by different groups (Jones, 2011; White, 1999, p. 17), where the main collective needs are freedom, dignity and equal rights. It may even be argued that the participation needs to originate from the habitants themselves, as a bottom-up approach (Panda, 2007), with encouragement from the decision-makers by them setting an example. Supposing the participation develops from a top-down manner, it is of importance that there is no underlying motive of implementing participation.

Since, with great power comes great responsibility.

We propose further examination of having future reoccurring dialogues with the local habitants. As a results of this thesis, it has been revealed that the perception towards the neighbouring country has changed due to the extraordinary situation of the COVID-19 pandemic (Figure 39, p. 71). The top-down approach often excludes citizen participation (Butler et al., 2015), even though involving the habitants is exactly what is needed to strengthen the mentality of appreciating the cross-border collaboration. To create a platform where habitants have a place to utter their thoughts, in their own mother tongue, could endure trust once again (Coleman, 2000). Tornberg¹⁰⁵ declared that the "dislike" towards the neighbouring country is nothing new, it has always been assumed that everything "valuable" ends up in the other country. Imagine having a platform where these questions and thoughts could be raised, and possibly be resolved, even before it becomes a problem. Decision-makers need to be aware of citizens' opinions and hopes. In order not to fail with this, methods for increased citizen participation should be applied, instead of decision-makers having to guess what will perform well. The importance of feeling included as well as having the right to participate in, and influence one's surroundings, should be a priority (White, 1999, p. 17).

If HaparandaTornio would be analysed through Arnstein's (2019) ladder of citizen participation they would end up on stage (3), informing, and (4), consultation, due to no power to the citizen and the one-way movement of information. Assuming HaparandaTornio having a platform for habitants to be heard, stage (5), placation, or even (6), partnership, would be achieved, by negotiation between citizens and decision-makers. This would also support the UN Global Goal Target 16.7. to ensure responsive, inclusive and representative decision-making (UN, 2021a), due to participation being a human right as Harvey (2009) contemplates it.

105 Sven Tornberg, Chairman for the City Council in Haparanda, interviewed the 4th of October 2021.

Reflective section

In the following paragraphs we would like to finish the discussion by pointing out some research implications and reflections that arose when writing this thesis.

Our thesis evoked many thoughts from people within the municipality of Haparanda who showed interest in having an interview with us. This may have caused us to absent discussions with the municipality of Tornio. We acknowledge that the result of this will cause this thesis to have more weight on Haparanda's approach and angle of the cross-border collaboration. If further studies would be in question, there is a wish to discuss additionally with Tornio of their views and beliefs of the collaboration.

When comparing the respondents to statistical data we found that there was a significantly higher level of students participating in our survey than the average rate living in HaparandaTornio. The reason for this was because we had the chance to ask all students from grade 7-9 in Gränsskolan to answer our survey. Furthermore, there was a higher percentage of habitants in Haparanda who answered the survey compared to Tornio's habitants. This illustrates a distorted understanding of the division of population in Haparanda and Tornio. Tornio (21 335 habitants (Tilastokeskus, 2021)) has a larger population than Haparanda (9 601 habitants (SCB, 2020)), and in our survey people from Haparanda have had a higher participation rate than Tornio. This may be due to our failed attempt to access and reach out to more Facebook groups in Tornio.

When using the survey tool Netigate, we noticed that we were not able to filter nor combine answers where the respondents had the possibility to chose multiple choices in a question. For instance, in Table 10 (p. 70), "spoken language", we were not able to access data of how many of our respondents were multilingual. We were only able to compare the data though how many respondents answered each choice.

In our survey we asked the question if there is a certain "we and them"- mentality in HaparandaTornio. This may have caused a preconceived notion for the respondents. Whether this question allowed further deliberation, our question evoked interesting opinions that we wish to have received nevertheless if the question was formulated objectively. Another question we asked was how often the participants cross the border. It remained unclear if the answers we got were thought of in past or present form, in regards to the COVID-19 pandemic. Generally, we had 279 the respondents entering our survey during the 36 days of it being online, demonstrating that there was an interest in the subject itself. Either, the respondents did not have time to participate or felt that the survey was presented with too difficult questions to answer. However, we feel that the outcome of the amount of respondents in our survey was enough to get a perception of respondents experience of the COVID-19 pandemic, and thoughts about living in a cross-border region.

Another thought awoke after the implementation of the survey in regards to habitants participation in the decision-making process of HaparandaTornio. We would have wished to elaborated on this subject further to investigate whether participation is even a desire for the respondents to achieve.

At last we would like to point out that we may have been too optimistic in our observations and in our survey of pointing out that the border has been reopened after the riot fence had been taken down. Many habitants pointed out for us that this is not the case. The border is still seen as closed as long as Rajavartioliitto remains at the border. We would also like to mention that the riot fence has returned at the border since our visit.

10. Conclusion

When the COVID-19 pandemic unfolded in March of 2020, habitants dependent on travelling across the border in relation to work, school, shopping, or kinship, were not only affected by the respective countries restrictions, but also experienced their city being "divided in to two" by a riot fence. Our conclusion shows that there should have been a point of discussion of having regional arrangements when the COVID-19 pandemic unfolded, to avoid segregation and amplifying the "we and them"-mentality for the habitants commuting or living by, the cross-border region. The negative attitude from the habitants towards each other and the cross-border collaboration, may not have been visible when the habitants had access to all joint facilities and activities in both cities before the COVID-19 pandemic. As the border closed, people changed their perception due to the uncertainty of time, and questioned the progressiveness of the collaboration because they did not know what they had until it was gone. It seems that the clear identity differences one perceives have been both strengthened and worsened during the COVID-19 pandemic. This fairly latent mistrust did not just arise from the COVID-19 pandemic, but can be traced back through the history of the region, before the Finnish War, throughout the "Swedification" as a consequence of World War II, until today. Yet, the collaboration has proven to be even more prominent and important to maintain, from a top-down manner, even if it has been difficult to pursue during these demanding times. The collaboration has evolved from being a concept of creating a collective organisation that would support the development of the municipalities' business, education, culture, environmental protection, and municipal technology. Into an aspiration of being an autonomous cross-border municipality. The collaboration has to some extent reached this goal by their cooperative local government, but there has to be a receptiveness from the national decision-makers of further improvement of cross-border collaboration.

It is distinguished that Sweden and Finland do not only have had different views of how the COVID-19 pandemic should have been managed, the habitants

of Haparanda and Tornio may generally have a different mentality. It is important to celebrate the contrasting values and their multilingualism while at the same time maintaining what is Finnish and what is Swedish. This is what brings them closer. Together with their tangible and intangible cultural heritage, the definition of HaparandaTornio's identity as a collaborative cross-border region is strengthened. The tangible cultural heritage of HaparandaTornio has developed through HaparandaTornio's institutionalisation and the intangible cultural heritage emerged through their languages, mentality and traditions. The outcome of the border closing has challenged the preservation of the cultural heritage of HaparandaTornio, due to the heritage being shared and not defined as either individually.

Although our thesis ends here, we hope that this work can create further discussion about the identity of HaparandaTornio. Maybe the identity has always been *one city in two countries*.

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12. Appendix A

Extract from a collection of interview questions performed in HaparandaTornio during the time period 04/10/21- 13/10/21. The interviews were held in Swedish and English.

Opening questions

Kan du börja med att berätta lite om dig själv och din bakgrund?

Can you start by telling us about yourself and your background?

Vad är dina arbetsuppgifter inom Haparanda/ Tornio?
What are your main tasks in Haparanda/ Tornio?

Vad representerar HaparandaTornio för dig?
What does HaparandaTornio represent for you?

Twin City HaparandaTornio

Hur ser samarbetet ut för Haparanda och Torneå? Hur behandlar ni frågor som berör båda städerna?

What does the collaboration look like for Haparanda and Tornio? How do you deal with issues that affect both cities?

Vad har ni för projekt som främjar samarbetet mellan städerna?

Which projects promote cooperation between cities?

Hur fungerar kommunikationen mellan Haparanda och Torneå?

How does the communication between Haparanda and Tornio work?

Hur förmedlar ni information som berör invånarna i både Haparanda och Torneå?

How do you convey information that affects the inhabitants of both Haparanda and Tornio?

Interreg-Nord

Kan ni berätta om några Interreg- Nord projekt som ni känner har haft en större inverkan på Haparanda och Torneå samarbete?

Can you tell us about some Interreg-Nord projects that you

know have had a greater impact on Haparanda and Tornio cooperation?

Finns det en annan gränsstad ni har samarbetat med som har liknande förutsättningar som HaparandaTornio?

Is there another border town you have collaborated with that has similar conditions as HaparandaTornio?

Citizens participation

Hur bemöter Haparanda stad medborgarinitiativ?

How does the city of Haparanda respond to citizens' initiatives?

Hur bemöter ni medborgarinitiativ som gäller HaparandaTornio?

How do you respond to HaparandaTornio citizens' initiatives?

Finns det en plattform där medborgare kan yttra sina tankar, funderingar och idéer kring samarbetet?

Is there a platform where citizens can express their thoughts, reflections and ideas about the collaboration?

Hur känns attityden mellan Haparandabor och Torneåbor?

How is the attitude perceived between Haparanda residents and Tornio residents?

COVID-19 pandemic

Hur fungerade gränskontrollen mellan Haparanda och Torneå innan COVID-19 pandemin?

How did the border control between Haparanda and Tornio work before the COVID-19 pandemic?

När Finland stängde gränsen?

When Finland closed the border?

När Sverige stängde gränsen?

When Sweden closed the border?

När gränsen öppnades 31 Maj 2021?

When the border opened on 31 May 2021?

Hur tycker ni pandemin påverkade kommunikationen samt samarbetet mellan Haparanda och Tornio?

How do you think the pandemic affected the communication

and cooperation between Haparanda and Tornio?

Har det funnits andra tillfällen när ni har varit tvungna att stänga gränsen?

Have there been other occasions when you have had to close the border?

Hur informerar ni invånarna om restriktionerna som gällde för HaparandaTornio bor?

How did you inform the residents about the restrictions that applied to HaparandaTornio-residents?

Fick ni någon kritik från invånarna?

Did you get any criticism from the residents?

Hur bemötte ni de direktiv och restriktioner som kom från Stockholm och Helsingfors? Gav ni någon kritik tillbaka till regeringarna angående gränsstädernas situation under pandemin?

How did you respond to the directives and restrictions that came from Stockholm and Helsinki? Did you return any criticism to the governments regarding the situation of border towns during the pandemic?

Cultural heritage

Hur tycker ni pandemin påverkade kommunikationen samt samarbetet mellan Haparanda och Tornio?

How do you think the pandemic affected the communication and cooperation between Haparanda and Tornio?

Hur arbetar ni med att bevara minoritetsspråket Meänkieli?

How do you work to preserve the Meänkieli minority language?

Hur arbetar ni med att bevara materiella och immateriella kulturarv som representerar HaparandaTornio som en region?

How do you work to preserve the tangible and intangible cultural heritage that represents HaparandaTornio as a region?

Future plans

Har du något förslag på en metod som skulle kunna appliceras för att motverka att gränsen stängs på samma sätt igen?

Do you have any suggestions for a method that could be applied to prevent the border from being closed in the same

way again?

Hur ser framtiden ut för HaparandaTornio enligt dig?

What do you hope the future looks like for HaparandaTornio?

Gränsskolan

Ska vi börja med att gå varvet runt och presentera oss och säga var vi kommer ifrån och en sak ni inte kan leva utan?

Should we start by introducing ourselves, say where you come from, and one thing you can not live without?

Säg rakt ut vad ni tycker är typiskt svenskt/ finskt?

Say straight out what you think is typical Swedish / Finnish?

Säg rakt ut vad ni tycker är typiskt Haparanda/ Tornio?

Say straight out what you think is typical Haparanda / Tornio?

Vad är gemensamt i HaparandaTornio?

What does HaparandaTornio have in common?

Vad är er favoritgrej att göra på andra sidan gränsen?

What is your favourite thing to do on the other side of the border?

Vad är era tankar om att HaparandaTornio är en stad i två länder?

What are your thoughts on HaparandaTornio being one city in two countries?

Hur ofta åker ni över gränsen mellan Haparanda and Tornio?

How often do you cross the border?

Varför korsar du gränsen? och hur korsar ni gränsen, går ni eller åker ni bil eller buss?

What is the main reason you cross the border? How do you cross the border?

Hur påverkade COVID-19 pandemin era liv?

How did the COVID-19 pandemic affect your lives?

Vad var den största skillnaden när gränsen var öppen och när den var stängd?

What was the biggest difference when the border was opened counter closed?

Hur kändes det att korsa gränsen under COVID-19 pandemin?

How did it feel to cross the border during the COVID-19 pandemic?

Vad ser ni framemot att göra när COVID-19 pandemin tar slut?

What do you look forward to do when the COVID-19 pandemic is over?

Vad tycker ni representerar er stad HaparandaTornio? skriv eller rita på papper.

What do you think represents your city HaparandaTornio? write or draw on paper.

13. Appendix B

Extract from our online-survey on Netigate during the time 27/09/2021-11/02/2021.

About you

English: How old are you?

Swedish: Hur gammal är du?

Finnish: Kuinka vanha olet?

- 0-15
- 16-19
- 20-24
- 25-44
- 45-64
- 65+

Gender identity?

Könsidentitet?

Sukupuoli?

- **Woman**
 - Kvinna
 - Nainen
- **Man**
 - Man
 - Mies
- **Other**
 - Annat
 - Muu

What is your highest completed education?

Vad är din högsta avslutade utbildning?

Mikä on korkein suorittamasi koulutus?

- **Elementary school**
 - Grundskola
 - Peruskoulu
- **Upper secondary school**
 - Gymnasium
 - Lukio
- **Post-secondary education**
 - Eftergymnasial yrkeshögskola
 - Opisto-/ Ammattikorkeakoulu tutkinto
- **University**

- Högskoleutbildning
- Yliopisto/ korkeakoulu tutkinto

What is your occupation?

Vad är din sysselsättning?

Mikä kuvaa parhaiten tilannettasi?

- **Employee**
 - Anställd
 - Työsuhteessa
- **Self-employed**
 - Egenföretagare
 - Yrittäjä
- **Unemployed / Jobseeker**
 - Arbetslös/Arbetsökande
 - Työtön / työnhakija
- **Student**
 - Studerande
 - Opiskelija
- **Retired**
 - Pensionär
 - Eläkeläinen

Nationality and language

Here are some questions about your nationality and which language / languages you speak.

Här följer några frågor om din nationalitet och vilket/vilka språk du talar.

Tässä on pari kysymyksiä kansallisuudestasi ja mitä kieltä / kieliä puhut.

Where do you live?

Var bor du?

Missä asut?

- **Sweden**
 - Svergie
 - Ruotsissa
- **Finland**
 - Finland
 - Suomessa
- **Other**
 - Annat
 - Muu

What is your nationality?

Vilken nationalitet har du?

Mikä on kansallisuutesi?

- **Swedish**
 - Svensk
 - Ruotsalainen
- **Finnish**
 - Finsk
 - Suomalainen
- **Swedish and Finnish**
 - Svensk och Finsk
 - Ruotsin ja Suomen kansalainen
- **Other (answer below)**
 - Annat
 - Muu

Are you...?

Är du...?

Tunnetko olevasi eniten ... ?

- **Swedish**
 - Svensk
 - Ruotsalainen
- **Finnish**
 - Finsk
 - Suomalainen
- **Torne Valley inhabitant**
 - Tornedaling
 - Tornionjokilaaksolainen
- **Finnish Swede**
 - Finlandsvensk
 - Suomenruotsalainen
- **Swedish Finn**
 - Svensk finländare
 - Ruotsinsuomalainen
- **Other (answer below)**
 - Annat
 - Muu

Which language / languages do you speak?

Vilket/Vilka språk talar du?

Mitä kieltä / kieliä puhut?

- **Swedish**
 - Svenska
 - Ruotsia
- **Finnish**

- Finska
- Suomea

- **Meänkieli**
 - Meänkieli
 - Meänkieli

- **English**
 - Engelska
 - Englanti

- **Other (answer below)**
 - Annat
 - Muu

The border

Here are some questions about your approach to the border between Haparanda and Tornio.

Här följer några frågor om hur du förhåller dig till gränsen mellan Haparanda och Torneå.

Tässä muutamia kysymyksiä, miten suhtaudut Haaparannan ja Tornion rajaan.

How often do you cross the border?

Hur ofta korsar du gränsen?

Kuinka usein ylität rajan?

- **At least once a day**
 - Minst en gång om dagen
 - Vähintään kerran päivässä
- **At least once a week**
 - Minst en gång i veckan
 - Vähintään kerran viikossa
- **At least once a month**
 - Minst en gång i månaden
 - Vähintään kerran kuukaudessa
- **At least once every six months**
 - Minst en gång i halvåret
 - Vähintään kerran puolessa vuodessa
- **At least once a year**
 - Minst en gång per år
 - Vähintään kerran vuodessa
- **Less than once a year**
 - Mindre än en gång per år
 - Vähemmän kun kerran vuodessa
- **I have never crossed the border**
 - Har aldrig korsat gränsen
 - En ole koskaan ylittänyt rajan

What is the main reason you cross the border?

Vad är den huvudsakliga anledningen till att du korsar gränsen?

Mikä on ensisijainen syy, miksi ylität rajan?

- **Work**
 - Arbete
 - Työ
- **School**
 - Skola
 - Koulu
- **Visit family**
 - Besöka familj
 - Vierailu perheen luona
- **Visit friends**
 - Besöka vänner
 - Vierailu ystävien luona
- **Shopping**
 - Shoppa
 - Kauppa-asiointi
- **Buy a cheaper product / merchandise**
 - Handla en billigare vara/produkt
 - Ostaa halvempaa tuotetta / tuotteita
- **Hobby**
 - Hobby
 - Harrastus
- **Involvement in local organisations**
 - Engagemang i lokala organisationer
 - Osallistuminen paikallisiin järjestöihin
- **Other (answer below)**
 - Annat
 - Muu

About the border - attitudes

Here are some questions about your attitudes and opinions regarding the border between Haparanda and Tornio.

Här följer några frågor om dina attityder, inställningar och åsikter angående gränsen mellan Haparanda och Torneå.

Tässä muutamia kysymyksiä ajatuksistasi ja mielipiteistäsi Haaparannan ja Tornion välisestä rajasta.

Is there a "we and them"-mentality?

(for example between nationalities, languages or between Haparanda residents and Tornio residents)

Finns det en "vi och dom"-mentalitet? (exempelvis mellan

nationaliteter, språk eller mellan Haparanda-bor och Torneå-bor)

Onko olemassa "me ja he" ajattelutapa? (esimerkiksi kansallisuuksien, kielten tai Haaparannan ja Tornion asukkaiden välillä)

- **Yes**
 - Ja
 - Kyllä
- **No**
 - Nej
 - Ei
- **I don't know**
 - Jag vet inte
 - En tiedä

If you answered yes, what do you think is the reason for this mentality?

Om ja, vad är anledningen till denna mentalitet enligt dig?

Jos vastasit kyllä, mikä on syy tähän ajattelutapaan?

What tangible (physical) things, such as buildings, characteristic landscapes, art and other physical objects, unite HaparandaTornio?

Vilka materiella (fysiska) saker, som till exempel byggnader, kännetecknande landskap, konst och andra fysiska föremål, förenar HaparandaTornio?

Mitkä aineelliset (konkreettiset, fyysiset) asiat, kuten rakennukset, tyypilliset maisemat, taide ja muut fyysiset esineet, jotka yhdistävät HaparandaTornion?

What intangible (non-physical) things, such as traditions, values, songs, scents, colors and folk tales, unite HaparandaTornio?

Vilka immateriella (icke fysiska) saker, som till exempel traditioner, värden, sånger, dofter, färger och folksagor, förenar HaparandaTornio?

Mitkä aineettomat (henkiset, ei-fyysiset) asiat, kuten perinteet, arvot, laulut, tuoksut, värit ja kansantarinat, jotka yhdistävät HaparandaTornion?

COVID-19 pandemic

Here are some questions about the COVID-19 pandemic and how it affected you.

Här följer några frågor om Covid-19 pandemin och hur det påverkade dig. Tässä muutamia kysymyksiä Covid-19-

pandemiasta ja siitä, miten se vaikutti sinuun.

Please fill in the following statements:

Vilka påståenden stämmer in på dig:

Miten seuraavat väittämät kuvaavat omaa mielipidettäsi:

- **Completely true**
 - Stämmer helt
 - Täysin samaa mieltä
- **Partly true**
 - Stämmer delvis
 - Osittain samaa mieltä
- **Not entirely true**
 - Stämmer inte helt
 - Osittain eri mieltä
- **Completely not true**
 - Stämmer inte alls
 - Täysin eri mieltä

I work / study on the other side of the border

Jag arbetar/ studerar på andra sidan gränsen

Työskentelen / opiskelen rajan toisella puolella

I have family on the other side of the border

Jag har familj på andra sidan gränsen

Minulla on perheenjäseniä rajan toisella puolella

I have friends on the other side of the border

Jag har vänner på andra sidan gränsen

Minulla on ystäviä rajan toisella puolella

I have a hobby on the other side of the border

Jag har en hobby på andra sidan gränsen

Minulla on harrastuksia rajan toisella puolella

I shop on the other side of the border

Jag handlar på andra sidan gränsen

Minä käyn ostoksilla rajan toisella puolella

I am involved in local organizations on the other side of the border

Jag engagerar mig i lokala organisationer på andra sidan gränsen

Osallistun paikallisiin järjestöihin rajan toisella puolella

I participate in events on the other side of the border (such as concerts, exhibitions, going to the cinema, sporting events,

etc.)

Jag deltar i evenemang på andra sidan gränsen (exempelvis konserter, utställningar, bio, sportevenemang etc.)

Osallistun rajan toisella puolella oleviin tapahtumiin (esim. Konsertit, näyttelyt, elokuva, urheilutapahtumat jne.)

Do you think that HaparandaTornio communicated clear information about border crossings to the inhabitants of the bordering municipalities during the corona pandemic?

Tycker du att HaparandaTornio förmedlade tydlig information kring gränsövergång till invånarna i gränskommunerna under coronapandemin?

Välittkö HaparandaTornio selkeitä tietoja rajanylityksistä rajakuntien asukkaille koronapandemian aikana?

- **Yes**
 - Ja
 - Kyllä
- **No**
 - Nej
 - Ei
- **I do not know**
 - Jag vet inte
 - En tiedä
- **If you answered yes, in what way?**
 - Om ja, på vilket sätt?
 - Jos vastasit kyllä, niin millä tavalla?

Has the cooperation between Haparanda and Tornio been affected during the time the border was closed?

Har samarbetet mellan Haparanda och Torneå påverkats under tiden gränsen var stängd?

Onko Haaparannan ja Tornion välinen yhteistyö vaikuttanut rajan sulkemisaikana?

- **Yes**
 - Ja
 - Kyllä
- **No**
 - Nej
 - Ei
- **I do not know**
 - Jag vet inte
 - En tiedä
- **If you answered yes, in what way?**
 - Om ja, på vilket sätt?
 - Jos vastasit kyllä, niin millä tavalla?

Has the cooperation between Haparanda and Tornio changed after the border has reopened?

Har samarbetet mellan Haparanda och Torneå ändrats efter gränsen har öppnats igen?

Onko Haaparannan ja Tornion yhteistyö muuttunut rajan avautumisen jälkeen?

- **Yes**
 - Ja
 - Kyllä
- **No**
 - Nej
 - Ei
- **I do not know**
 - Jag vet inte
 - En tiedä
- **If you answered yes, in what way?**
 - Om ja, på vilket sätt?
 - Jos vastasit kyllä, niin millä tavalla?

14. Figures - Photographs and illustrations

Figure 1. Maupertuis. (n.d.) ; Green, M. (1919); HaparandaTornio. (2016, 2021); UN. (2021) *Timeline of HaparandaTornio*. <https://www.maupertuis.fi/valiaikainen/koe-maupertuis-n-tornionlaakso/maupertuis-n-tornionlaakso/tornio/> Stupade från Svenska brigaden förs över från Torneå. <https://digitalmuseum.se/021018168731/stupade-fran-svenska-brigaden-fors-over-fran-tornea>

Figure 2. Stenman, L. (2020). *A cross-border band practice, during the pandemic*. [photography]. [2021-11-10]

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Figure 11. Norra Österbottens museum. (n.d.). *One of the oldest photographs presenting the fish sharing in Kukkola*.

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Figure 12. Törnudd. (1865). *Map of Kukkolaforsen*. [photography]. <https://sommarsik.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/se-kukkola-210x297mm.pdf> [2022-01-04]

Figure 13. HaparandaTornio (2016;2021). *HaparandaTornio's joint name, and old and new logo* [illustration]. <https://docplayer.se/8808932-Grafisk-profil-haparandatornio.html> ; <https://haparandatornio.com/> [2021-11-10]

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Figure 18. UNESCO. (2021). *UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage in relation to UN Global Goals* [illustration]. <https://ich.unesco.org/dive/sdg/> [2021-11-01]

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Figure 23. UN (2021). *Target 16.7*. [illustration]. <https://sdgs.un.org/goals> [2021-11-31]

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Figure 31. Westman, B. (2021). *Illustrations of Haparanda 1984 (left) and Tornio 1987 (right)*. [PowerPoint slides] *TornioHaparanda- Kansainvälinen kohtauspaikka* [Personal communication 2021-10-05]

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Figure 35. *Gränsskolan*. (2021). Combined drawings from the group discussion. [drawings]

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One City in Two Countries

Moa Landstedt & Carin Ollinen

Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Alnarp 2022