

PARIBIŲ KULTŪROS



„Valdovo karūnavimas“, 2013, šilkografija, (S/1),
formatas 175 × 175 mm

Crossings and Crosses. Religion and Education in Baltic and Barents Borderlands

THOMAS LUNDÉN

Centre for Baltic and East European Studies,
Södertörn University, Sweden
thomas.lunden@sh.se

The extent and content of boundary barrier functions can be explained by decisions made by the neighbouring states and their implementation on the local level. With the sudden changes of government and governance in 1989–1991 in Eastern and Central Europe, the relation between individual and state changed drastically, from top-down, 'socialist' state-territorially contained relations into a more multidimensional relationship where democratic bottom-up influences plays a more important role, but where also commercial interests, mediated information and supra-state ('international') regulation intervene. In the juxtaposition of territorial states, the difference in jurisdiction between hierarchical levels has led to misfits, asymmetries that negatively impact the possibilities for cross-border co-operation.

Using a cultural trait, that of religion as a measure of internal and cross-border interaction, the following questions were asked: What is the relation between the territorial ("nation") state, civil society and education in border towns? Will the local teaching of religion be influenced by the proximity of a different state with another set of cultural and jurisdictional norms? The questions were approached with examples from the teaching of religion, ethics and civics in northeastern European border areas, involving border twin towns in Norway, Russia, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Poland and Germany. The present study involved four different academic disciplines; the study of religion, education, geography and political science.

Information about the teaching of religion and ethics was made through structured interviews with teachers and principals of selected schools made by assistants fluent in the language(s) of the locality. Questions were also asked about the use of religious and other symbols, the celebration of holidays and other events

The study resulted in a general rejection of the hypotheses. Education, especially related to religion, civics and ethics, is almost completely influenced by the homogeneous territorial jurisdiction of each state. Local civil society plays a minor role in the teaching. Local religious groups are usually not invited to the schools, and parents show little interest in the teaching contents of school life. The existence of cross-border migrants is to some extent taken into consideration in language teaching, but not in civics or religion. While cross-border relations are friendly, they are rarely intense.

Keywords: cross-border relations and cooperation, education, religion, territorial state.

Introduction: Studies of the local impact of international boundaries

„Die Kulturländer Europas erkennen sich so entschieden als Glieder eines Kreises an, in dem der Austausch notwendig ist und wo nebeneinanderliegende Staaten selbst dann auseinander wirken müssen, wenn sie sich feindlich sind, daß sie solche Abschlüßungen nur gegen gefährliche Seuchen verfügen“

The cultural states of Europe definitely recognize each other as members of a circle in which exchange is necessary and where neighbouring states have to work together, even if they are hostile to each other, so that they only use enclosures against dangerous plagues.

Friedrich Ratzel, *Politische Geographie*, 1897¹ (Translation from German: Thomas Lundén)

The explanation for this conspicuous lacuna partly ought to be found in the fact that the subject itself falls into a theoretical boundary area. Sweden's boundaries are of interest beside the geographer also to the historian and the researcher on international law, the statistician and the politician, and a closer analysis of boundaries cannot be dispensed with methods and views from any of these realms of research.

Rudolf Kjellén (1899²) on the lack of boundary studies in the social sciences (translation from Swedish: Thomas Lundén)

Studies of state boundaries³ have a long but problematic history in the social sciences. Ratzel (1897) and Kjellén (1899) analysed the boundary as a measure of the state's coherence and expansion. In the studies of the spatial relation between supply and demand of goods and services carried out by Christaller and Loesch, boundary effects are discussed, but only in passing⁴. After the demise of geopolitics as a recognized part of the social sciences, boundary studies were either pursued as a scrutiny of the legality of territorial demarcations or, in international relations, as a juxtaposition of territorial forces, especially during the Cold War. Studies of local cross-border interaction at peaceful and open boundaries were taken up in the 1960's, mainly as problems of urban planning and local political cooperation in West Central Europe, while perceptions and spatial behaviour of individuals as response to state territorial containment were analysed with examples from USA-Canada and Norway-Sweden⁵. Until the break-up of the Iron Curtain, boundary studies had two divergent focuses: Studies of 'Western' boundaries concentrating on local interaction, and of

3 I use the definition of boundary or border as a line separating independent states.

4 Christaller, W. *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland*, Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1933 [*Central Places in Southern Germany*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice Hall, 1966.]; Loesch, A. *Die räumliche Ordnung der Wirtschaft*. Jena, 1944 [*The economics of location*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954].

5 Reynolds D.R & M.L. McNulty. On the analysis of political boundaries as barriers – a perceptual approach. *The East Lakes Geographer*, Vol. 4, 1968, p. 221–238; Lundén, T *Individens rumsliga beteende i ett gränsområde*. Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, Kulturgeografiska institutionen, 1973.

1 Ratzel, F. *Politische Geographie*, München & Leipzig: Oldenbourg, 1897, Vorwort.

2 Kjellén, R. 'Studier öfver Sveriges politiska gränser', *Ymer*. 1899, 3, p. 283–340.

'Eastern' and 'East-West' boundaries looking at state to state relations.

With the fall of top-down state monopolies called 'Socialist' or 'Communist', the 'absolute' boundaries were partly dismantled, and the field was open for a merge and development of the two 'schools' of boundary studies⁶. The political change thus created a need for a more theoretically coherent view of the role of the boundary and its impact on social behaviour, including its spatial aspects. But the need for coherent theories also applies to the pre-'fall of the Wall' situation. The 'East-West' dichotomy actually was a 'rainbow' of different relations between state, market and individual, and good social science theory should encompass and explain different mixtures of the political, economic, social, spatial and time.

The extent and content of boundary barrier functions can in turn be explained by decisions made by the neighbouring states and their implementation on the local level. We have here a case of what James Rosenau calls *linkage politics*⁷. There is also a feedback from local individual behaviour (or the wishes for such behaviour), either through voting behaviour and public opinion, in Hirschman's terms 'voice' (in open societies) or through 'exit'⁸ which may take different forms, e.g. flight, trafficking, illicit

crossing etc. With the sudden changes of government and governance in 1989–1991 in Eastern and Central Europe, the relation between individual and state changed drastically, from top-down, 'socialist' state-territorially contained relations into a more multidimensional relationship where democratic bottom-up influences plays a more important role, but where also commercial interests, mediated information and supra-state ('international') regulation intervene.

In the Scandinavian and North American examples, two rather similar states (politically and culturally) form the boundary. In 21st century Europe this is not always the case. The independent territorial state is only one level in a hierarchy of administrative levels, each one with a specified jurisdiction⁹. Fall speaks of a new Medievalism, meaning the re-appearance of conglomerate states, including also formal and informal regionalism, autonomous areas etc. now characterising even 'ordinary' states in Europe¹⁰. In the juxtaposition of territorial states, this difference in jurisdiction between hierarchical levels has led to misfits, hierarchical asymmetries¹¹ that negatively impact the possibilities for cross-border co-operation.

6 Kolossov, V. Theoretical limology: new analytical approaches. *Crossing the border. Boundary relations in a changing Europe*, editor T. Lundén. Baltic and East European Studies 9, Södertörn University College, Eslöv: Gondolin, 2006, p. 15–35.

7 Rosenau, J. N. *Linkage politics*. New York: The Free Press, 1969.

8 Hirschman, A. *Exit, voice and loyalty*. Boston, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970.

9 Abbott, A., *The system of professions: An essay on the division of labor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

10 Fall, J. *Drawing the Line. Nature, Hybridity and Politics in Transboundary Spaces*. Williston: Ashgate, 2005.

11 Lundén, T. Valga-Valka, Narva-Ivangorod. Estonia's divided border cities. Co-operation and conflict within and beyond the EU, *Conflict and Cooperation in Divided Towns and Cities*, editor J. Jańczak. Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2009, p. 133–149.

In an area divided between two sets of domains with different hierarchies and different jurisdictions, the individual's action space is a landscape of unevenness, influenced by political, economic, social, cultural, religious and linguistic factors. In the Barents-Baltic borderlands, historical factors of forced migration and changing regimes influence people's spatial action and attitudes.

When analysing border behaviour, the impact of the media, formal education (e.g. 'national myths' in history, geography and religion) and of formal and informal networks must be taken into consideration. Lately, border-related narratives have been a favourite object of political geographers¹²), but it can be questioned to what an extent such narratives influence border behaviour in relation to other incentives. Several scholars have suggested expanding the border research to non-territorial spheres¹³. In our study area, as in many other boundary areas, different borders, territorial, social and cultural, coincide, but there are also examples of locations where there is an overlap of one or many indications. A study of the local impact of international boundaries must thus include several levels of inquiry and viewpoints from different academic disciplines.

12 See e. g. Paasi, A., *Territory, boundaries and consciousness*. New York: Wiley, 1996.

13 Barth, F., *Ethnic groups and boundaries. The social organization of cultural difference*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969, Migdal Joel S.: *Boundaries and Belonging: States and Societies in the Struggle to Shape Identities and Local Practices*, Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2004; Brunet-Jailly, E. Theorizing borders. An international perspective. *Geopolitics*, Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 633–649.

Research questions

Using a cultural trait, that of religion, as a measure of internal and cross-border interaction, the following questions were asked: What is the relation between the territorial ("nation") state, civil society and education in border towns? Will the local teaching of religion be influenced by the proximity of a different state with another set of cultural and jurisdictional norms? The questions will be approached with examples from the teaching of religion, ethics and civics in northeastern European border areas.

A multi-disciplinary approach

As pointed out already by Kjellén¹⁴, border studies involve a number of different academic disciplines, actually many more than those mentioned by Kjellén. The present study involved four different academic disciplines; the study of religion, education, geography and political science:

"Religion is a collection of cultural systems, belief systems, and worldviews that establishes symbols that relate humanity to spirituality and moral values" (based on Clifford Geertz, 1973¹⁵). Religions are "value-laden narratives and behaviours that bind people to their objectives, to each other, and to non-empirical claims and beings" (Gavin Flood, 1999¹⁶)

"Education in the largest sense is any act or experience that has a formative ef-

14 Kjellén, R., 1899, op. cit.

15 Geertz, C. Religion as a cultural system, in *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

16 Flood, G. *Beyond phenomenology: rethinking the study of religion*. London: Cassell, 1999, p. 47, 50–51.

fect on the mind, character, or physical ability of an individual. In its technical sense, education is the process by which society deliberately transmits its accumulated knowledge, skills, and values from one generation to another” (John Dewey, 1916¹⁷)

The discipline of geography has been defined as “to place objects and phenomena into the common space from which they have been disconnected and study their mutual relations” (Richard Sandler 1908¹⁸), or ...the science of the ...distribution phenomena on the surface of the earth. (Sten De Geer, 1923¹⁹) or “the study of struggles over power of the entry of phenomena and events into space and time” (Torsten Hägerstrand, 1986²⁰).

The aim of political science is...focusing on ‘the behaviour or set of interactions through which authoritative allocations (or binding decisions) are made and implemented for a society’ (David Easton, 1968²¹).

While each discipline has a special focus on one part of the process, from the spatial situation of the border locations (geography), the regulation of education

(political science), the local status of religion (study of religion) and its teaching (education), our aim has been to present a comprehensive explanation of the specificity of teaching and religion and its combination in each location. The selection of twin cities around the Baltic-Barents brim was made in order to catch different juxtapositions of religion and political regulation. Some examples of border situations with the same dominant religion but other cultural differences will also be discussed.

Information about the teaching of religion and ethics was made through structured interviews with teachers and principals of selected schools made by assistants fluent in the language(s) of the locality. Questions were also asked about the use of religious and other symbols, the celebration of holidays and other events²².

What influences the socio-political landscape?

The spatial configuration of artefacts, individuals and values at a given moment is a result of different factors, all within the limits of time and space. *Nature*, defined as the physical form of the landscape, is a playground of different resistance to movements and infrastructural investments. The *demography* of the area involves the distribution and repartition of population. *Technology* includes infrastructural arrangements, housing and created facilities.

17 Dewey, J. *Democracy and Education*. New York: The Free Press, 1916/1944.

18 Cited in Godlund, S. *Nära och fjärran – en studie av Arnold Norind som geograf*. Lund: Supplement Svensk Geografisk Årsbok, 2009, p. 85.

19 De Geer, S. On the Definition, Method and Classification of Geography. *Geografiska Annaler*, 1923, Vol. 5, p. 1–37.

20 Hägerstrand, T. Decentralization and Radio Broadcasting: on the ‘possibility space’ of a communication technology. *European Journal of Communication*, 1986, Vol. 1, p. 7–26.

21 Easton, D. Political science. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 12, edited by D. L. Sills, New York: Macmillan, 1968, p. 282–298.

22 Berglund, J. Religious education on the borders. *Crossings and crosses. Borders, educations and religions in Northern Europe*, eds. J. Berglund, T. Lundén, Sandler, P. Strandbrink, Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015, p. 110–111.

The *market* is the system of economic transactions and in principle boundless but affected by transaction costs like transport and handling. The *authority* system, on the other hand, is territorially bounded. *Value* systems including religion, like the commodity market, have no distinct boundaries, but are influenced by political regulation. All these factors are mediated by *communication*, where the *language* spoken and used in media has a special impact.

The *border* between two independent states is a line of cessation. Certain conditions on one side are equally valid over the state territory. This also means structuring and direction, e. g. of infrastructural arrangements. Even at an open boundary there is a delimitation of the action space of inhabitants, e. g. through the border gates and through restrictions on movement of non-citizens. The border is also marked through symbolification, the use of flags, statues and the formalization of language in road signs etc. often with a direct or indirect religious connotation²³.

The state, the market, values and the individual at the border

To the individual the border marks a juxtaposition of a ubiquitous intra-state relation and trans-boundary nearness. Most domestic citizens of a state are in some ways indoctrinated into the history, geography and values of the “homeland”. Karl W.

Deutsch has pointed at the communicative role of the state in making a nation out of a territorially bounded population²⁴ and Brubaker (1996²⁵) mentions the “nationalizing state”, aiming at forming a value system shared by an overwhelming majority of the territorial population. An effective nationalizing policy thus creates internal homogeneity in certain respects, and as a corollary, an abrupt “value change” at the border towards the neighbouring states. The World Value System study²⁶ indicates fundamental differences between some of the states around the Baltic Sea, with the Scandinavian Lutheran states (including Finland) at one extreme (secular and individually confident) and Poland (religious and group-oriented) at the other, with the former Soviet republics of the Baltic being secular but with low values for individual confidence.

While the influence of the territorial state is strong and often taken for granted, the border dweller lives near another set of “taken-for-grantedness”, that of the neighbouring state. To what extent this has any impact is of course depending on

23 Lundén, T. Religious Symbols as Boundary Markers in Physical Landscapes. An Aspect of Human Geography. *De-Bordering, Re-Bordering and Symbols on the European Boundaries*, edited by J. Janczak. Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2011, p. 9–19.

24 Deutsch, K.W. *Nationalism and social communication*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1953.

25 Brubaker, Rogers. *Nationalism reframed. Nationhood and the National Question in the new Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

26 Inglehart, R. and Welzel, Ch. *Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy. The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press, 2005; Halman, L. and Luijkx, R. The impact of religion on moral orientations: Evidence from the European values study, *Religion, democratic values and political conflict*, edited by Y. Esmer, H.-D. Klingemann and B. Puranen, 23–43. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Psychologia et Sociologia Religionum 23, Uppsala, 2009.

the openness of the border, the extent of overlapping ethnicity and language, and the formal relations between the neighbouring states. While the political system has, with a few exceptions, no trans-border overlapping, the economic market has no borders, only political regulations of prices and supplies. Differences in the market regulation, in combination with a relatively boundary openness, usually leads to trans-boundary market interaction. To what extent this in turn leads to a more general contact pattern among individuals, depends on local social demographic and political factors, as will be discussed below.

In order to extend the individual reach, Society, whether informal or formal, provides access to human resources through social organization. In the words of Hägerstrand²⁷; “Every large group of human beings is subjected to a tension between two principles of integration we may conveniently call the *territorial* and the *functional* modes...In the territorial mode of integration nearness is the supreme category and therefore thinking, loyalty and action become highly place-bound. Conflicts arise across geographical boundaries between neighbouring groups.”

In the small villages of traditional societies, neighbourhood relations were necessary to do the chores, often specialised to different categories of gender, age and status.

However, in the functional mode of integration “... *similarity* is the supreme

category. Thinking, loyalty and action become of a ‘non-place’ kind and unite what is similar in function over wide geographical areas. Critical boundaries emerge between interest groups, whether these are made up of subsets of the population or of professionals in competing sectors”.

We can exemplify by the academia, and its subsets of disciplines, forming worldwide networks of specialists that only meet their peers at conferences in places (or “non-places”) they hardly knew existed before. Even in the local village, the laws and regulations of the state, represented by the clergyman, the surveyor or the county governor represented another use of space, a dichotomised or digital division into areas of rights and non-rights, ownership territories in a hierarchy with the state on top. So in a way the functional principle is non-spatial, but it is almost always *bounded*. At the boundary there is often a misfit between the territorial principle according to which nearness matters, and the functional principle which divides this nearness into two territories, formally only related through the upward hierarchy of the respective state and by lateral contacts between the capitals, or perhaps at an even higher level, e. g. the European Union. This can be understood as a spatial interpretation of Tönnies’ *Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft* dichotomy²⁸. Webber makes a distinction between the “urban place and the non-place urban realm”, where in the first case “unity comes from interdependencies that arise among groups when they pursue their

27 Hägerstrand, T. Decentralization and Radio Broadcasting: on the ‘possibility space’ of a communication technology”. *European Journal of Communication*, Vol. 1, 1986, p. 7–26.

28 Tönnies, Ferdinand. *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Abhandlung des Communismus und des Sozialismus als empirische Kulturformen*. Leipzig, 1887.

various group interests *at a common place*²⁹. We can also note the relative similarities between, on the one hand the nearness economic (house holding), territorial and Gemeinschaft principles, and on the other, the non-spatial functional, authoritative (political) and Gesellschaft principles.

In reality, and across the ages, both principles of socio-economic organisation have existed, but the nearness principle, has, through the development of technology (in a materialist interpretation) decreased in importance in relation to the functional principle. But the relationship is intricate. Specialization of roles has been made possible through the increased reach, but e. g. household activities have, through modern technology, made it possible to live one's life within the confinement of one apartment or prison cell, being served from outside, whereas in earlier times the individual or family had to extend its activities outside of the home in order to gain a livelihood.

Border towns in the Baltic-Barents brim

For the project *Teaching Religion and Thinking Education in the Baltic-Barents Brim* (TRATEBBB), financed by the Foundation for Baltic and East European Studies at Södertörn University, a number of border towns in the area were selected. The idea was to compare the teaching of religion and civics in pairs of towns located at each side of an international border, and in states of

different regulation of religion, language and other forms of culture. The selection also had to take into consideration the different spatial settings ("geography") and social political development ("history") of each pair. In some cases, earlier research was used to determine the selection. The towns chosen were³⁰

Bjørnevatn, Norway is a suburb of Kirkenes, centre of Sør-Varanger commune (c. 10 000 inhabitants) in the north-easternmost area of Norway. Bjørnevatn is a mining community with around 5000 inhabitants, located at about 5 kilometres by road from the border to Russia. The settlement mainly consists of detached wooden houses, with a small shopping centre. The distance to Kirkenes is circa 5 kilometres. The population is mainly ethnically Norwegian with assimilated minorities of autochthonous Sámi and Kvens (early immigrants of Finnish origin) plus recent immigrants from Russia. The state church of Norway (Lutheran Protestant) is relatively strong, but there are also protestant 'free churches' and, with the Russian immigrants, some activities related to the Orthodox faith.

Zapolyarnye, Russia, is a mining community within the municipality of Pechenga situated around 70 kilometres by road from the Norwegian boundary and 150 kilometres from the major city of Murmansk. The settlement consists of multi-storey slabs forming a dense habitation. The

29 Webber, Melvin. The urban place and the non-place urban realm. *Explorations into urban structure*, edited by Melvin Webber, p. 79–153. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964.

30 Lundén, T. Society, proximity and education on the border, *Crossings and crosses. Borders, educations and religions in Northern Europe*, J. Berglund, T. Lundén P. Strandbrink, Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015, p. 183–185.

population (c. 15 000) is overwhelmingly ethnically Russian, with minorities of other Soviet nationalities. While mostly secular, the population is also related to the Orthodox faith, and there are a few small Protestant free churches. Between Zapolyarnye and the Norwegian border station there is another mining community, that of Nikel'.

Imatra, Finland consists of three separate settlements around the hydroelectric power station of the Imatra waterfalls, located around 7 kilometres from the Russian border station. The settlement pattern is varied, with shopping and administrative facilities near the centre. The population (c. 28 000) is Finnish speaking Finns with a minority of immigrant Russians. There are several protestant churches belonging to the state church as well as an Orthodox church (together with Lutheran Protestantism a state religion of Finland).

Svetogorsk, Russia is located almost directly on the Russian side of the border. Before World War II it was located in Finland, called Enso and functionally constituted the fourth settlement of the Imatra agglomeration. Its population was evacuated westwards as a result of the boundary change. The main industry of Svetogorsk is a large pulp mill; the settlement is dominated by multi-storey slabs but also includes smaller housing, some possibly dating back to the Finnish era (Zimin et al. 2013). The population (c. 16 000) is ethnically Russian with small minorities of other Soviet ethnic groups. While mostly secular, the population has a historical relation to the Orthodox Church, and there are small congregations of other (mainly Protestant) denominations.

Valga, Estonia, and **Valka**, Latvia, were originally one town, a railway junction in imperial Russia divided in 1920 between Estonia and Latvia mainly according to ethnic definitions, with a formal but insignificant boundary between the two Soviet republics in 1944–1991, then made an international boundary and finally included in the Schengen agreement in 2007, making the boundary open while still dividing the settlement into two states. With a few exceptions in the centre(s), both towns consist of detached one-family housing. The population (15 000 in Valga, c. 7000 in Valka) is ethnically Estonian and Latvian respectively, mostly secular Lutherans, with a significant minority of Russian speakers (secular and Orthodox) in both towns. There are Lutheran Protestant but also Catholic and Orthodox churches on each side³¹.

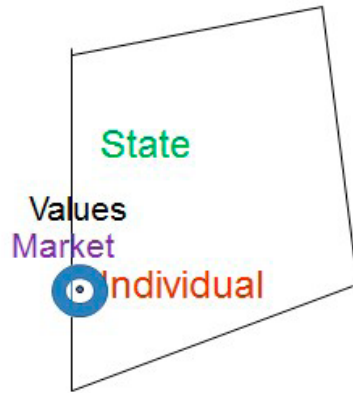
Świnoujście, Poland, is a town situated on the eastern periphery of the island of Uznam/Usedom with a smaller suburban area on the eastern side of the Świno River. While mainly multi-storey residential, Świnoujście also includes an area of villas dating back to the time before 1945 when the area belonged to Germany³². The population (c. 41 000) is almost 100% ethnically Polish with the exception of some people of

³¹ Lundén, T. Valga-Valka, Narva-Ivangorod. Estonia's divided border cities. Co-operation and conflict within and beyond the EU. *Conflict and Cooperation in Divided Towns and Cities*, edited by J. Jańczak, Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2009, p. 133–149.

³² Lundén, T., Mellbourn, A., Wedel, v. J. and Balogh, P. Balogh. Szczecin. A cross-border center of conflict and cooperation, *Conflict and Cooperation in Divided Towns and Cities*, edited by J. Jańczak, Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2009, p. 110–121.

Belarusian or Ukrainian origin, all assimilated into Polish ethnicity. Catholic faith is grossly dominating, but there is a small Evangelical group plus a Baptist chapel.

Ahlbeck and **Heringsdorf** in Germany directly borders Polish territory at Świnoujście with the mainly vacation settlements of the Usedom beach. Together with Bansin they form the Gemeinde Ostseebad Heringsdorf with c. 9 500 inhabitants. Unlike Świnoujście, most of the housing consists of large villas originally built for rich Berlin vacationers but the residential population live in villas con-



Border towns of the TRATEBBB study. Source: Södertörn University

verted into rented apartments or in a few multi-storey slabs built during the East German regime³³. The population is almost

100% German; mostly secular but with roots mainly in the Evangelical church,

³³ Ohlhorst, D. Institutionelle Raumpartnerschaften zwischen Berlin und Usedom. In *Die neue Nähe*.

Raumpartnerschaften verbinden Kontrasträume, H.-L. Dienel, H.-P. Dallach, C. Schröder (Hg.). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004, p. 112–122.

but there is also a Catholic church. The two dominant Christian religions on each side, Catholicism in Poland and Evangelical Protestantism on the local German side, both being hierarchically organised, have friendly but weak cross-border contacts with adherents on the other side³⁴.

Beyond the towns chosen for the TRATEBBB study, some other border towns will be discussed, namely Haparanda-Tornio in Sweden-Finland, Narva-Ivangorod in Estonia-Russia, Szczecin in Poland near Germany and Flensburg in Germany at the border of Denmark.

Location and relation of border communities

As will be inferred from the presentations above, the communities chosen for the TRATEBBB project represent very different locations, in respect to natural and cultural (humanly created) conditions, but also in terms of their relation to the trans-border twin community.

Valga and Valka represent one extreme, in being in essence one town; divided by a boundary that most of its existence was of no or little physical hindrance to traffic and contacts. Świnoujście is to Heringdorf and particularly Ahlbeck within walking distance, without any physical obstacle and in some very restricted ways it represents their urban centre, whereas access to the Polish mainland is restricted by ferry transport. Imatra and Svetogorsk

Border relations	
Kirkenes – Zapolyarnye	Passport and visa, border controls, special permits for local residents, restrictions on movement, Russian immigrants in Norway
Imatra – Svetogorsk	Passport and visa, border controls, only vehicles, Russian immigrants in Finland
Valga – Valka	Schengen openness, occasional controls, Russian/Soviet immigrants on both sides
Ahlbeck – Świnoujście	Schengen openness, little overlapping ethnicity, summer tourism mainly into Poland from Germany.

represent 3+1 settlements once forming a loose industrial agglomeration within Finland, but now the Russian town is clearly separated from the Finnish settlements by a non-built-up zone plus the time and formalities-consuming passage across the boundary. Kirkenes/ Bjørnevatn in relation to Zapolyarnye marks the other extreme with a considerable distance of at around 90 kilometres of mostly unpopulated areas, however with one small and one larger settlement (of Nikel, at 60 kms) as *intervening opportunities*³⁵, however with little opportunities to offer. This is also the case of Zapolyarnye itself, the real opportunity in terms of supplies and culture being Murmansk with approximately 400 000 inhabitants at a road distance of 240 kilometres from the Norwegian boundary. Kirkenes shares with Imatra

34 Wedel, V., Good, J. Neighbor Inculturation of Religious Communities in West Pomerania. *Religion in Eastern Europe*, Vol. XXX: 3, (August 2010), p. 25–33.

35 Stouffer, S. Intervening opportunities: A theory related to mobility and distance, *American Sociological Review* 5 (6), 1940, p. 845–867.

the border crossing obstacles, but without the problems of large truck traffic of the Imatra-Svetogorsk border.

In terms of human opportunities the possibilities provided by each pair are, as indicated above, dependent on the wishes and possibilities of their inhabitants. One important factor in the linkage relations is the immigrant population of ethnic Russians (and other Soviet nationalities), particularly women, in Kirkenes and Imatra, often married to local men, and with bi-lingual children. In Valga/Valka the native speakers of Russian seem to form a border-crossing community, but with the increasing pressure to learn and use the respective state languages and to become a citizen, each state has become an integrating factor in spite of an open border. In the German – Polish case there seem to be very little human interaction. The language situation is divided with very little overlapping. In the border area of Szczecin further south there is a movement of Polish people to cheaper housing in small towns in East Germany while many commute for work back into Poland³⁶, but the Germany outskirts of Świnoujście are recreational and housing too expensive to be attractive for Poles. The airport of Heringsdorf is located only a few kilometres from Świnoujście, but is only used for summer vacation traffic to (or rather from,) major centres in southern Germany.

Religion and education in TRATEBBB twins (Berglund 2015³⁷)

Area	Religion	RE-education
Kirkenes, Norway	Lutheran	Integrated Secular-Lutheran
Zapolyarnye, Russia	Orthodox	None (Orthodox church educates teachers)
Imatra, Finland	Lutheran (Orthodox)	Separate, choice of 13 versions
Svetogorsk, Russia	Orthodox	None
Valga, Estonia	Lutheran (Orthodox)	Optional (none)
Valka, Latvia	Lutheran (Orthodox)	Optional (none)
Świnoujście, Poland	Catholic	Confessional
Ahlbeck, Heringsdorf Germany MV	Evangelical (Catholic)	Optional, separate

Looking at religion as a possible denominator for contacts, the incentives are weak. There is some ecumenical work being done in Norway, e.g. to restore the Orthodox Church in Nikel' destroyed by fire, and a small orthodox chapel built in Kirkenes, but cross-denominational interactions seem rather insignificant. In Imatra, the Russian immigrants share the Orthodox faith with some of the domestic population, but while Orthodoxy being a state religion in Finland it deviates on certain aspects from the Russian Orthodoxy, which also influences the teaching of religion³⁸. Formally this is also a problem in Estonian

36 Balogh, P. Sleeping abroad but working at home: Cross-border residential mobility between transnationalism and (re)bordering. *Geografiska Annaler Ser. B.*, 2013, p. 189–204.

37 Berglund, J., op. cit., p. 110–111.

38 Berglund, J. Teaching Orthodox Religious Education on the Border, *British Journal of Religious Education*, 36 (3), 2014, p. 282–297.

Valga (with two Orthodox administrations) but it does not seem to influence daily contacts within or beyond the border.

Pomerania, the border area divided between Poland and Germany like Narva and Valga/Valka have been under geopolitical changes since the end of World War II, but in the Pomerania case a whole resident population was expelled from German areas taken over by Poland. These areas were populated with ethnic Poles but also Belarusians and Ukrainians from eastern pre-War Poland. The remaining German area became part of “The German Democratic Republic”, and in spite of official amicable relations with Socialist Poland, the border area was, with a few years of relative openness, closed for local trans-border interaction. A mainly Evangelical (Lutheran) area was put under a socialist and secular regime, while the socialist regime in Poland reluctantly allowed the Catholic Church. When in 1989–1991 the geopolitical situation changed, the border opened leaving two very different linguistic and religious setups meet.

The Polish-German border thus marks a sharp divide between Catholicism and (rather secularized) Protestantism, but there are small minority groups on each side. While there are some contacts between co-denominations between the two countries local contacts are scarce³⁹. And there seems to be an anxiety of making contacts depending on a feeling of being unpatriotic (Polish Protestants formerly called “Germans”⁴⁰.

39 v Wedel, op. cit.

40 Kossert, A. *Preußen, Deutsche oder Polen? Die Masuren im Spannungsfeld des ethnischen*

In the NGO sphere, there is little if any cross-border cooperation. Local German pensioners were asked about their willingness to cooperate with similar organisations on the Polish side. They were generally positive, provided the contacts were organised and subsidised by somebody else⁴¹. In the Norwegian-Russian case the relationship started – and ended – with a school-twinning project, driven mainly by teacher enthusiasts, involving teacher and pupil cooperation on chosen themes, but due to lack of finance and the retirement of the driving forces, the project ceased in 2012 (Interview with Bjørnevatn teachers, Oct. 15, 2013).

It should of course be mentioned that on the official level there is local trans-border cooperation, involving politicians and municipal officers, and to some extent the general public. This is a learning process, which may result also in informal contacts, but the extent of such contacts seems to be modest⁴². However,

Nationalismus 1870–1956. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002; v Wedel, op. cit., p. 31–31.

41 *Usedom als deutsch-polnische Insel*. Bürgergutachten älterer Menschen der Gemeinde Heringsdorf. Zusammengefasst durch das Nexus Institut für Kooperationsmanagement und Interdisziplinäre Forschung GmbH Dr. Christine von Blanckenburg im Auftrag des Bundesministeriums für Verkehr, Bau und Stadtentwicklung. http://www.nexus-berlin.com/download/09-11-28_BG_Heringsdorf-END.pdf. (2010-08-05).

42 Balogh, P. The outsider advantage. *Journal of Settlements and Spatial Planning*, Vol. 24, No. 6, 2013, p. 93–100, and in Balogh, P. *Perpetual borders. German-Polish cross-border contacts in the Szczecin area*. Stockholm: Meddelanden från Kulturgeografiska institutionen, Nr. 145, Stockholm University, (PhD), 2014.

the example of the formal twinning of Kirkenes with its nearest neighbour Nikel' in Russia is an extreme top-down initiative by the foreign ministries and seem not to trickled down to a feeling of togetherness at an informal group or individual level⁴³. However, in spite of an increasing tension between Norway as a member of NATO and an increasingly inward-looking Russia, the two countries in 2012 decided about a border zone regime enabling local residents' visa-free access⁴⁴.

Education and religion in other Baltic towns

Sweden represents a rather uncontroversial territory. The boundaries of the state were defined in 1809, and with one minor controversy with Norway⁴⁵ have not been contested since then. But the separation of Finland into a Duchy under Russia meant a truncation of a local area of cultural homogeneity, the Torne River Valley inhabited by a Finnish-speaking population, all of the same Protestant religion. In the Lutheran tradition, preaching and teaching was done in the language of the population even on the side remaining in Sweden, but with

increasing state nationalism a period of Swedification of education started in the 1880's, continuing into the 1950's. After a period of denial of the Finnish language a considerable number of Finns from Finland have settled in the town of Haparanda on the Swedish side, and bilingualism is now seen as an asset. In short the bilingual town of Haparanda in monolingual Sweden is now cooperating with the monolingual town of Tornio in the formally bilingual state of Finland. The two towns run a common school with teaching in the two state languages⁴⁶.

In other parts of northern Europe border relations are more complicated. The border town of Narva, Estonia, has a dominant population of Russian speakers, mostly 1st to 3rd generation of immigrants since the occupation and annexation of Estonia by the Soviet Union in 1940. Some inhabitants have attained Estonian citizenship; others have opted for Russian passports while a considerable minority have no citizenship. Most Russian speakers are secular or Orthodox, often in a combination, and new churches have been built in Narva, while the resurrected old Lutheran church is more seen as a historical monument. The Estonian Republic is a "nationalizing state"⁴⁷ aiming at counteracting the Russification of 50 years of Soviet Russian language supremacy through a new curriculum aiming at the "Estonification" of

43 Joenniemi, P. City-planning as local foreign policy: The case of Kirkenes-Nikel'. *University of Tartu, EU-Russia paper*, January 15, 2014.

44 Pettersson, J. *From Boundary to Zone: Ideas of Openness in the Reconstruction of the Norwegian-Russian Border*. Paper presented at the IPSA World Conference of Political Science, Montréal, July 19–24, 2014.

45 Lundén, T. Nordic boundary conflicts in the 20th century. *Border Conflicts in the Contemporary World*, A. Moraczewska, W. Janicki (eds.), Lublin: Maria Curie-Skłodowska University Press, 2014, p. 193–205.

46 Lundén, T. A Turnover in Border Relations: Sweden and its Neighbors in a 100-Year Perspective, 35 – 49 in *Boundaries Revisited. Conceptual Turn in European Border Practices*, ed. Tomasz Brańka and Jarosław Jańczak. Berlin: Logos Verlag.

47 Brubaker, 1996, op. cit.

teaching. The legislation concerning the teaching of religion is, however, rather vague, and the actual demand and use seems insignificant⁴⁸. In the schools in former suburb of Ivangorod on the Russian Federation there is, like in the rest of the country a glorification of the history and geography of Russia. While the Estonification of Narva is slow depending on the scarcity of Estonian teachers and the dominance of Russian media, the Russian speaking population of Estonian Valga and Latvia Valka are being assimilated into the respective languages and cultures of each state through the educational system. This in turn leads to a cleavage between the Russian speakers of each side of the state border⁴⁹.

The German-Danish border area with the city of Flensburg has a long history of boundary changes, language shifts and even ethnic redefinitions⁵⁰. Both sides have a minority of the neighbouring state nationality plus an ethnic group of North Frisians divided in allegiance to the two nation states. While religiously Lutheran Protestantism prevails in all groups, Danishness is more tied to “enlightened” Protestant religion

than Germanness which is religiously divided with Catholicism. After many years of ethnic conflicts, some schools have entered a program of pupil exchange and bilingual teaching in spite of considerable administrative hindrances due to major differences in jurisdiction⁵¹.

South of the Stettin lagoon is a stretch of land border leading to the River border of Oder-Neisse.

On the Polish side lie the major town of Szczecin and a considerably smaller Police, on the German side Löcknitz and Pasewalk, all at a distance of 10–20 kilometres from the border. In Löcknitz, in the eastern part of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern in 1994 reached an agreement with Police about high school education allowing pupils commuting from Police and immigrant Polish to attend the high school and to get diploma valid in both countries. In the Land of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (as mentioned above) teaching of religion is separate according to the wish of parents, but students from Poland have expressed no wish to have separate religion⁵².

Conclusions

In the *Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft* (or proximity/network, territorial/functional) dichotomy, the border communities seem to belong to both, as long as their proximity relations are confined to the state territory. In their network connections they are also closely enmeshed in state territorial

48 Schihalajev, O. Shifting borders in religious teaching in Estonia, *Crossings and crosses. Borders, educations and religions in Northern Europe*, J. Berglund, T. Lundén, P. Strandbrink, Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015, p. 92–98.

49 Zalamans, D. On the margin. Youth in Narva and Valga on the Estonian Border. *Crossing the border: boundary relations in a changing Europe*. Ed. Thomas Lundén, Baltic and East European Studies, 9, Södertörn University College, Eslöv/Gdansk: Gondolin, 2006, p. 103–116.

50 Lundén, T. *On the Boundary. About humans at the end of territory*. Huddinge: Läromedel från Södertörns högskola 2, 2004, p. 199–203.

51 Pedersen, K. M. Den interkulturelle Europaklasse i Tønder og Niebüll, *Pluk*, November, 2009, p. 19–20.

52 Interview with principal Gerhard Scherer, January, 2009.

systems. Their proximity relations across the state border are strictly instrumental and related to economic advantages of border crossing. There are of course exceptions from this rule, particularly in cases where residents of one state (often for instrumental reasons) have moved to locations on the other side of the border. They will then relate to the new territorial situation, more or less integrating into the new environment, while keeping some of their functional/network connections with their former state of residence.

Schools located near an international border actualize the contrast between the state's need for an education attuned to its territory, where location within the country should not inflict on the pupils' life chances within the state territory, and the pupil's need for an education adjusted to situational proximity irrespective of boundaries.

In the planning of the TRETEBBB research project, a hypothesis was formulated that the teaching of religion and civics in schools near an international border would be influenced by the local situation of a different culture in the very proximity of the school. The study resulted in a general rejection of the hypothesis.

Education, especially related to religion, civics and ethics, is almost completely influenced by the homogeneous territorial jurisdiction of each state. Local civil society plays a minor role in the teaching. Local religious groups are usually not invited to the schools, and parents show little interest in the teaching contents of school life. The existence of cross-border migrants is to some extent taken into consideration in language teaching, but not in civics or religion. While cross-border relations are friendly, they are rarely intense.

References

- Abbott, A. *The system of professions: An essay on the division of labor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Balogh, P. Sleeping abroad but working at home: Cross-border residential mobility between transnationalism and (re)bordering. *Geografiska Annaler Ser. B.*, 2013, p. 189–204.
- Balogh, P. The outsider advantage. *Journal of Settlements and Spatial Planning*, Vol. 24, No. 6, 2013, p. 93–100.
- Balogh, P. *Perpetual borders. German-Polish cross-border contacts in the Szczecin area*. Stockholm: Meddelanden från Kulturgeografiska institutionen, Nr. 145, Stockholm University (PhD), 2014.
- Barth, F. *Ethnic groups and boundaries. The social organization of cultural difference*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969.
- Berglund, J. Teaching Orthodox Religious Education on the Border. *British Journal of Religious Education* 36 (3), 2014, p. 282–297.
- Berglund, J. Religious education on the borders. *Crossings and crosses. Borders, educations and religions in Northern Europe*, eds. J. Berglund, T. Lundén P. Strandbrink, Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015, p. 105–122.
- Brubaker, Rogers. *Nationalism reframed. Nationhood and the National Question in the new Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Brunet-Jailly, E. Theorizing borders. An international perspective. *Geopolitics*, Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 633–649.
- Christaller, W. Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland, Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1933 [*Central Places in Southern Germany*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice Hall, 1966.]
- De Geer, S. On the Definition, Method and Classification of Geography. *Geografiska Annaler*, 1923, Vol. 5, p. 1–37.

- Deutsch, K. W. *Nationalism and social communication*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1953.
- Dewey, J. *Democracy and Education*. New York: The Free Press, 1916/1944.
- Easton, D. Political science. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 12, edited by D. L. Sills, New York: Macmillan, 1968, p. 282–298.
- Fall, J. *Drawing the Line. Nature, Hybridity and Politics in Transboundary Spaces*. Williston: Ashgate, 2005.
- Flood, G. *Beyond phenomenology: rethinking the study of religion*. London: Cassell, 1999.
- Geertz, C. Religion as a cultural system, in *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- Godlund, S. *Nära och fjärran – en studie av Arnold Norlind som geograf*. Lund: Supplement Svensk Geografisk Årsbok, 2009.
- Hägerstrand, T. Decentralization and Radio Broadcasting: on the ‘possibility space’ of a communication technology. *European Journal of Communication*, 1986, Vol. 1, p. 7–26.
- Halman, L. and Luijkx, R. “The impact of religion on moral orientations: Evidence from the European values study, *Religion, democratic values and political conflict*, edited by Y. Esmer, H.-D. Klingemann and B. Puranen, 23–43. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Psychologia et Sociologia Religionum, 23, 2009.
- Hirschman, A. *Exit, voice and loyalty*. Boston, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Inglehart, R. and Ch. Welzel. *Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy. The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Joenniemi, P. City-planning as local foreign policy: The case of Kirkenes-Nikel. *University of Tartu, EU-Russia paper*, January 15, 2014.
- Kjellén, R. ‘Studier öfver Sveriges politiska gränser’, *Ymer*, 1899, 3, p. 283–340.
- Kolossov, V. Theoretical limology: new analytical approaches. *Crossing the border. Boundary relations in a changing Europe*, editor T. Lunden, Berlin: Logos, Baltic and East European Studies 9, Södertörn University College, Eslöv: Gondolin, 2006, p. 15–35.
- Kossert, A. *Preußen, Deutsche oder Polen? Die Masuren im Spannungsfeld des ethnischen Nationalismus 1870–1956*. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002.
- Loesch, A. *Die räumliche Ordnung der Wirtschaft*. Jena 1944 [*The economics of location*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954].
- Lundén, T. *Individens rumsliga beteende i ett gränsområde*. Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, Kulturgeografiska institutionen, (PhD), 1973.
- Lundén, T. *On the Boundary. About humans at the end of territory*. Huddinge: Läromedel från Södertörns högskola 2, 2004.
- Lundén, T. Valga-Valka, Narva-Ivangorod. Estonia’s divided border cities. Co-operation and conflict within and beyond the EU. *Conflict and Cooperation in Divided Towns and Cities* edited by J. Jańczak, Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2009, p. 133–149.
- Lundén, T. Religious Symbols as Boundary Markers in Physical Landscapes. An Aspect of Human Geography. *De-Bordering, Re-Bordering and Symbols on the European Boundaries*, edited by J. Jańczak. Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2011, p. 9–19.
- Lundén, T. Nordic boundary conflicts in the 20th century. *Border Conflicts in the Contemporary World*, A. Moraczewska, W. Janicki (eds.), Lublin: Maria Curie-Skłodowska University Press, 2014, p. 193–205.
- Lundén, T. Society, proximity and education on the border. *Crossings and crosses. Borders, educations and religions in Northern Europe*, J. Berglund, T. Lundén, P. Strandbrink, Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015, p. 171–190.
- Lundén, T. A Turnover in Border Relations: Sweden and its Neighbors in a 100-Year Perspective, 35 – 49 in *Boundaries Revisited. Conceptual Turn in European Border Practices*, ed. T. Brańka and J. Jańczak. Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2015.
- Lundén, T. Mellbourn A., Wedel v. J. and Balogh P. Szczecin. A cross-border center of conflict and cooperation, *Conflict and Cooperation in Divided Towns and Cities*, edited by J. Jańczak, Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2009, p. 110–121.
- Migdal, Joel S.: *Boundaries and Belonging: States and Societies in*

- the Struggle to Shape Identities and Local Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Ohlhorst, D. Institutionelle Raumpartnerschaften zwischen Berlin und Usedom. In *Die neue Nähe. Raumpartnerschaften verbinden Kontrasträume*, H. -L. Dienel, H.-P. Dallach, C. Schröder (Hg.). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004, p. 112–122.
- Paasi, A. *Territory, boundaries and consciousness*. New York: Wiley, 1996.
- Pedersen, K. M. 2009. Den interkulturelle Europaklasse i Tønder og Niebüll, *Pluk*, november, 2009, p. 16–20.
- Pettersson, J. *From Boundary to Zone: Ideas of Openness in the Reconstruction of the Norwegian-Russian Border*. Paper presented at the IPSA World Conference of Political Science, Montréal, July, 19–24, 2014.
- Ratzel, F. *Politische Geographie*, München & Leipzig: Oldenbourg, 1897.
- Reynolds, D. R & McNulty, M. L. On the analysis of political boundaries as barriers – a perceptual approach. *The East Lakes Geographer*, Vol. 4, 1968, p. 221–38.
- Rosenau, J. N. *Linkage politics*. New York: The Free Press, 1969.
- Stouffer, S. Intervening opportunities: A theory related to mobility and distance. *American Sociological Review* 5(6), 1940, p. 845–867.
- Schihalajev, O. Shifting borders in religious teaching in Estonia, *Crossings and crosses. Borders, educations and religions in Northern Europe*, J. Berglund, T. Lundén P. Strandbrink, Boston/ Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015, p. 87–104.
- Tönnies, Ferdinand. *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Abhandlung des Communismus und des Sozialismus als empirische Kulturformen*. Leipzig 1887.
- Usedom als deutsch-polnische Insel*. Bürgergutachten älterer Menschen der Gemeinde Heringsdorf. Zusammengefasst durch das Nexus Institut für Kooperationsmanagement und Interdisziplinäre Forschung GmbH Dr. Christine von Blanckenburg im Auftrag des Bundesministeriums für Verkehr, Bau und Stadtentwicklung. <http://www.nexus-berlin.com/>
- download/09-11-28_BG_Heringsdorf_END.pdf). (2010-08-05).
- Webber, Melvin. The urban place and the non-place urban realm. *Explorations into urban structure*, edited by Melwin Webber, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964, p. 79–153.
- v. Wedel, J. Good Neighbor Inculturation of Religious Communities in West Pomerania. *Religion in Eastern Europe*, Vol. XXX: 3, (August 2010), p. 25–33.
- Zalamans, D. On the margin. Youth in Narva and Valga on the Estonian Border. *Crossing the border: boundary relations in a changing Europe*. Ed. T. Lundén, Baltic and East European Studies, 9, Södertörn University College, Eslöv/Gdansk: Gondolin, 2006, p. 103–116.