

**IMPLICATIONS OF BORDERS ON CULTURE AND ECONOMICS**

**INTRODUCTION**

Borders, Economy, Culture

James W. SCOTT

Report on the 1<sup>st</sup> Berlin Border Seminar 2014

Martin BARTHEL

**ARTICLES**

Spirit, Transformation, and Gender in Borderlands: A  
Representative Case Study

Jacob A. WAGGONER

The roles of borders in two Polish films: 'In Heaven  
as it is on Earth' (1996) and 'Yuma' (2012)

Alicja FAJFER

How to enter the Church when the door is closed.  
Language policies in Christian churches in Joensuu in  
the context of a migrant's choice

Tatiana KRIHTOVA

In Search of an Identity for the Polish-Russian Border

Stanislaw K. DOMANIEWSKI

Informal economy and urban spatial changes in the  
border town Baneh. A case study from the Iranian -  
Iraqi border

Mehdi RAZPOUR  
Reza KHEYRODDIN

Political Boundaries, Consumption and Cultural  
Capital: Cross-Border Shopping in Post-socialist  
Slovenia

Polona SITAR



*ISSN (Electronic): 1925-4423*

**INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF  
CONTEMPORARY ECONOMICS AND  
ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCES**

**Implications of Borders on Culture and  
Economics**

**Volume: 6 Special Issue No 1 Year: 2016**

***Edited by Martin Barthel, James W. Scott and  
Cengiz Demir***



*www.ijceas.com*



**INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF  
CONTEMPORARY ECONOMICS AND  
ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCES**

**Editors**

*Prof.Dr. Cengiz Demir, Editor-in-chief,  
Izmir Kâtip Celebi University,  
Faculty of Tourism, Turkey*

*Prof.Dr. Paul Leonard Gallina, Managing Editor,  
Bishop's University  
The Williams School of Business, Canada*

*Assoc.Prof.Dr. Mehmet Emre GÜLER, Managing Editor,  
Izmir Kâtip Celebi University,  
Faculty of Tourism, Turkey*

*Assist.Prof.Dr. Ibrahim GURLER, Managing Editor,  
Gediz University,  
Engineering and Architecture Faculty, Turkey*

*Assist Prof.Dr. Volkan ALTINTAŞ, Managing Editor,  
Izmir Kâtip Celebi University,  
Faculty of Tourism, Turkey*

**Contact Adress**

*Paul Leonard GALLINA, Managing Editor*

*International Journal of Contemporary Economics and  
Administrative Sciences  
Williams School of Business  
Université Bishop's University  
Sherbrooke, Québec J1M 1Z7, CANADA*

*Prof.Dr. Cengiz Demir, Editor-in-chief,*

*International Journal of Contemporary Economics and  
Administrative Sciences  
İzmir Kâtip Celebi University, Faculty Of Tourism  
Ciğli Main Campus, 35620 Balatçık-Ciğli, İzmir/TURKEY*

*E-mail: editor@ijceas.com*

*http://www.ijceas.com*

*ISSN: 1925 - 4423*

*International Journal of Contemporary Economics and Administrative Sciences is a quarterly refereed journal publishing scientific/original research articles. Liability of the articles about academic and language issues belongs to the author(s) of the articles. The articles published in this journal can not be used without giving reference.*

*IJCEAS indexed by [DOAJ](#) (Directory of Open Access Journals), [EBSCO Publishing](#), [Google Scholar](#) (Google Academic Database), [Index Copernicus](#) (A journal indexing, ranking and abstracting service of IC Journals) and [JournalSeek](#) (Genamics JournalSeek categorized database).*

*Cover photo: Border between Germany and Poland, Stadtbrücke Frankfurt (Oder)- Slubice. Author: Martin Barthel.*

International Editorial Advisory Board  
(Alphabetic Order)

<i>Antonis Targoutzidis</i>	<i>Hellenic Institute for Occupational Health and Safety (ELINYAE), Greece</i>
<i>Birgitta Olsson</i>	<i>Stockholm University, Sweden</i>
<i>Carlos E. Frickmann Young</i>	<i>Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro de Economia Industrial, Brazil</i>
<i>Chris Ryan</i>	<i>The University of Waikato, New Zealand</i>
<i>C. Michael Hall</i>	<i>University of Canterbury, New Zealand</i>
<i>David Lamond</i>	<i>David Lamond &amp; Associates, Australia</i>
<i>Francis Lobo</i>	<i>Edith Cowan University, Australia</i>
<i>Haiyan Song</i>	<i>The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong</i>
<i>James Kirkbride</i>	<i>Liverpool John Moores University, UK</i>
<i>John Fletcher.</i>	<i>Bournemouth University, UK</i>
<i>Juergen Gnoth</i>	<i>University of Otago, New Zealand</i>
<i>Joyce Liddle</i>	<i>University of Nottingham, UK</i>
<i>Luiz Moutinho</i>	<i>University of Glasgow, UK</i>
<i>Lydia Makrides</i>	<i>Creative Wellness Solutions, Canada</i>
<i>Martin Barthel</i>	<i>University of Eastern Finland, Finland</i>
<i>Michael R Powers.</i>	<i>Temple University, USA</i>
<i>Mohsen Bahmani-Oskooee</i>	<i>The University of Wisconsin, USA</i>
<i>Pan Jiahua</i>	<i>Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), China</i>
<i>Preslav Dimitrov</i>	<i>South-West University "Neofit Rilski", Bulgaria</i>
<i>Slawomir Magala</i>	<i>Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Netherlands</i>
<i>Thomas N. Garavan</i>	<i>University of Limerick, Ireland</i>
<i>Wesley J. Johnston</i>	<i>Georgia State University, USA</i>
<i>William Gartner</i>	<i>University of Minnesota, USA</i>
<i>Zahir Irani</i>	<i>Brunel University, UK</i>



*INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF  
CONTEMPORARY ECONOMICS AND  
ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCES*

*ISSN: 1925 - 4423*

## **Implications of Borders on Culture and Economics**

**Volume: 6 Special Issue No 1. Year: 2016**

### ***Preface***

Introduction: Borders, Economy, Culture 1  
**James W. SCOTT**

Report on the 1<sup>st</sup> Berlin Border Seminar 2014 4  
**Martin BARTHEL**

### ***Articles***

Spirit, Transformation, and Gender in Borderlands: A Representative Case Study 12  
**Jacob Aaron WAGGONER**

The roles of borders in two Polish films: 'In Heaven as it is on Earth' (1996) 24  
and 'Yuma' (2012)  
**Alicja FAJFER**

How to enter the Church when the door is closed. Language policies in Christian 41  
churches in Joensuu in the context of a migrant's choice  
**Tatiana KRIHTOVA**

In Search of an Identity for the Polish-Russian Border 52  
**Stanislaw K. DOMANIEWSKI**

Informal economy and urban spatial changes in the border town Baneh. 66  
A case study from the Iranian - Iraqi border  
**Mehdi RAZPOUR**  
**Reza KHEYRODDIN**

Political Boundaries, Consumption and Cultural Capital: Cross-Border Shopping 87  
in Post-socialist Slovenia  
**Polona SITAR**

## **INTRODCUTION: BORDERS, ECONOMY, CULTURE**

**James W. SCOTT<sup>1</sup>**

The study of borders has enjoyed something of a renaissance since the new Millennium, reanimating debates about their social, political, economic and cultural significance. More importantly, however, rekindled interest in border studies has opened up possibilities for investigating in greater depth the rationales behind everyday border-making by understanding borders as institutions, processes and symbols. Going beyond exclusively state-centred and territorial paradigms, the present state of debate emphasises that borders are not given, they emerge through socio-political border-making or bordering that takes place within society. Rather than focus strictly on physical borders as formal markers of territoriality, the bordering perspective is about the everyday construction of borders among communities and groups, through ideology, discourses, political institutions, attitudes and agency. Bordering also refers to the interplay between the ordering (of chaos) and border-making. In this way the rationale of borders is basically about creating places and thus a sense of order within space that appears incoherent and unintelligible.

With everyday ‘bordering and ordering’ practices we create and recreate new social-cultural and economic divisions between states, nationally and in urban contexts. As such, it is the process of border-making which brings diverse types of borders within a single frame of analysis. Borders are in this way receiving greater attention as a means to negotiate and manage the complexities of everyday life; the erosion of well-established boundaries (e.g. inner-city vs. suburbs) goes together with the emergence of new lines of differentiation, cleavages, enclosures and splintering. Borders are hence ambiguous phenomena depending on the subjectivity of those who are “within” or “outside” of a specific place and the social practises of

---

<sup>1</sup> Dr. James W. Scott Professor of Regional and Border Studies at the University of Eastern Finland. Director of the Comparative Research Network, Berlin. james.scott@uef.fi

different actors. The notion of bordering also suggests that borders are not only semi-permanent, formal institutions but are also non-finalizable processes.

As the contributors to this special issue indicate, state borders are complex political institutions that transect social spaces not only in administrative but also in cultural, economic and functional. Central to this perspective are multiple interpretations of border significance, border-related elements of identity-formation, socio-cultural and experiential bases for border-defining processes, power relations in society and geopolitical orders, as well as critical analyses of geopolitical discourses. Border studies have also been amenable to the cultural turn in the humanities and social sciences. This is evidenced by a questioning of the essence and the assumed immutability of national identities as well as by challenges to the notion that nation-states might be – out of some civilizational necessity – a permanent feature of the world system.

Furthermore, it is not merely the formal aspect of state borders that we are concerned with. Urban borders are very much about creating a sense of place which can be situational, instrumental and very often both. Borders are an attempt to suggest edges and limits and to construct a degree of order within an ‘unordered’ situation. At the same time such edges and limits often remain fuzzy and indeterminate and thus contentious. Furthermore, borders are always relational because they involve at least two different elements that define each other. Borders are ambivalent, Janus-faced in their simultaneous expression of contact, acceptance, avoidance and exclusion. Borders, in other words, are co-constitutive of differentiation, filtering and control practices, but also of merging, hybridization and border-crossing inventiveness. Borders do not necessarily support an exclusive or absolute use or meaning of space and place, they can also sustain interdependence, negotiation and adaptation. Put in more prosaic terms: a wall is the only place to find a door. Borders are a crucial condition for openness and cooperation. But these can be achieved only through multilevel, multi-sectoral and long-term approaches that involve transformation at the international, national and local levels. This, in turn, demands cultural changes and new kinds of thinking on both sides of any given border.

These tension-laden qualities of borders are intrinsic to the social production of space and it is therefore crucial to bring them back to the heart of the concept of place and place-making. Urban settings are laboratories that offer insights into how borders are created within society in different social, cultural and political circumstances. Borders also link different dimensions of social and individual

identity in ways that render them more legible. It therefore highlights a wider field of social practices and is more sensitive to micro-level processes of border politics and everyday practices.

This issue of IJCEAS reflects important aspects of conceptual change in the study of borders. They emphasise the fact that state borders are not wholly objective categories but are rather important social and cultural resources as well and thus highly subjective as well. The approaches developed in this collection allow us to compare and contrast how different and often contested conceptualisations of state borders (in terms of their political, social, cultural and symbolic significance) resonate in concrete contexts at the level of everyday life.

## **REPORT ON THE 1ST BERLIN BORDER SEMINAR 2014**

**Martin BARTHEL**<sup>1</sup>

At the 9th of November 2014 Berlin celebrated the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall. The celebration contained a 15 kilometer long art installation with 8000 lightened balloons, redrawing the former wall in the cityscape. The so called border of lights marked the most spectacular event celebrating the anniversary. The Berlin based think-tank Comparative Research Network (CRN) organized together with the VERA Centre for Russian and Border studies at the University of Eastern Finland (UEF) and the Dag Hammarskjöld University College for Diplomacy and international relations in Zagreb an academic highlight dedicated to memorize the fall of the wall.

Fig. 1 The art installation during the 25th anniversary of the Fall of the Berlin Wall



---

<sup>1</sup> Martin Barthel, PhD researcher at the University of Eastern Finland, Head of Programme at Comparative Research Network e.V. [mabarthel@comparative-research.net](mailto:mabarthel@comparative-research.net).

The aim of the Berlin Border Seminar is to provide young scholars a forum to discuss their border related research papers with experienced practitioners in the field. The academic discussion was adjoined by excursions which had been concentrated on the history of the Berlin Wall as state and system border, it's visible and invisible marks on the cityscape and current discourses on the border regimes of the European Union.

The keynotes concentrated on different aspects of the 25th Anniversary. Dr. Paul Fryer, from the Department for Geographical Studies at the UEF revisited the field of Soviet studies and emphasized on the reoccurring relevance of the field in the context of the Ukrainian Crisis. Prof. James Scott, director of the Comparative Research Network, spoke about border making as an urban daily practices. He included samples of place making and bordering from Berlin in his presentation. Prof. Ilkka Liikanen, director of VERA, talked about the changing relevance of borders in post-socialistic context. Martin Barthel, Head of Programme at CRN presented a paper on the remaining significance of the Berlin Wall on the identity of the city. Dr. Beatrix Haselsberger of the Vienna University of Technology presented her research on decoding borders.

**Fig. 2** During the keynote of Dr. Paul Fryer



Photo: Ewelina Barthel

The thematic sessions summarized a wide variety of border related topics from different disciplines and geographic areas. Regional case studies had been given by Dr. Reza Kheyroddin and Mehdi Razpour (Iran University of Science and Technology, Teheran) who talked about the Iranian/Iraqi Border region, Mehmonsho Sharifov (University of Bergen), focused on Tajikistan, Lucas Fulgencio (institute of Social Studies, The Hague) on the intra-southern migration between Mozambique and South Africa and Krisztina La-Torre presented a paper on cross-border trade at the Hungarian-Ukrainian border.

**Fig. 3** Paper Presentation of Dr. Fulgencio L. Seda



Photo: Martin Barthel

A special session was dedicated to the border issues within Poland. Ewelina Barthel (Jagiellonian University Kraków) spoke about cross-border commuting in the area of Szczecin. Stanislaw Domaniewski (UEF) presented current issues at the border to Kaliningrad. Jan Smutek (University Szczecin) compared the international cooperation of Polish cities and Alicja Fajfer (UEF) spoke about the linguistic identity of Slavic minorities in Poland. The session on border theory was moderated by Dr. Joni Virkkunen (Head of Research at VERA), he was followed by Miika Raudaskoski (UEF), who presented changing concepts of the Finnish Eastern Border followed by Aaron Waggoner (University of El Paso). His presentation conceptualized religion, gender and development in the context of the global borderlands. Virpi Kaisto (University of Lappeenranta) talked about methods to

study borders from a spatial point of view just before Zvonimir Zavecki (Dag Hammarskjöld) concluded the session with reflections on Mackinders geopolitical viewpoints.

**Fig. 4** Paper Presentation of Alicja Fajfer



Photo: Martin Barthel

The final session was moderated by Dr. Goran Bandov, the vice-dean of the Dag Hammarskjöld University College and was assigned for borders in former Yugoslavia. Polona Sitar (Slovenian Academy of Science and Arts) presented her research on cross-border shopping in former Yugoslavia and Giuseppe Pichecha compared the policies in multiethnic Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

**Fig. 5** The workshop participants during an excursion to the Berlin Wall Memorial



Photo: Martin Barthel

Thanks to the involvement of Prof. Cengiz Demir, chief editor of the International Journal of Contemporary Economic and Administrative Studies (IJCEAS) selected papers are now published in two special issues, concentrating on implications of borders on administration, politics, culture and economics.

The scientific presentations created the academic frame of the seminar. The frame was filled with fruitful discussions and exchanges on the papers but as well thematic excursions along the former wall strip. Visits to the official wall memorial and an exhibition in a former border checkpoint provided a historic overview and hands-on insights on the current memory discourses. A second excursion was dedicated to the current situation of the wall strip. The excursion uncovered socio-economic trends in the city (as segregation and gentrification), the state of the reunification, the importance of the wall for the collective identity of Berlin and last but not least discourses on de- and re-bordering in Europe. Overall more than 30 scholars from 15 countries made the seminar a fruitful event, which will be repeated in 2016. The fall of the wall might be 25 years away, but the remaining impact of the wall was not just felt in the city but as well during the seminar.

**The Scientific Committee:**

Prof. Dr. James W. Scott, University of Eastern Finland, Director of Comparative Research Network e.V,

Prof. Ilkka Liikanen, University of Eastern Finland,

Prof. Goran Bandov, Dag Hammarskjöld University College of International Relations and Diplomacy Zagreb,

Dr. Paul Fryer, University of Eastern Finland,

Dr. Joni Virkunen, University of Eastern Finland,

Dipl. Geo. Martin Barthel, Comparative Research Network e.V.

**Selected publications of participants and keynote speakers:**

Bandov, Goran. 2013. Language Policy of the European Union–Realization of the Multilingual Policy of the EU. *Međunarodne studije*, 13(1), 65-84.

Barthel, Martin. 2015. Ökonomisierung der Grenze - Grenztourismus als Strategie gegen die Krise am Beispiel der polnisch-ukrainischen Grenze. In: Lessenich Stephan (ed.). *Verhandlungen des 37. Kongresses der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie in Trier 2014*.

Brambilla Chiara, Laine Jussi, Scott James, Bocchi Gianluca (ed.). 2015. *Borderscaping: imaginations and practices of Border making*. ASHGATE. Border Regions Series.

Domaniewski, Stanislaw, and Dominika Studzińska. 2016. The Small Border Traffic Zone between Poland and Kaliningrad Region (Russia): The Impact of a Local Visa-Free Border Regime. *Geopolitics*, 1-18.

Fryer, Paul, Nasritdinov, Emil and Satybaldieva, Elmira. 2014. Moving Toward the Brink? Migration in the Kyrgyz Republic. *Central Asian Affairs*, Nr. 1, Vol. 2. 171-198.

Haselsberger, Beatrix. 2014. Decoding borders. Appreciating border impacts on space and people. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 15(4), 505-526.

Haselsberger, Beatrix. 2015. Travelling Planning Educators: The Flow of Planning Knowledge Across Borders. *disP-The Planning Review* 51.4 (2015): 97-102.

Kaisto, V., Brednikova, O., & Malkki, H. 2014. *Cross-Border Citizen Scientists: A Model for Science Education in Border Areas*. LUT Scientific and Expertise Publications-Reports.

Laine, Jussi, Domaniewski, Stanislaw. 2015. A Case for the Coexistence of Security and 'Open' Borders on the Polish-Russian Borderland. *EuroTimes*, Vol. 20. 81-96.

Liikanen Ilkka. 2015. Finland as Political Space within the Russian Empire. In: G. Cliveti & G. Cojocar (ed.) *Basarabia 1812. EDITURA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE*. s. 309-318.

Liikanen Ilkka. 2015. Finland-Russia: Karelia. In: Brunet-Jailly, Emmanuel (ed.) *Border Disputes. A Global Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1.. ABC-CLIO. s. 231-248.

Moayed, Mohammad, Koeyl Salehi, Seyed, Kheyroddin, Reza. 2015. Identification of Effective Components for Creation of Rituals in Public Spaces, Promotion of Social Values & Capital. *International Journal of Science, Technology and Society*. Special Issue: Research and Practice in Architecture and Urban Studies in Developing Countries. Vol. 3, No. 2-1: 81-88.

Scott James, Márton Pete. 2015. *Cross-Border Review 2015 (Annual/Yearbook of the European Institute of Gross-Border Studies)*. Central European Service for Cross-Border Initiatives (CESCI). *Cross-Border Review (Annual/Yearbook of the European Institute of Cross-Border Studies, Esztergom, Hungary) 2015*.

Scott James. 2015. Bordering, Border Politics and Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe. In: Filippo Celata, Raffaella Coletti (ed.) *Neighbourhood Policy and the Construction of the European External Borders*. SPRINGER. *GeoJournal Library* 115. s. 27-44.

Seda, Fulgencio Lucas Muti. 2015. *Border Governance in Mozambique: the Intersection of International Border Controls, Regional Integration and Cross-border Regions*. Diss. Erasmus University.

Seda, Fulgêncio Lucas. 2014. Contradictory meanings of border in Ressano Garcia community. *International Journal of Migration and Border Studies* 1.2 (2014): 154-172.

Sitar, Polona. 2014. Gender, labour and (post) socialism: The integration of women in the public sphere in Socialist Yugoslavia through the perspective of labour. 21st International Conference of Europeanists. Ces.

Sitar, Polona. 2015. "The Right Step towards a Woman's Satisfaction?": Washing Machine as a New Piece of Technology and the Construction of the Role of Women as Housewives in Socialist Slovenia. *Narodna umjetnost: hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku*, 2015, 52. Jg., Nr. 1, S. 143-171.

Smutek Jan. 2014. Szczecin and Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship – declining city and region? Example of impact of transformation on maritime economy and agriculture, In: Madry, C., Dirin, D. *The economic transformation of the cities and regions in the post-communist countries*. Warsaw: Bogucki Wydawnictwo Naukowe. 175-190.

Szalai, Boglarka, & La-Torre, Krisztina. (2016). Comfortably Invisible: The Life of Chinese Migrants Around ‘The Four Tigers Market’ in Budapest. In *Inter-group Relations and Migrant Integration in European Cities* (pp. 69-87). Springer International Publishing.

Virkkunen Joni. 2015. European Migration Crisis and Finland: Borders, Memories and Action. Teoksessa: Riazantsev, Sergey (eds.) *Migration Bridges in Eurasia*. ROSSIJSKAJA AKADEMIJA NAUK. 352-361.

## **SPIRIT, TRANSFORMATION AND GENDER IN BORDERLANDS: A REPRESENTATIVE CASE STUDY**

**Jacob Aaron WAGGONER<sup>1</sup>**

### ***Abstract***

*Questions of “development,” trade, and gender in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands (and globally) have attracted considerable academic attention, and other scholars have examined religious changes, particularly the expansion of evangelical Protestantism, in Latin America. This feminist history represents a fresh attempt to blend these two inquiries, describing Protestant Pentecostal growth and Charismatic Catholic Renewal (CCR) in the central U.S.-Mexico Borderlands during the 1970s and 80s. This preliminary study places these spirit-filled movements in the context of gendered socioeconomic change and the declining influence of Vatican II. Interviews, church documents, and newspapers show that while Social Justice Catholicism (and even some Liberation Theology-inspired Comunidades Eclesiales de Base) survived in the region, a conservative shift increasingly marginalized the Catholic Left. Regional and international power brokers, including Roman Catholic leadership, favored (or, at least, salutarily neglected) CCR, which, like Pentecostalism, was more accommodating and often supportive of the industrialization agenda. These gendered constructions, combined with the palliative effect of ecstatic spiritual experiences, likely contributed to the expansion of the maquiladoras and the global neo-liberal order they represent. Noting the dearth of projects that blend feminist and neo-Marxist lenses in the study of liminal spaces, this essay sketches a case that speaks to the potential of that intervention.*

**Keywords:** *Catholic, Chihuahua, Texas, Borderlands, Religion, Charismatic, Pentecostal, Liberation*

### **Introduction**

This feminist work of contemporary history posits that the relative conservatism of the Charismatic Catholic Renewal (CCR) and Protestant Pentecostalism, especially compared to Social Justice Catholicism and Liberation Theology, contributed to their success in the central U.S.-Mexico borderlands (Díaz Nuñez, 2005; Smith, 1991; Yong & Attanasi, 2012). Both movements frequently

---

<sup>1</sup>

engaged in charitable work, but generally emphasized the individual experience with the divine at the expense of a communitarian emphasis or systemic critique. The Catholic Church, following a period of Vatican II-progressivism in the 1960s and 70s, experienced a conservative takeover in the 1980s. While Social Justice Catholicism (and even some Liberation Theology-inspired *Comunidades Eclesiales de Base* [CEBs]) survived in the region (especially, it seems, in the Diocese of El Paso), the conservative takeover increasingly marginalized the Catholic Left. Regional and national power brokers, including Roman Catholic Church leadership, favored (or, at least, salutarly neglected) CCR, which, like Pentecostalism, was less threatening to and more removed from structures of power and, in some instances, clearly supportive of, the neo-liberal *maquiladora* agenda. Though these border factories emerged in large numbers in the 1970s, the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) codified and privileged their use, accelerating the industrialization and urbanization of Mexican border cities such as Tijuana and Cd. Juárez (Alegría, 2009; Ruiz, 1998; and Vila, 2009 & 2013).

The charitable activities of these spiritual movements, especially the educational programs of Pentecostal missions, clearly advocated middle class U.S.-style gender norms, often in tandem with elements of the Prosperity Gospel, sometimes called “Health and Wealth,” “Abundance,” or the “Gospel of Success” (Bowler, 2013; Ryan, 1983; Boudewijnse, Droogers, & Kamsteeg, 1998). These gendered constructions, combined with the soothing effect of ecstatic spiritual experiences, coincided with and, perhaps contributed to, the successful expansion of the *maquilas* and the emergence of the global neo-liberal order they represent. This paper shows that this intersection of religion, capitalism, and borders remains a largely unexplored and potentially fruitful field of study.

### **Narrative Summary**

In the 1970s and 80s, the evangelical Protestant Jesus Movement and the Charismatic Catholic Renewal revitalized and transformed believers’ lives. Even before these dramatic spiritual developments Protestant and Catholic believers of the turbulent 1960s had already begun to explore new spiritual possibilities. While the Catholic Church drudged through the Second Vatican Council, Protestants experienced a Pentecostal resurgence and the expansion of groups including the Full Gospel Businessmen’s Fellowship and the National Association of Evangelicals (Jensen, 1968; Bowler, 2013). In the Mexican state of Chihuahua, Bishops Manuel Talamás and Adalberto Almeida struggled to address rapid changes in the region, including the threat of Protestant incursion and incipient urbanization. By the mid-

1970s, Catholic congregations, seminaries, and organizations in the region became interested in the “option for the poor,” often in response to their involvement in labor activism (Smith, 1991; Witvliet, 1985). Meanwhile, Pentecostals and members of the Charismatic Catholic Renewal (CCR) established *células*, small ministries that would explode in the following decade. Though initially very ecumenical, these small groups may represent a conservative response to Vatican II and the *Comunidades Eclesiales de Base* (CEBs), offering palliative care for working people while avoiding any systemic critique. At the same time, many Catholics on both sides of the border experienced this revival, attending a small home prayer meetings, secret worship sessions at Catholic institutions, or large Charismatic or Pentecostal conferences. The emergence of these spiritual movements also correlates with increased dependence on the *maquiladora* sector and regional economic instability, including a growing disillusionment with the Mexican Miracle (Martinez, 1978).

In the 1980s, Liberation Theology (or, at least, a Vatican II ethos) remained influential in the Diocese of El Paso and the newly formed Diocese of Las Cruces, but the Chihuahuan Church began to suffer the consequences of the conservative takeover of the Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM) and the Mexican Church. Meanwhile, CCR and Pentecostalism exploded, tapping into unmet spiritual and social needs of an increasingly urban population. Believers flocked to the summer retreats at Our Lady of Guadalupe Abbey in Pecos, New Mexico and the Lord’s Ranch community near Vado, New Mexico. In El Paso, small group meetings coalesced into the Open Arms Charismatic Catholic Community, and the cross-border ministry of Father Rick Thomas, S.J. blended mysticism with radical social Catholicism. In Cd. Juárez, CCR and the *Sistema Integral de la Nueva Evangelización* (SINE) fomented political success of the Pro-Catholic *Partido de Acción Nacional* (PAN). Thousands of people attended Pentecostal and Charismatic Catholic conferences in the region and Vino Nuevo Centro Cristiano, a product of *gringo* missionaries, grew to be the largest Pentecostal church in Chihuahua and one of the biggest in Mexico. These events take place against the backdrop of large-scale Central American migration, immigration reform in the U.S., and economic problems in Mexico, most notably a series of monetary crises that upset the consumer market. The latter was especially disruptive at the border, because the collapse of the peso prevented *Juarenses* from making their usual purchases of certain foods and household necessities in El Paso. The decade closed with the controversial 1988 Mexican elections and the abrupt retirement of Manuel Talamás, the first bishop of Juárez.

By the 1990s, the central borderland had experienced a near-complete flip: social justice Catholicism and the essentially Latin American liberation theology had waned in the Diocese of Juarez but had become well established and influential on the U.S. side of the border. In El Paso, for instance, the *teología de liberación* influenced the creation of organizations serving migrants and broad-based community organizations such as the El Paso Interreligious Sponsoring Organization (EPISO) and its daughter initiative Border Interfaith. CEBs in Chihuahua disbanded or reorganized outside the formal structures of the Church, but the Pentecostal expansion continued, despite *Vino Nuevo*'s slow decline and fragmentation. CCR continued on both sides of the border but with its influence greatly diminished. Ironically, it appears some social conditions forced some of these initially conservative institutions to reckon with questions of justice (Wingeier-Rayo, 2011).

### **Rationale**

Like many works of borderlands history the desire to disrupt “traditional” disciplinary, political, and methodological boundaries is foundational to this project. Most overtly, the work from which this essay is drawn, like the people, practices, and beliefs of the region, spans and crosses the U.S.-Mexico border, illuminating processes that a national approach cannot. Using oral interviews (disproportionally of women) as a primary tool, this work builds on that of Chicano, labor, and feminist historians that have reminded us of the importance of documenting the stories of the marginalized. While scholars of U.S.-Mexico borderlands history have more often had to respond to nation-centered studies as part of revisionist efforts, this study represents a break from this tradition (García, 1981; Martínez, 1978; Weber, 1982). It engages longstanding debates about the role of faith and religious practice in capitalist expansion and contributes to borderlands history's effort to describe lived experience in a liminal, contested, and oft-ignored space. That said, this study is a first effort at historical interpretation of the central U.S.-Mexico borderlands in the latter third of the twentieth century and aims to place borderlanders' experience with religion, gender, and capitalism at the center of that new historiographical conversation. Finally, it suggests that to understand late modern capitalism (and its influences and disparities) one must look to global borderlands. Current research and news headlines about Europe, for instance, suggest a simultaneous de-bordering within and re-bordering without has only pushed ugly disparities to the fringe (Mountz & Loyd, 2014; Newman, 2006). The drowning of migrants in the Mediterranean, the murder of Muslim vendors in Germany, and the resurgence of nationalism in the Ukraine all represent this unresolved tension. Ultimately, the overarching project accomplishes three things: 1) it recovers an undocumented

history of structural change and lived experience; 2) it tests several theoretical assertions within an important but overlooked context; and 3) it positions a global borderlands approach within an emerging conversation about development, gender, and religion.

### **Historiography & Theoretical Engagement**

Literature from several different fields informs the design of this inquiry. Borderlands scholars, for example, have highlighted the need for better understanding of identity formation, hybridity, and power relations in the region. Some have argued that an understanding of the U.S.-Mexico borderlands is essential for an understanding of the construction of nation, in both the U.S. and Mexico (Bolton, 1917; Spener and Staudt, 1998). As Homi Bhabha has noted, for instance, the experiences of those on the margins of the state are often exemplary for the questions and processes of social construction (1994). The borderlands framework is also useful in understanding economic relationships (Martinez, 1978; Ruiz, 1998). Aside from the unique economic and cultural climate of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands, the transnational nature of CCR and Pentecostalism requires a borderlands approach. Borderlanders' resilience and adaptation in the face of "multiple processes of conquest" and their experience with disparity, industrialization, migration, and rapid socioeconomic transformation, make the region representative of global processes and frontiers (Valerio-Jiménez, 2012). Indeed, Chicana/o scholars have long called for critical study of where "the third world grates against the first and bleeds" (Anzaldúa, 1987). The Chicana/o identity, a politically and historically conscious blend of Mexican, Amerindian, and U.S. influences, emerged from late twentieth-century U.S. civil rights movements and soon influenced border studies in North America. These multiple, cross-pollinating strains of thought inform the emerging field of global comparative border studies and reinforce the centrality of the U.S.-Mexico borderlands as a global crossroad.

While scholars have begun to take interest in the Protestant expansion in Latin America in the second half of the twentieth century, the Catholic Church's transition from the Second Vatican Council's emphasis on justice and liberation in the 1960s and 1970s to reactionary conservatism in the 1980s and 1990s has been largely ignored (D' Epinay, 1969; Drogus, 1994; Martin, 1993; Stoll, 1993). Historians of religion in Mexico have remained fascinated with the Mexican Revolution, the Cristero Wars, and the revolutionary state's difficult relationship with the Church, but they have paid little attention to later periods. This said, a few social scientists have acknowledged the tension between Charismatic Catholicism,

Pentecostal Protestantism, and Liberation Theology and the need for more research into the latter half of the twentieth century. Philip Wingeier-Rayo, for example, documents competition between Pentecostals and Liberation Theologians for followers in Cuernavaca (2011). Basing his conclusions primarily on observations during the 1980s, he argues that the Pentecostals tend to serve the socioeconomically disadvantaged. Wingeier-Rayo's anthropological study questions much of the literature about Protestantism and capitalist development, and provides insight into the decline of the base communities during the conservative (re)takeover.

Despite the presence of related anthropological studies and historical literature of the preceding period, there is an obvious lacuna to be filled. Very few historians of Mexico or the U.S.-Mexico borderlands have ventured into the second half of the twentieth century, and those who have have not addressed these themes or their broader implications. Historians such as Martin Nesvig (2007) have produced excellent studies of the Mexican Catholic Church in the first half of the century, and others, including Virginia Garrard-Burnet (1999/2010) have explored the Protestant Pentecostal expansion, mostly elsewhere in Latin America. Meanwhile, some of the little historical work on Protestantism in Mexico appears to be deeply flawed (Harch, 2006). With the exception of a few social scientists and religious scholars, the academy has produced very little work addressing the CCR and the conservative shift in response to Vatican II in general, and almost nothing in the Mexican and borderlands contexts. Simply put, there are some studies for comparison, but they are nonhistorical, based on very different communities and contexts, and/or problematic. This project is a first step towards a better understanding of these dramatic events in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands, and it contributes to a larger emerging conversation about development and crisis in a globalized late modern world (Mac an Ghail and Haywood, 2007; Yong and Attanasi, 2012).

### **Examining B/Orders**

Drawing on the varied interventions of scholars in border studies, B/Orders in Motion, a research center of the European University Viadrina, has synthesized a systemic schema for the application of border theory ("Research Areas in the Thematic Priority 'B/Orders in Motion,'" n.d.). Highlighting the intersections of durability, permeability, and liminality with the spatial, temporal, and social, this tool produces helpful fundamental questions, some of which this essay will now explore. In the interest of concision and relevance, three intersections presented in the schema have been selected: Durability/Temporal; Permeability/Social; and

Liminality/Spacial. The potential applications of the intersections identified by *B/Orders in Motion* are explored below through examples this author has drawn from his own oral historical field research in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands (Waggoner, 2012/2016).

At the intersection of durability and time, *B/Orders in Motion* asks how “the new [is] demarcated from the old,” applying a classic question of historians to the “establishment, dissolution and redrawing of borders and boundaries” (“Research Areas,” n.d.). The trajectory of the Charismatic Catholic Renewal in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands suggests a deliberate process of social bordering beginning in the mid-1970s replacing casual ecumenism with Protestant Pentecostals. That is, after worshipping alongside Pentecostals and demonstrating little concern for denominational labels in the 1960s and early 1970s, Charismatic Catholics responded to intra-Catholic accusations of impropriety by distancing themselves from Protestants and embarking on a process of independent identity construction. This project aims to excavate this process and place it within its political, social, and economic context.

*B/Orders in Motion*’s Permeability/Social juncture proves similarly fruitful in the exploration of “violation of borders”: “Who can and who cannot, pass borders and why?” (“Research Areas,” n.d.). Though many scholars have examined the re-ordering of the U.S.-Mexico boundary and its consequences for north-bound people, this project poses a similar, related question: Why did some U.S.-based religious groups emphasize cross-border missionary activities, while ones with similar beliefs did not? The Charismatic Catholic ministry of Jesuit Father Rick Thomas, for example, was consistently Juárez-focused, despite (or, perhaps, because of) the limited finances of his followers and resistance on the part of the Catholic Diocese of Cd. Juárez. At the same time, Open Arms, a contemporary Charismatic Catholic group in El Paso, put little effort toward cross-border ministry, focusing instead on weekly worship and the organization of CCR conferences, prayer meetings, and retreats. Though Father Thomas’ mystical, apocalyptic vision and strong personality partly explain this stark difference, the socio-economic status of the respective believers might prove a more determinative factor: Thomas’ diverse followers at the Lord’s Ranch and Our Lady’s Youth Center frequently adopted a kind of radical poverty, living in modest accommodations and sharing experiences with the most impoverished. Meanwhile, most of the core members of Open Arms enjoyed middle-class status and some hailed from well-established, wealthy families. Though the excavation of internal motivations is always a challenge, by

interrogating these contrasting socioeconomic orientations it may be possible to better understand the intersection of missionary emphasis and capitalism.

Finally, *B/Orders in Motion* asks us to consider the intersection of liminality and space: “Where do intermediate spaces and marginal zones emerge [and] what specific forms do they take?” (“Research Areas,” n.d.). While the U.S.-Mexico borderland is an archetypal and well-recognized liminal zone, work remains in the effort to describe its forms and processes. For example, multiple religious movements, each with its own history, culture, and theology coexisted and interacted in the central borderlands. Sharp *fronterizos* such as Father Gustavo Fong and Guillermina Valdés-Villalva pragmatically blended varied approaches in order to meet immediate needs and respond to large-scale social change. Fong, a Juárez diocesan priest, sampled elements of the Liberation Theology, CCR, and the Sistema Integral de Evangelización (SINE) in order to activate and politically mobilize his middle-class parish. Similarly, Villalva wore a myriad of hats, alternately styling herself as a Charismatic Catholic, a Feminist-Marxist, a researcher, and a border-violating community organizer. The lives of borderlanders such as these demonstrate that liminal spaces (and the people who construct and delineate them) are dynamic and innumerable.

## **Conclusions**

Noting a lack of studies that incorporate a blended Marxist/feminist approach to the history of religious change in borderlands, this paper has asserted the relevance of a global borders approach, synthesized relevant literature, sketched a representative historical narrative, and posed opportunities for future intervention. Simply put, the challenges of the late modern world demand a better understanding of the historical processes that construct it. Though major, disparate academic fields have recognized the roles of religious transformation and borderlands in the construction of late modern capitalism and its disparities and paradoxes, little has been done to blend those approaches. This essay argues that the burgeoning field of global border studies presents an opportunity to achieve that objective and open new lines of inquiry in established fields.

### **References**

- Anzaldúa, G. (1987). *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books,
- Alegria, T. (2009). *Metropolis Transfronterizas: Revision de la Hipotesis y Evidencias de Tijuana, Mexico y San Diego, Estados Unidos* (1 edition). San Antonio del Mar, Tijuana, B.C. : México, D.F: Colegio de la Frontera Norte,
- Bastian, J.-P. (1994). *Protestantismos Y Modernidad Latinoamericana: Historia de Unas Minorías Religiosas Activas En América Latina*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica,
- Bhabha, H. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge,
- Bolton, H. (2010). *The Mission As A Frontier Institution In The Spanish-American Colonies* (1917). Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing,
- Boudewijnse, B., Droogers, A. F., & Kamsteeg, F. (1998). *More than opium :an anthropological approach to Latin American and Caribbean Pentecostal praxis* (Vol. 14). Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press,
- Bowler, K. (2013). *Blessed: A History of the American Prosperity Gospel* (1 edition). New York: Oxford University Press,
- Brown, H. (2013). *Marx on Gender and the Family: A Critical Study*. Chicago: Haymarket Books,
- Cleary,E., Stewart-Gambin, H. (1997). *Power, Politics, and Pentecostals in Latin America*. Boulder: Westview Press,
- Cox, H. (2009). *Fire From Heaven: The Rise Of Pentecostal Spirituality And The Reshaping Of Religion In The 21st Century*. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press,
- Deberg, B. (2000). *Ungodly Women: Gender and the First Wave of American Fundamentalism*. Paperback Reprint 2000. Macon: Mercer University Press,
- Díaz Nuñez, L. G. (2005). *La teología de la liberación latinoamericana a treinta años de su surgimiento: balance y perspectivas* (1a ed). Toluca, Estado de México: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México,
- Drogus, C. (1994). *Religious Change and Women's Status in Latin America: A Comparison of Catholic Base Communities and Pentecostal Churches*. Notre Dame, Ind.: Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies,
- D' Epinay, C. (1969). *Haven of the Masses: A Study of the Pentecostal Movement in Chile*. London: Lutterworth P.,
- Engels, F. (1902). *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Translated by Ernest Untermann. Chicago: Kerr and Company,
- Ferm, D. W. (1987). *Third World Liberation Theologies*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books,

Firestone, S., Koedt, A. (1970). Notes from the Second Year Women's Liberation: Major Writings of the Radical Feminists. New York: Radical Feminism,

Gallaher, C. (2007). "The Role of Protestant Missionaries in Mexico's Indigenous Awakening." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 26, no. 1, 88–111,

García, M. T. (1981). *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880-1920* (Reprint edition). Yale University Press,

Garrard-Burnett, V. (1999). *On Earth as It Is in Heaven: Religion in Modern Latin America*. Wilmington, Del: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers,

Garrard-Burnett, V (2010). *Protestantism in Guatemala: Living in the New Jerusalem*. Austin: University of Texas Press,

Ghail, M., Haywood, C. (2007). *Gender, Culture and Society: Contemporary Femininities and Masculinities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan,

Hartch, T. (2006). *Missionaries of the State: The Summer Institute of Linguistics, State Formation, and Indigenous Mexico, 1935-1985*. Tuscaloosa, Ala: University Alabama Press,

Jensen, J. (1968). *Catholics and the Baptism in the Holy Spirit*. Los Angeles: Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International,

Lorde, A. (1979). "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House." In *The Personal and the Political Panel*. New York,

Martin, D. (1993). *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America*. Cambridge, MA: Wiley-Blackwell,

Martinez, O. (1978). *Border Boom Town: Ciudad Juarez Since 1848*. Austin: University of Texas Press,

Mountz, A., & Loyd, J. M. (2014). Constructing the Mediterranean Region: Obscuring Violence in the Bordering of Europe's Migration "Crises." *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 13(2), 173–195,

Nesvig, M. (2007). *Religious Culture in Modern Mexico*. Lanham, MA: Rowman and Littlefield,

Newman, D. (2006). Borders and Bordering Towards an Interdisciplinary Dialogue. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 9(2), 171–186,

Nutini, H. (2000) "Native Evangelism in Central Mexico." *Ethnology* 39, no. 1, 39–54,

"Research Areas in the Thematic Priority 'B/Orders in Motion.'" (n.d.). Viadrina Centre B/Orders in Motion. Retrieved from <https://www.borders-in-motion.de/projekte>,

Rostas, S. (1999). "A Grass Roots View of Religious Change Amongst Women in an Indigenous Community in Chiapas, Mexico." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 18, no. 3, 327–41,

Ruiz, R. E. (1998). *On the Rim of Mexico: Encounters of the Rich and Poor*. Boulder: Westview Press,

Ruiz, R. (1998). *On the Rim of Mexico: Encounters of the Rich and Poor*. Boulder: Westview Press,

Ryan, Mary P. (1983). *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*. New York: Cambridge University Press,

Smith, C. (1991). *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press,

Spener, D., Staudt, K. (1998). *The U.S.-Mexico Border: Transcending Divisions, Contesting Identities*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishing,

Stoll, D. (1993). *Rethinking Protestantism in Latin America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press,

Turner, F. (1893). "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Proceedings of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. Chicago,

Valdés-Villalva, G. (1996). *Movimiento Carismático: El caso de Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, 1971-1986*. *Apuntes para el estudio de los movimientos religiosos en la frontera norte de México*. *Frontera Norte*, 8(15), 173-92,

Valerio-Jiménez, O. (2012). *River of Hope: Forging Identity and Nation in the Rio Grande Borderlands*. Durham: Duke University Press Books,

Vila, P. (2009). *Border Identifications: Narratives of Religion, Gender, and Class on the U.S.-Mexico Border*. Austin: University of Texas Press,

Vila, P. (2013). *Crossing Borders, Reinforcing Borders: Social Categories, Metaphors, and Narrative Identities on the U.S.-Mexico Frontier*. Austin: University of Texas Press,

Waggoner, J. A. (2012). "The New Wine: A Transnational Study of Evangelical Success in Northern Mexico, 1960-2000" (Master's Capstone). The University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, TX,

Waggoner, J. A. (2016) *The New Wine: Spirit, Transformation, and Gender in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands, 1960-1990* (Unpublished Manuscript). The University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, TX,

Weber, D. J. (1982). *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (First Edition edition). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press,

Weber, M. (2002). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism: And Other Writings*. London: Penguin Classic,

Wingeier-Rayo, P. (2011). *Where Are the Poor?: A Comparison of the Ecclesial Base Communities and Pentecostalism, A Case Study in Cuernavaca, Mexico*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications,



*International Journal of Contemporary Economics and  
Administrative Sciences*

*ISSN: 1925 – 4423*

*Volume :6, Special Issue:1, Year:2016, pp 12-23*

*Implications of Borders on Culture and Economics*

*edited by Martin Barthel, James W. Scott and Cengiz Demir*

Witvliet, T. (1985). *A Place in the Sun: Liberation Theology in the Third World*. Maryknoll, N.Y: Orbis Books,

Yong, A., Attanasi, K. (2012). *Pentecostalism and Prosperity the Socio-Economics of the Global Charismatic Movement*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

## **THE ROLES OF BORDERS IN TWO POLISH FILMS: *IN HEAVEN AS IT IS ON EARTH* (1996) AND *YUMA* (2012)**

**Alicja FAJFER**<sup>1</sup>

### **Abstract**

*The aim of this paper is to analyse the images of the border in two Polish movies: Yuma (2012) and In Heaven as it is on Earth (1998). Although they belong to different genres, the border is a major theme in both films. This essay refers to the three points of interest concerning border movie analysis suggested by Dodds (2013), namely: the materiality of borders; different aspects of border crossings; and governance issues. His approach is combined with Lotman's (1990) "boundary of a semiosphere". The literature concerning American border cinema is also considered. It may be argued that both movies represent the understanding of borders in the current border studies agenda (Scott 2011). This means that they are shown as incoherent and mutually conflicting constructs.*

**Keywords:** border film, border culture, Poland

### **Introduction: interdisciplinary border studies**

This paper examines cinematic borders in two Polish movies: the drama *Yuma* (2012) and the comedy *In Heaven as it is on Earth* (1998). In doing so Dodds's (2013) framework of border movie analysis will be used. This framework suggests three points of interest: the materiality of borders; different aspects of border crossings; and governance issues. These points resonate with the more general border studies agenda. Many scholars (c.f. Newman 2001, Scott 2011) point out that border studies has evolved over the years. At first limited to the cartographic notion of boundary, borders have sparked the interest of representatives of many other disciplines. Paasi (2011) points out that cross-border flows are of interest to economists, while ethnographers study the communities inhabiting borderlands. The situation on borders also has an impact on states' foreign policies. Dodds's framework is interesting in that it applies 'real life' instruments of analysis to representations of borders in film. However, this approach risks forgetting that a film

---

<sup>1</sup> Alicja Fajfer, PhD Candidate at the University of Eastern Finland. alicja.fajfer@uef.fi.

border is above all a symbol, and thus serves a different purpose than an “actual” border. It therefore seems natural to add elements of culture and film studies to the approach of human geography.

This multidisciplinary approach is also more responsive to the fact that border studies is a flexible and dynamic discipline. Scott (2011) notes how perceptions of boundaries shift in response to changing contexts. Because of the current complexity of the discipline, Paasi (2011) criticises attempts to develop a border theory. Borders, he argues, “[...] can be theorized reasonably as part of a broader effort towards social-cultural theory” (Paasi 2011: 28). Yuri Lotman's (1990) semiotic theory of culture certainly enriches border studies. The concept of a boundary of semiosphere, which is an important element of this theory, influences how borders are presented, for example, in the cinema. The boundary “[...] can be defined as the outer limit of a first-person form” (Lotman 1990: 131). The spaces on each side of the boundary are defined as binary oppositions: ‘our’-‘their’, ‘safe’-‘hostile’, and so on. In the same work Lotman also argues that the boundary is ambiguous and dynamic to the point of becoming an oxymoron.

Border films and other works of art set in borderlands combine different perspectives. On one hand, they portray the banal reality of people in the borderlands and their relationship with the other side (or lack thereof). However, this everyday reality is transposed into the artistic space to present identity issues, for example (Lotman 1992 as cited in Könönen 2015). The mundane act of a state border crossing is juxtaposed against a cultural boundary crossing. In her overview of Lotman's works, Könönen (2015) describes the boundary as inaccessible. Not everyone is allowed to cross the boundary, but if one does, it requires a violation of order. Thus, a film border crossing situation represents more than just a move to the other side.

### **Introduction: The border film**

The border has been a recurring theme in various arts, including the cinema. This should not be surprising: the border is a powerful symbol that lends itself to many interpretations. The border may, for example, serve as a visualisation of the semiotic boundary between ‘us and them’ (Lotman 1990), or as a metaphor for a rite of passage (Dell’agnese 2005). It may also symbolise exclusion or integration, a barrier or an opportunity. Scott (2011) points out that a border may be each of these things. However, Dell’agnese (2005) and Dodds (2013) observe that the typical border film is set in the US-Mexico borderland, and belongs to the category of a western. However, border movies have been made across the world and they belong to various genres.

Dell'agnese (2005) uses Daniels's (1993) concept of landscapes which "*narrate the nation*". This is an interesting point, because the material border is an important element of any border film. She notes that the border is not a neutral space. US-Mexican border films therefore rely heavily on racialized stereotypes of evil Mexicans and good Americans. However, Power and Crampton (2005) observe that there is a close link between the Hollywood film industry and geopolitics. While Dell'agnese (2005), Dodds (2008), and Dittmer (2010) note that the cinema reproduces the contemporary geopolitical climate, Power and Crampton (2005) argue that certain Hollywood productions may even anticipate future events. It follows that the film is an important agent in the production of cultural identities, which become more pronounced when mixed with (nationalised) border themes.

It may be argued that border movies feature a number of recurring motifs directly associated with experiencing border crossings. Dodds (2013: 7) observes that "[s]et against the backdrop of the desert landscapes of the Southwest, the border was established as a geographical and social marker of difference". Dell'agnese (2005) also speaks of encountering difference, because the 'cinematic border' is where the Self meets the Other. The space where such encounters take place is also important. Majestic natural landscapes are at the same time beautiful and threatening. Harsh environmental conditions leave the border crossing migrants to fend for themselves. Dodds (2013) recalls Doty's (2011) warning that, should a migrant die, nobody will feel responsible. The seriousness of this risk is perhaps why the borderland is populated with what Dodds (2013) calls hyper-masculine characters. According to Dell'agnese (2005), typical female characters are limited to either *señoritas* romancing with manly Americans, or sexual objects populating the background.

It should not be surprising that a border town is as inhospitable as the landscape in which it is set. Dodds (2013: 7) observes "[t]he southern borderlands [in *Traffic* (2000)] remain toxic, they refuse to be cleansed [...]". Any attempts to improve the security of this place fail. Dell'agnese (2005: 217) speaks of borderlands as beautiful but thriving on "*crime and vice*" and as something that "*brings the worst in the two countries*". The border towns are full of drugs, criminals, corrupt officials, and dodgy night clubs. Indeed, this is a stark contrast to the stunning beauty of the natural landscapes that set the scene for what takes place on the border.

The border is a useful symbol of divisions and limits. Dell'agnese (2005) writes about the use of gender and ethnic stereotypes, which are represented as binary oppositions. This violently emphasises that there are two sides to the border,

and one's position on either side predetermines one's life, because border films rarely take up the subject of hybridisation and the state of in-betweenness. What stems from the duality of the border is the importance of perception. Because the film border rarely creates symmetrical spaces, the concept of flows and their directions must be considered. Dell'agnese's (2005) characterisation of US-Mexico border crossings allows the conclusion that the direction of the crossing determines the perception. The 'south of the border' journey is a romanticised adventure understood as a rite of passage. A white American hero sets out on an idealistic mission behind a 'magic curtain', understood as "[...] *the beginning of one sort of life and the ending of another*" (Torrans 2002: 9). He then falls in love with a local *señorita* and returns home a better person. On the contrary, the stories about the journey from south to north portray a more challenging border crossing marked with by illegal activities: irregular immigration, corruption, smuggling, and trafficking. They are unwanted flows that should be stopped. Torrans (2002) points out that the changing demand for smuggled goods from harmless to more illegal ones like drugs, and the subsequent development of border surveillance technologies, lead to the deconstruction of the romantic image of the border.

As earlier mentioned, the films set in the US-Mexico borderland comprise the classic core of the border film category. Films set in other borderlands borrow from this convention. Dodds (2013) refers to this border in analysing *Frozen River* (2008), set in the US-Canadian-Mohawk borderland. While the movie is not a calque of conventions present in a gloomy from south to north story, it features similar motifs: the border has a strong material presence; it is dangerous to cross; and marginalised characters are involved in illegal cross-border activities. The borders are racialized and, in spite of the fact that the protagonists are female, they have to take on masculine roles. Nevertheless, the US northern border seems to be a grey zone, where good and evil are less clearly defined, and the white American idealism therefore does not feature prominently. If one wants to survive in this hostile environment, one has to cross the boundary of prejudice: a white Anglo-American will cooperate with an indigenous American to traffic members of despised ethnicities across the border.

All in all, the border film is traditionally associated with the US-Mexico border. It appears that this cinematic border has been reproduced through the consistent use of stereotypes. However, the change of focus to a different border allows the genre to develop complexity. Furthermore, the dominance of American popular culture results in the borrowing of classic border themes by foreign productions. Nevertheless, other film borders need to be analysed if it is to be

determined whether the border film is a genre in its own right. Below two Polish border movies which contain some echoes of American films will be presented.

### **Yuma – plot summary**

*Yuma* is a grim drama set at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s in a dilapidated small town near the Polish-German border. The movie deals with the birth of the infamous stereotype of the Polish thief in Germany. The title is a reference to the slang word *juma*: 'the act of stealing in German border towns, understood as a Robin Hood-style redistribution of goods'. However, the association with classic westerns is also justified, because the film openly refers to cowboy poetics.

Piotr Mularuk's movie tells a story of a group of friends who lack perspectives. Surprisingly, living in an impoverished area brings greater morality: in the opening scene Zyga, the protagonist, selflessly helps a GDR citizen reach the West German Embassy and turns his back on a friend who has swindled a prostitute. The plot thickens when Zyga is humiliated by a man who refuses to sell him a pair of fenced Adidas shoes. Zyga realises he has to act if he wants to live the dream, so he joins a cigarette smuggling network run by his entrepreneurial Aunt Halina and crosses the border to Germany, where he is immediately seduced by the accessibility of goods. But his greed leads to his downfall: German shop owners invest in security measures, while the local mafia boss begins to see Zyga as a threat. A tragedy is necessary to fix this corrupt world ruled by money, envy, and double standards.

In the closing scenes of the film two great fires destroy the smugglers' meeting places. The town is reborn. Although still shabby, small businesses, boarded up at the beginning of the movie, are now reopening. Finally, the town becomes colourful and the viewer is led to believe that the filth which filled this borderland has been cleansed.

### **In Heaven as it is on Earth – plot summary**

The second movie, *In Heaven as it is on Earth* (hereafter abbreviated to *Heaven*) is a romanticised satire about the north-eastern borderlands of Poland. Like *Yuma*, the movie is set in a provincial border town in the early 1990s, but the landscapes in Jacek Bromski's movie are not depressing, even if the town looks impoverished. Instead, isolation and backwardness are what make this place free from modern corruption.

The plot of *Heaven* is the story of Marusia, a young Russian girl who travels to a Polish border town to trade at a local market. When the bus is stopped by a

Russian-speaking gang who offer ‘security services’, she refuses to pay. The criminals then steal her money and leave her in the woods. The girl reports the theft to the police but they are reluctant to help. There is an unwritten rule that states that as long as ‘they’ stay away from ‘us’, no one is interested in their activities. However, that rule has been broken. As a result, the police cannot ignore the girl. It turns out that the incident has far-reaching social consequences which put the mayor’s position at risk. To protect the honour and moral values of his people, the local parish priest takes over the investigation. Thanks to his superior sense of justice, the story has a happy ending. He also recognises Marusia’s good heart, which grants her admission to this closed community.

### **Materiality of borders**

Klaus Dodds (2013) argues that “[...] *more attention needs to be given to the lively geographies that make and remake borders*”. In *Frozen River* (2008) the use of landscape makes the border a strong and tangible presence. The motifs of the river, snow, and ice are important constituents of the dramatic expression. The role of landscape in narrating the nation has already been mentioned, and in this section the role of geography in the two Polish movies will be examined.

In both films borders are presented as material, and the surrounding landscape lends its characteristic features to the border. *Yuma* resembles *Frozen River* in a number of respects. First, a river marks the border. However, the River Oder in *Yuma* is a mere brook compared to the St Lawrence in *Frozen River*. A person trying to cross the Oder might not risk drowning, but the main challenge is getting close to it, as the barren German side is patrolled by invisible armed guards. Second, the border in *Yuma* is grim and depressing, just like the snowless winter landscape around it. The lack of snow makes the place appear hostile. It is not just an economically deprived territory. It is, in fact, a desert deprived of everything. This border is a land of absolute nothingness to which the power of the state does not extend. Unlike *Frozen River*, it is not specified where the boundary of lawlessness lies, but wherever it is this place seems to be at its heart.

The border in *Heaven* is more arbitrary. There is no natural boundary, like a river or a mountain range. The state border is marked with a fence, barriers, and a sign reading Belarus in Cyrillic. However, the actual border is much more complex. The lush green woods and seemingly large distances are also an inseparable part of this border. The isolation appears to work as a wall, but it is not the same kind of wall found in militarised borderlands, which divides the space in half. It is more like a fortress, which creates a closed space within its walls, but leaves the outside

territory only vaguely delimited. Brunet-Jailly (2005) points out that this type of territorial governance is characteristic of the medieval borderlands before the development of cartography brought about the notion of the contemporary boundary. In *Yuma* the borderland feels exposed, vulnerable, and deserted; here everything is hidden and secure. Furthermore, the aim of the physical border in Bromski's film is not to divide two sovereign territories, but to enclose a community in a bubble. *Heaven* depicts an enclave whose existence is hidden behind luscious green foliage. This border functions as a representation of the semiotic boundary (Lotman 1990).

Dodds (2013: 16) claims that the border in *Frozen River* "exerts a seductive charm". However, in the Polish movies there is nothing seductive about the border itself. In *Heaven* the border deters rather than allures. Wanderlust is seen as a flight of fancy for youth who know nothing about life. However, more specifically, nobody in these movies (except the asylum seeker from the GDR) has to cross the border illegally, which in this sense means elsewhere than through an official crossing. Zyga travels freely to the other side to satisfy his need for material goods, but it is the act of stealing that is seductive. The crossing of the state border itself is not exciting, even though official procedures are not observed. The traders from Bromski's movie do not find crossing the border particularly adventurous either, because it is an established routine, even if the border personnel have to be bribed. The state borders in the two Polish movies are relatively open in that the state sovereign regime seems unable to control the flows. There is no need to risk life by crossing illegally: the regulatory function of the border has been lost because of the border guards' opportunism.

To conclude the discussion about the materiality of borders, it should be noted that this point is not problem-free, although it does not affect this analysis. The framework starts from the simplest element (the physical border) and gradually proceeds to more complex ones. However, this approach limits the category of a border film to the narratives which are set on the border or in its vicinity. Nevertheless, there are culturally important films which feature themes of border crossings without directly referring to them. The James Bond series is an example of such a globalised outlook on border cinema.

### **Different aspects of border crossings**

In border movies the representation of the border is more sophisticated than a simple demarcation symbol borrowed from cartography. According to Dodds (2012) and Shapiro (2005), film borders comprise a number of elements: characters, practices, objects, landscapes, and past experiences. Likewise, the authors of *Yuma*

and *Heaven* use the motif of a state border crossing as a background for other types of border crossings.

First, both movies deal with certain social boundaries. The social boundaries refer for the most part to encounters between people from both sides of the border. However, the movies imply such encounters are rare. The Russian-speakers in *Heaven* regularly cross the border, but from the perspective of the townspeople they are hardly visible. The interaction between the two is limited to the marketplace, where goods are sold, and the night club, where women in skimpy outfits offer a particular kind of service. Apart from this, there is an unwritten rule that one group must not interfere with the other's business. As long as this norm is respected, the migrants remain invisible, even if they are involved in criminal activities. The townspeople construct a barrier of contempt by referring to them as *Russkies*. The migrants do not openly contest this positioning, but repay it tit for tat. The sales strategy the traders adopt exposes the hypocrisy of the Poles. The barrier between the locals and the smugglers is not the only social barrier, however. The characters stay away from the Poles who live in the region, not to mention those who inhabit the rest of the country. Their otherness is marked, for example, by the use of a regional dialect. While they live on the margins, the community still considers itself as a model of Polish-ness.

What is striking in *Yuma* is the lack of interaction between people from both banks of the Oder. The only people with whom Zyga has any contact on the German side are the asylum seeker and a Silesian shop owner. As the story unfolds, the viewer observes that there is an invisible wall between the Poles and the Germans. At first, the characters feel solidarity towards the GDR Germans. However, when Germany is unified, the western bank of the Oder starts flourishing, but the eastern side falls into an even greater state of disrepair. This process is a side effect of the EU's policy of internal integration and external exclusion (Haase and Wust 2004). The people on the Polish side see this process as an injustice, which reawakens the anti-German sentiment of the Second World War. When Zyga drives to the border for the first time, the Polish border guard tells him, "*The German [border guard] is also human.*" The ambiguity of this statement is an apt summary of the misconceptions about the people living on the other side. Human does not mean ordinary, just like any of us; here, it only means as corrupt as we are.

Second, it is obvious in both movies that neither side of the border wishes to cooperate with the other. Rosière and Jones (2012) claim that the main trend in border studies during the 1990s was the notion of globalisation, or the opening up of

borders. Although characters in both movies are allowed to move relatively freely across the border, globalisation as classically understood seems an irrelevant term in this context. While the state border is open, this is not the result of a government order, but because the state has no real power over the border. Nevertheless, in the absence of a well-managed state border people construct their own barriers to regain a sense of security. According to Newman (2011), those other barriers, which he describes as cultural, are much more difficult to cross. However, it is possible that these social barriers may be gradually deconstructed, if the atmosphere of cooperation is facilitated. According to a study conducted roughly ten years after the events shown in both films, the authorities in the Polish eastern borderland speak favourably of cross-border cooperation. Haase and Wust (2004: 89) argue that:

*In their [experts from both sides of the border] view, cross-border contacts can considerably contribute to normalizing the relations between neighbors, including in terms of ethnic and religious understanding. Cross-border exchange harbors various ways of coping with problems occurring on both sides. Local stakeholders in the border regions regard this issue as an increasingly important instrument for supporting decision-making processes. Moreover, more or less frequent meetings persuade people from the neighboring regions to regard each other as partners sharing similar interests, rather than as rivals or even hostile strangers.*

Nevertheless, it must be emphasised that the process of normalising relations takes time and energy. The borders in *Heaven* and *Yuma* are marked by prejudice and mutual reluctance, and it is naïve to believe that they will simply disappear overnight. *Yuma* ends with the suggestion that the rule of crime is over. Perhaps this means the beginning of healthy cross-border relations. However, *Heaven* seems to suggest that cross-border cooperation results in more harm than good. (Here it must be pointed out that *Heaven* was followed by two sequels released in 2007 and 2009. Neither directly addresses the issue of the eastern border.)

### **Governance issues**

The issues connected with governance and the “*micro-geographies of sovereignty*” (Dodds 2013: 11) in *Yuma* and in *Heaven* should be examined. It was mentioned in the previous section that the state appears to have no real control over its borders in the movies. However, the absence of state power does not mean that nobody has any authority over the given territories. The parish priest represents a rather successful and independent micro-regime in *Heaven*. In *Yuma* power is held by a network of several actors who cooperate with each other. Zyga believes that he

is an architect of his own destiny, but he fails to understand local power relations. Because the mafia is a powerful local actor, the ethics of crime permeates everyday life. The authorities and the police do not consider *juma* illegal. The word “theft” is avoided; instead the act is referred to as “the transfer of undersupplied goods”. Not only do officials turn a blind eye to audacious thefts, but they openly support it. Even the local priest has no scruples in blessing numerous stolen cars parked outside the church. All in all, the so called microgeography of sovereignty in *Yuma* is much more obscure.

The image of the Polish borders is very different from what Rossiter (2011: 118) calls “*a space of no exceptions [emphasis mine]*”. The legitimate border bureaucracy has been replaced by a system of bribery. However, the acceptance of bribes means that the border is turned into “*a space of ultimate exceptions*”, because all objects brought across the border lose their geopolitical connotations. Not even the strangest circumstances change this situation: the border guards do not stop a car whose boot is full of expensive jewellery, even though they know there has been a burglary. A border guard might demand that duty should be paid, but one should not be misled into thinking that this official speaks the legitimate jargon. A space of no exceptions is also mentioned in *Heaven*. It appears that border guards on the eastern border occasionally confiscate contraband, although there are reasons to suspect that this is not because they are suddenly obeying state law, but because bribes have not been paid. Smuggling is therefore risky, and the smugglers look for ways to cut their losses. These ways may be controversial, however. A fellow passenger ambiguously tells Marusia why she became a prostitute: “[...] *I carry my stock with me. The customs can't seize it. There's a green light. Do you understand now?*” While Dodds (2013) notes that the American border guard is a super-masculine type, a superhero, Polish border guards are reduced to greedy opportunists.

Having mentioned the figures of the border guard and the customs officer, the focus will now be moved to other representatives of sovereign institutions: civil servants and the police. As before, nobody who holds a public function in the films actually represents the interest of the state. The mayor and the police chief in *Heaven* keep up the appearance of their authority in front of ordinary citizens, while accepting the supremacy of the parish priest. Their counterparts in *Yuma* openly support the thefts, but officially do not recognise anyone's authority. In a well-managed state public officials have to put the interest of the state before the interest of individuals, whereas in both films the interest of individuals is the most important value.

At this point the question about the consequences of a defunct sovereign regime needs to be asked. It appears that the system based on the supremacy of the Catholic priest created in Bromski's movie is more successful than the secular regime, because state law seems easily disputable when compared with canon law. However, the priest's interpretation of canon law is not flawless. There is some controversy over equality and who can obtain forgiveness. Thus, the police chief who was involved in a shooting has to atone for his wrongdoing, even though the man he shot at was a wanted criminal. On the other hand, the mayor's daughter is exempt from wearing a shameful blue dress on her wedding day, even though her pregnancy was an excuse to get married before her sisters. However, the authority based on the Christian sense of justice guarantees order, even though it does not extend to the state border itself. In Mularuk's movie the social norms are based on a reverse understanding of good and evil. *Juma* is not a theft, but an act of justice; it is a form of compensation for the damage of the Second World War. The observance of state law does not make one righteous. The boundary between good and evil has disappeared and the two have become unrecognisable. As a result, there are no objectively good guys in *Yuma*.

The issue of biopolitics also deserves some attention. It has already been mentioned that the film borders are relatively open, but that not everyone can cross them. Rosière and Jones (2012: 218) use the term 'preferred travellers', that is those individuals whose freedom to move has not been restricted by the process of border hardening. In the realities of the films there are grounds to suspect that almost anyone can cross state borders. The only requirements are appropriate social networks, and/or bribes. Indeed, none of the travellers is ever shown carrying a passport. However, because the state border is a symbol of the state, which has no real power over it, the regulatory function is shifted. The social and mental borders in both movies are much more difficult to cross. It is not the state's role to decide who can cross the border, although the necessity to have the right connections is a form of external control. The decision is for the potential travellers themselves. Those who live on the 'better side' remain immobile, as do those who do not want to involve themselves in bribery. The border space can therefore be described as asymmetric in terms of flows of people. This also proves that the border consists of many elements, and its geopolitical component is probably its weakest part.

Finally, the treatment of the category of citizenship in the movies is striking. Paasi (2011) argues that citizenship is inextricably linked to borders. However, the movie borders appear special. Citizenship as a criterion which determines whether or not one is admitted to the other side therefore does not apply. Indeed, the category

of citizenship becomes irrelevant. The representatives of the criminal world in Bromski's and Mularuk's stories come from foreign, further unspecified, Russian-speaking countries. When Marusia reports the theft of her money to the police their reaction is one of complete indifference, because the thief is a foreigner. Marusia thinks of citizenship as ethnolinguistic: the thief's nickname *Georgian* makes no sense because he speaks a Ukrainian dialect. Strangely enough, the police, who after all represent the sovereign regime, identify the man as a *Russky*. It is indeed paradoxical that state representatives do not think of the suspect in terms of citizenship. The border in this film is thus not a national construct: it does not mark the end of one sovereign regime and the beginning of another. Instead, it resembles the American western frontier, although in this case pushing at its limits is not a goal. This is a border between 'us', representing the civilisation of morality, and 'them', the hordes of barbarians, collectively labelled as "Russkies".

### **Border film conventions**

In the above sections the film borders of *Yuma* and *Heaven* have been analysed from the perspective of human geography. In this section the conventions of American border films will be discussed. It may be argued that both Polish movies comply with border film poetics, while adding to the genre's diversity, instead of simply copying its conventions.

Where *Yuma* is concerned, a comparison with the representations of the American southern border is unavoidable, because the movie openly borrows from the genre of the western. Zyga is a good-hearted young man who dreams of owning a pair of cowboy boots. He finally takes life in his hands and becomes a real man. Even the barren landscape echoes the American southwestern deserts. But the adventure goes wrong, and instead of becoming a better man, Zyga becomes a corrupt gangster. The story shape-shifts into a darker 'from south to north' narrative.

Many classic border film conventions have been maintained in Mularuk's work. The border separates 'us' from 'them'. The borderland is a space dominated by masculinity, even though Aunt Halina argues "*there are no real men here*". Likewise, women can only be girlfriends of handsome men, or prostitutes. The borderland overflows with crime and stereotypes. It is a despicable space. It needs to be destroyed in order to be rebuilt. But in shifting the focus from the cowboy's perspective the film also plays with classic border movie conventions. A local "señorita" who escapes with a German to the better side is punished as Nazi collaborators were half a century earlier. At the beginning of the film Zyga's character shares the essential superhero features described by Dittmer (2011) (apart

from supernatural powers and visual effects), but it turns out that disobeying the law for a greater good has tragic consequences, because good in this film is ambiguous. Thus, the film questions Polish exceptionalism and exposes a relationship with the German side based on an inferiority complex. It produces a grim narrative of the Polish-ness of the western borderlands.

Jacek Bromski's movie also has its own superhero. He is the priest. However, instead of a flamboyant costume he wears a modest cassock. His "superpower" is derived from his faith in the Virgin Mary, who he believes is his personal advisor and confidante. These slight deviations from the superhero standard apart, the priest's actions are quite typical. He places himself above the state (or rather state law) to protect the local community. In the dialogue below the priest and the local police chief negotiate the power structure:

Priest: *"Henryk, you know why I've summoned you here. Give back the badge! You shot at a man. Could have killed him!"*

Chief: *"I shot at a Russky bandit! In self-defence!"*

Priest: *"No one who shoots at another man can be my chief of police."*

Chief: *"What's wrong with you, Father? Only the regional commissioner can do that. And he gave me a reward!"*

Priest: *"I'm the commissioner here because the responsibility is mine. [...] Our Lord's the first, and then it's me [...]"*

Although *Heaven* does not openly refer to American border movie traditions, it features similar themes. The story is about a clash between the two sides of the border. The border space is ruled by clear-cut divisions: religious, ethnic, and gender. It is a story of good, though clumsy, local Poles and ruthless outsiders. Here as well, the border is masculine. Relationships with women (usually limited to sexual relationships) bring trouble. The border town seems idyllic, but its allure is superficial. The grey economy and crime are scarcely concealed by the veneer of perfection. No matter how hard one tries, no border can totally separate both sides, because of their associated ambiguities. This superficiality mocks the townspeople's sense of exceptionalism, for all that the film romanticises marginalisation. Marusia, the female protagonist, is portrayed in a positive light because her rite of passage is about staying the same. But the line between closed-mindedness and the need for stability in the film is thin.

To conclude this discussion of conventions, both *Yuma* and *Heaven* share numerous features with American border films. There is a universal border narrative, but this narrative may be interpreted in many different ways. However, this small-scale analysis cannot provide an answer to the question of whether the universality of motifs stems from the specificity of borderlands alone, or from the worldwide popularity of American cinema.

### **Conclusions**

This paper has analysed the theme of the border in two Polish movies, *Yuma* and *Heaven*. Both movies are concerned with marginalised border towns. They mention such problems as economic underdevelopment, backwardness, lack of perspective, and certain forms of crime which all occur in border areas, as Opiola and Trzcielińska-Polus (2013) point out. Nevertheless, the movies offer an interpretation of border reality, rather than a documentary-like account. *Heaven* romanticises backwardness, whereas *Yuma* is a brutalised depiction of poverty and lack of perspectives. Still, both stories echo actual events. Kosowicz (2009) observes that during the 1990s smugglers from the former Soviet Union traded illegally in the eastern borderlands of Poland, thus providing a boost to the local economy. However, Haase and Wust (2004) add that the consequences of these grey economy activities were more complex and cannot be simply labelled as positive or negative. According to Scott and Collins (2011), the western border, in turn, was a significantly asymmetric space associated with illegal activity, prejudice, and huge differences in economic development.

The border images in the films by Bromski and Mularuk are complex constructs. First, the narratives begin by sketching an administrative demarcation line. This line is then developed into a more elaborate picture. To focus one's attention on the border itself, however, makes it impossible to ignore. The state border thus becomes a symbol of division even though it may be possible to cross from one side to the other. The characters of *Heaven* and *Yuma* live their lives in the shadow of a state border, which they imagine as a wall. This logic proves that those who contest the dividing power of borders have an arduous task.

Second, the surrounding landscape gives meaning to the border and determines how people perceive the borderlands, whether as a safe haven in the woods or a barren desert. This leads to the creation of more abstract social borders. The opposition of 'us' and 'them' is an obvious example. But this division extends to the community on the same side, between those who interact with 'others', and those who distance themselves from any contact. The social borders may produce

more meanings, elaborating the understanding of 'them' and resulting in 'them' being viewed increasingly negatively. Haase and Wust (2004) point out that the function of the border is specified by policies, which suggests that a border on its own has no meaning. Hence, it may be argued that a policy of neglect results in a metaphorical wall. Furthermore, the opposition of 'us' and 'them' results in the construction of good and evil borderlands, which resonates with the concept of the right and wrong side of the border (Dell'agnese 2005). Although the film depictions of the western and eastern borders do not differ greatly in terms of certain objective characteristics (like smuggling or economic underdevelopment), their perceptions are not the same.

Another point worth considering is the nature of film borders. On one hand, they show some characteristic features of globalisation, because travellers are allowed to cross without having to present documents. On the other, the characters isolate themselves from the outside world. Furthermore, the entire territory along the border gives the impression of a no-man's land not only because it is sparsely populated, but, more importantly, because state power in this space is only symbolic. These borders are therefore neither simply open nor properly closed. From the social perspective the borders resemble what Rosière and Jones (2012) call a *frontline*, but it has to be emphasised that the role of the military is taken over by feelings of contempt or reluctance. From the economic perspective the films draw attention to the hierarchy of flows that Rosière and Jones (2012) also outline. However, the much desired flow of (smuggled) goods is stimulated by the unwanted flow of people. This conflict is solved by the naïve philosophy that what one does not see does not exist. The border guards are not shown controlling documents, which should be their basic task. The flow of people is thus hidden.

The conclusions drawn from analysing *Yuma* and *Heaven* can be useful for border studies mostly because the movies narrate the everyday banal reality of the border. Paasi (2011) describes borders as elements of the local and the national. Because of this complexity, conflicts between the representatives of the two are likely: the state has different priorities, as do the ordinary inhabitants of borderlands. This raises the question of who should bear the costs of living on the border. However, this is not the only difficulty. When borderlands are considered, one should ask whether an ordinary borderland dweller should be taken into account in policy making. It could be argued that policy makers do not always succeed in addressing the complexity of borders. As Rossiter (2011) observes, the state's and the individual's priorities are often contradictory, and ethical issues are thus unlikely to disappear from the borderland discourse. The question is whether this conflict is

indeed unsolvable. In his theory of culture Lotman (1990) notes that what comes from the outside of the boundary appears threatening, but he also adds that the centre has no ability to innovate. Anything new may only originate from the outside, but when the innovation enters the mainstream it loses its alien status. While the cost of bringing down a border is high, this process is necessary to move forward, but the film characters seem unready to pay this price.

## References

### Films

- Mularuk, P. (Producer and Director). (2012). *Yuma* [Motion picture]. Poland: Kino Świat,
- Rae, H. and Hourihan, C. (Producers). Hunt, C. (Director). (2008). *Frozen River* [Motion picture]. USA: Sony Pictures Classics,
- Włodarczyk, J. (Producer). Bromski, J. (Director). (1998). *In Heaven as it is on Earth (U Pana Boga za piecem)* [Motion picture]. Poland: Vision Film Distribution,
- Zwick, E. and Herskovitz, M. (Producers). Soderbergh, S. (Director). (2000). *Traffic* [Motion picture]. USA: Universal Pictures.

### Books and journal articles

- Brunet-Jailly, E. (2005) Theorizing Borders: An Interdisciplinary Perspective. *Geopolitics*, 10(4), 633-649,
- Daniels, S. (1993). *Fields of Vision. Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England & the United States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press,
- Dell'agnese, E. (2005). The US–Mexico Border in American Movies: A Political Geography Perspective. *Geopolitics*, 10(2), 204-221,
- Dittmer, J. (2011). American exceptionalism, visual effects, and the post-9/11 cinematic superhero boom. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 29,
- Dodds, K. (2013). 'I'm Still Not Crossing That': Borders, Dispossession, and Sovereignty in *Frozen River* (2008), *Geopolitics*, 18(3),
- Doty, R. (2011). Bare Life: Border-Crossing Deaths and Spaces of Moral Alibi, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 29, 599–612,
- Haase A, & Wust, A. (2004). Advancing integration or constructing new barriers to co-operation? Stimuli and restrictions for cross-border communication at the Polish eastern border on the eve of EU enlargement, *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 19(2), 77-100,
- Kosowicz, A. (2009) *Imigranci w polskim społeczeństwie* [Immigrants in the Polish society] In P. Dziliński (Ed), *Imigranci w polskim społeczeństwie* (pp. 11-42). Warszawa: Vox Humana,

- Könönen, M. (20015) Journeying in Russian Space. *Scando-Slavica* 61(2), 261–282,
- Lotman, Y. (1990) *Universe of the mind. A semiotic theory of culture*. London, New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd,
- Lotman, Y. 1992. Problema chudožestvennogo prostranstva v proze Gogolja. (The problem of artistic space in Gogol's prose). In *Izbrannye stat'i v trech tomach. Tom 1. Stat'i po semiotike i tipologii kul'tury* (413–447). Tallinn: Aleksandra,
- Newman, D. (2011). Contemporary Research Agendas in Border Studies: An Overview. In D. Wastl-Walter (Ed), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Border Studies* (33-47). Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Ltd,
- Opiola, W. and Trzcielińska-Polus, A. (2013): Fenomen pograniczy. Pogranicze. (The phenomenon of borderlands. The borderland.) *Polish Borderlands Studies*, 1, 6-11,
- Paasi, A. (2011): 'A Border Theory': An Unattainable Dream or Realistic Aim for Border Scholars. In D. Wastl-Walter (Ed), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Border Studies* (11-31). Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Ltd,
- Power, M. and Crampton, A. (2005) Reel Geopolitics: Cinematographing Political Space, *Geopolitics*, 10(2), 193-203,
- Rosière, S. and Jones, R. (2012): Teichopolitics: Re-considering Globalisation through the Role of Walls and Fences. *Geopolitics*, 17(1), 217-234,
- Rositer, D. (2011): Leave the Lemons at Home: Towards a Political Ecology of Border Space. *Geopolitics*, 16(1), 107-120,
- Scott, J. and Collins, K. (1997): Inducing transboundary regionalism in asymmetric situations: The case of the German-Polish Border. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 12(1-2), 97-121,
- Scott, J. (2011): Borders, Border Studies and EU Enlargement. In D. Wastl-Walter (Ed), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Border Studies* (123-141). Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Ltd,
- Shapiro, M. (2005): The Demise of 'International Relations': America's Western Palimpsest. *Geopolitics*, 10(2), 222–243,
- Torrans, T. (2002). *The magic curtain: the Mexican-American border in fiction, film and song*. Fort Worth

## **HOW TO ENTER THE CHURCH WHEN THE DOOR IS CLOSED. LANGUAGE POLICIES IN CHRISTIAN CHURCHES OF JOENSUU IN THE CONTEXT OF A MIGRANT'S CHOICE.**

**Tatiana KRIHTOVA**<sup>1</sup>

### **Abstract**

*The article describes how Christian churches in the Finnish city Joensuu chose language policies towards Russian-speaking migrants. The author carried out a fieldwork, using participant observation and auto ethnography approaches in all churches of the city. The preliminary hypothesis was that language policy in churches (translation of worship, ability to study Bible, informal talks) determinate religious choice of migrants which influence the strategies of adaptation in a new country. The church parishes have completely different approaches towards the communication with migrants, all described and compared in the article.*

**Keywords:** *Migration, Religion, Christianity. Finland*

### **Introduction**

Charity and social work are common practices for churches of all Christian denominations. Based on the Bible principles, believers are usually convinced that they need to help others even if they do not have the same religious views and denominational affiliation. Social work of Christian churches developed in part from the altruistic acts of church-based and motivated individuals who envisioned, as do social workers today, a society based upon humanitarian and egalitarian values (Graham, Coholic, & Coates, 2006). Several churches offer such kind of social work with migrants (adaptation, material help, assistance with official issues, education). As Hirschman notes, almost all studies of contemporary immigrant churches and temples describe the multiple services they provide to newcomers, from information

---

<sup>1</sup> Tatiana Krihotva, PhD student at the Karelian Institute, University of Eastern Finland. krihtova@gmail.com

about jobs, housing, and business opportunities to classes in English and seminars on various practical topics. (Hirschman, 2004:1225)

Mission among new migrants usually has two basic directions which can be mixed or separated in various churches: christening (or changing their Christian denomination), and direct assistance to adapt to the realities of a new country including material and moral support. However, churches need to have a particular language and intercultural policy for work with migrants, since most migrants arriving do not necessarily know official language. The policy can focus to integrate the newcomers into the everyday life of a new country or to build an accustomed language environment. These two directions not always coincide with each other.

The aim of this article is to provide insides on how different Christian churches in Finland deal with this contradiction. The paper will describe further which strategies of working with Russian-speaking migrants are developed. In order to provide a comparative view, the article will use the city of Joensuu as a case study.

M. Aleksynska noticed that immigrants' religious behavior is inherently different from the religious behavior of the native-born in Europe, and is particularly rigid and persistent over time. According to her opinion, immigrants in Europe indeed have an overall higher degree of religiosity than the native born within the same religious denomination, but that the differences diminish with the immigrant's duration in the destination (Aleksynska, 2013). Some of the recent economic research also pointed in this direction, documenting a strong persistence of religious identity (Bisin and Verdier, 2000), and of immigrants' religious identity in particular (Bisin et al. 2008).

The Russian-speaking population is the largest group of immigrants in Finland. According to Tilastokeskus 161,850 migrants from Post-Soviet countries had been registered at the end of 2014 (Tilastokeskus, 2015). Obviously, all these people are inhomogeneous by ethnic background, social status, the level of integration in Finnish society and religious views and the motivation to move to Finland. Most of the Russian-speakers in Finland belong to the Orthodox Church (Finnish Orthodox or two parishes of Moscow Patriarchy situated in Helsinki). A large part of Russian-speakers do not belong to any church at all, some aspire to become members of the Finnish Lutheran church or Evangelical Christians. According to a preliminary fieldwork in Helsinki in 2012, there are two main practices of religious life of Russian-speaking Christians in Finland. The first is to create individual Russian-speaking church-communities, just like the Evangelical 'Ark of Salvation'. The second is to become a recipient of a mission work with

migrants, conducted by Finnish Churches. There are as well other practices just like, to visit Russia regularly in order to have communion in a ‘right’ church, but the before mentioned practices are the most obvious and popular.

The initial idea of the research was to examine the differences between two regions: Helsinki and North Karelia. Hence was impossible to identify any homogeneous group of Russian-speaking Christians in Joensuu. As a result the research in Joensuu was redesigned in order to comprehend the practices among all Christian churches in the city. The aim of this article is to consider this issue of language policy in Christian churches on the example of a Russian-speaking population in Finland. Language policy in the church is important for description because it is a part of a language policy according to migrants which are nowhere considered officially. Nevertheless, it influences the life of migrants and can contribute to their integration, mental attitude and even be a reason to change a city of the living. Religion organization is not a necessary part of the adaptation of all Russian-speaking migrants, but for some of them, church can affect the whole strategy of life in the country. This article will show all variations of language policy of all churches in Joensuu. The research focus was to observe all religious propositions for Evangelical Christians and to explore how migrants choose a place for worship and how it influence their integration into Finnish society.

The author visited all Christian churches in Joensuu between September 2014 and March 2015, participated in worship, talked with parishioners, visited Bible studies groups, and observed online information about these churches; their websites and groups in social networks. The fieldwork was usually conducted: come to the church, talk with everybody who is ready to talk.

### **Research Design**

The research is based on the concept of auto ethnography fieldwork. The main purpose was to understand how Christian migrants from post-soviet country can find an adequate place for worship. Auto ethnography is a method which combines the researcher’s self within a particular cultural context (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). By the definition of Reed-Danahay auto ethnography is a “*form of self-narrative that places the self within a social context*” (Reed-Danahay, 1997). This research was an attempt to put an own “self” (migrant, post-soviet, Russian-speaking, student) into the “context” of Christian life in Joensuu. Nevertheless, the author is not Evangelical Christian, which makes a difference in identification. Sometimes the personal

experience of the researcher was similar to the experience of potential informants. When migrants came to Joensuu for the first time, they did not know about the religious life in the city. The researcher discovered the religious life and the search for a place to worship, just like any other migrant. Therefore, it is possible to substitute own imaginaries on searching a church in order to make a conclusion about migrant's religion opportunities in Joensuu at all. Using this methodic, it is possible to understand the feelings of the believers, desired to practice their religion in a new country.

As the article is part of a research on the Russian Evangelical church in Finland, the author used an Evangelical Christian perspective. The Evangelical Christian church is the most diverse according to their ethnic and religious identity. The members are usually strong believers and their religious life is a very important part of their self-identity. In the majority of Evangelical churches Sunday worship is every week obligatory. It is accepted for Evangelical Christians to visit a church of another denomination when traveling, but for fully Christian life, it is required to have a cohesive friendly community around. Communication among other members in the church is compulsory in order to discuss the meaning of sermons, pray for each other and discuss the Bible. In the context of migration, Evangelical Christians can visit other protestant churches for the reason of language and to understand the worship, since it is a necessary part of their Christian life. There are three main functions of the Evangelical church for believers:

*Ritual.* The main ritual for Evangelical Christians is a weekly worship. The main functions are the performance of the rite (especially communion), listening to the sermon, collective praying and singing, glorification and speaking in tongues in Pentecostal churches.

*Education.* Usually it describes the Bible study in a group. The members gain knowledge and comprehension of the holy text.

*Socialization.* This part mainly contains the communication with other parishioners. This includes talking about pressing issues of faith but also simply daily communication with each other (Thumma, 1991: 334)

The functions underline that language is an urgent need for a big number of reasons in fully Christian life. Therefore, it is impossible to be a Christian without full understanding of the language in the church. Martikainen suggests that *"The*

*religious affiliation that a migrant had in his or her country of origin seems to be the single most important factor in determining the religious organization in which he or she becomes active in the new social environment” (Martikainen, 2013).*

Evangelical Christian can start to visit a church of different denomination abroad for the reason of language, because language guarantees him or her real religious life, where the idea of Jesus and the Bible is more important than the way of ritual. According to previous observation, students, labor migrants, and repatriates are completely different groups in their everyday needs, identification, and willingness to integrate. Moving to a new country is an important and stressful event, so believers need a friendly place which can provide a psychological help and feeling of belonging, so the first visit to a church and the parishioner’s reaction to newcomers are rather revealing.

### **Churches in Joensuu**

Joensuu is a city situated in a North Karelia (Eastern Finland). The population of the city is near 75 000 people. The city is situated a little more than 100 kilometers from the border with Russia. The two main groups of Russian-speaking migrants are due educational migration (mostly students of the University of Eastern Finland and Polytechnic institute Karelia) and due to the repatriation program for Karelians from post-soviet countries. Work migrants play a rather small role. There are three main opportunities to study Finnish language in Joensuu: courses of the Red Cross foundation, courses of the Multicultural society and university courses.

So, what do migrants see first when they arrive to Joensuu? The number of religious buildings is impressing for the size of the city. There are nine main Christian churches of different denominations: four Lutheran, four Evangelical and one Orthodox. There are no advertisings of churches on the streets and on church buildings. The time of worship is usually written on small papers near the entrance (in Finnish) or on the Internet. In the center of Joensuu, the ‘*Kirkkokatu*’, which exactly means ‘The Church street’ is a historical street, which existed from the foundation of the city in 1848. On the two ends of the street is a Lutheran and an Orthodox church, which have the status of “folk” providing them with a special status from the government and are considered as bearers of national virtues. On the same street, there are two parish halls: one Lutheran, one Orthodox, places for gathering, informal communications and small meetings during the week. When standing in the middle of “*Kirkkokatu*” it is very well to understand that Joensuu is

a city, which is historically Christian but at the same time open to interchurch communication.

There are three Lutheran parishes in further districts of the city: one close to the city center on the other side of the river and two in far districts (*Noljakan kirkko* and *Rantakylän kirkko*). According to popular opinion in Joensuu, migrants from post-soviet countries live not in the city center, but in these districts. On the Sunday worship, all four church buildings of the Lutheran parishes are almost full of parishioners (near 300 people each time). Moreover, in the city center, there are three Evangelical churches: Pentecostal church, Free Church, and the City church (which is officially Lutheran, but has adopted worship styles from Evangelical Churches). Each of them has their own modern buildings and is a potential place of worship for migrants. Free Church and Pentecostal church have nearly 200 people on the worship every Sunday. City church is the youngest ecclesiastical body in Joensuu, and around 50 people attend Sunday services. A further Evangelical church was established by students of the University of Eastern Finland from African countries - the International church. The church is open for all, but it is rather not comforting for post-soviet migrants, due to completely unfamiliar music, the accent of pastors and other rituals of worship. The parishioners communicate through a mailing list with part of the Bible to read, recommendations and news.

There is as well a significant Orthodox parish in Joensuu. Its place of worship, founded in 1887, is situated in a historical building which was the former Russian military church. Orthodox worship is celebrated in the church building or in the chapel on the Orthodox part of the neighboring cemetery, which is shared with the Lutheran parishes of Joensuu. A private-owned Orthodox Culture Center is close to the Orthodox Church building. It is a place for events and exhibitions without regular services. Joensuu is the seat of the only Orthodox seminary in Finland. The seminary has a church-building, which is used for training students of Orthodox Theology at the University to conduct services; visitors are welcome to visit, but seldom do so, since it is not an official part of the Orthodox parish life.

### **Language policy in the church parishes**

Tyulenev claims in his book "*Translation and society*" that translation is a social activity which is never practiced outside the social context (Tyulenev, 2014). In the case of religious life, the translator's activity is the main part of church work with foreigners and migrants. Beside the International Church, all worships in Joensuu Christian churches are celebrated in Finnish. Each church provides different types of translation for foreigners and activities for communication and education. Generally

translators in the churches are non-professional. They are parishioners who help out voluntarily. Such kind of volunteering work is common practice in Evangelical churches, since in order to comply the notion of being a Christian and member of the particular church, voluntary service and work are compulsory. Still some parishioners specialized in being translators. Hokkanen, who investigated the translators in the Evangelical church in Tampere, notes this tendency: *“The majority of the volunteer interpreters, who are also members of the church, have received no training in interpreting or translation”* (Hokkanen, 2012). The main conclusion of her research is that *“Interpreters take a more active role in helping a community promote their ideology, and this can be as important as any prior formal training, even the quality of the interpreting being provided”* Translation into English is much easier for Finnish parishioners since the vast majority of Finns communicate in English fluently hence it is easy to find a volunteer in the church to translate worship simultaneously or personally. Translation into Russian is a special skill, served by the specialized translators. The specialization is required since the main idea of the worship should be clear for everybody and the translator should not change it in his own words.

#### *Evangelical churches and parishes*

The Pentecostal Church and the Free Church have audio simultaneous translator into English, using special equipment. These two churches are closer to the Evangelical Christianity in music, style of praying and rituals which exist in post-soviet countries. Parishioners in these churches said that they had Russian people on worships, but now they do not visit it anymore. One parishioner told the author that Russian people had stopped to attend services because of language issues. The Free Church is located close to the University. The church provides simultaneous translation. It is oriented to students who come to Joensuu from other cities in Finland as well as from abroad. On Fridays special youth meetings with youth music and communication after worship are held.

The worship of the City church happens in Finnish. More than half of the service constitutes out of singing international songs, which are familiar to people who visited Evangelical churches abroad and sang them in their native languages. The parish does not offer translation, still member provide personal translation when someone who knows Finnish and English is around. The church is challenged by this as every week a different number of volunteers are needed, depending on the number of foreigners attending the mess. The City-parish also organizes movie nights for English-speakers. On such events, visitors can watch a movie on Christian topics

and discuss it in English. All three Evangelical churches in the city provide translation into English, which allows worship believers who are able to communicate with locals in Finnish or English language.

#### *Orthodox Church*

The Orthodox parish of Joensuu, which is the second-largest parish of the Orthodox Church in Finland (some 5,600 members in 2014) has worship in Finnish and Russian language. During the sermon priest speak at the beginning in Finnish and after that retail the same information in Russian. On some days there is worship in Russian language only. There is a theological evening course with a discussion of Bible especially for Russian speakers. It is the only church-organized opportunity to discuss the Bible in Russian in Joensuu. During one visited Orthodox worship a new priest was introduced. In his welcome speech, he said that he hopes that Finnish people will visit Russian worships and Russian people should visit Finnish worship because it is evidence that all of them are one big Christian family. As for Evangelical Christians, the Orthodox Church is a not obvious religious choice, because of the huge differences in rituals and theology.

#### *Lutheran church*

The Lutheran parishes in Joensuu have individual language policies. Two of them, situated in the city center, have no signs in foreign languages or translation of worship at all. It is thus hard to imagine Russian-speaking migrants joining services at those churches. The situation is different in the periphery parishes Nolja and Rantakylä. Nolja parish has a simultaneous translation with a special audio system, Rantakylä parish provides a text translation of all sermon and songs on the screen. In the Rantakylä church had been an attempt to organize a Bible-study group for Russian-speakers, but, as one leader in the church said, nobody registered.

One more opportunity for worship in English in Joensuu is the 'International worship service', which happens once a month on Saturday evenings in the 'Parish hall'. This event is organized by local Lutheran parishes and the Evangelical City Church. The format of the meeting is a standard Protestant worship: glorification, sermon, communion and communication with drinks in the end. The worship combines features of Lutheran and Evangelical tradition. During the communion the deaconess was wearing traditional Lutheran ceremonial clothes but songs during the glorification were modern and dynamic, some of them with ethnical motives. People pray loudly in different styles, hold each other's hands, and sometimes dance. On some meetings guest priests usually English native speakers from Canada and

Philippines had been invited. Lutheran churches offer more forms of translation, only in areas where repatriates from Russia usually live even Russian translation. Translation of worship does not mean any additional, specific work with Russian-speaking migrants.

**Tab. 1** Forms of translation in churches in Joensuu

<b>Type of translation</b>	<b>Religious organisations in Joensuu</b>	<b>Advantages</b>	<b>Disadvantages</b>
No translation	Lutheran parish in the center of Joensuu	No extra expenditure money and effort.	No work with migrants on regular basis.
Simultaneous translation	Noljaka parish, Free church, Pentecostal church	Efficient and understandable translation for all believers	Special equipment and qualitative entrepreneur. High costs.
Text translation	Rantakylä parish	need only projector, which is usually used during the worship anyway.	Need to be prepared before worship. Only special moments are translated.
Personal translation	City parish	No need of special equipment.  Personal attention, better communication between believers.	Need more than one translator.
Worship in Finnish and Russian parallel	Orthodox parish	More attractive for Russian speakers  worship IN language, not a translation INTO language	Unnecessary information for Finnish-speaking parishioners. No opportunity to understanding for English-speakers.

Source: research by the author

## **Conclusions**

According to the data, Russian-speaking Evangelical Christians in North Karelia cannot find a suitable church for all their religion needs, consisting mainly out of fully comprehension of worship, education, and communication. At the same time, religious organizations do not understand Russian-speaking migrants as a larger group with special needs, despite their number in this region. Churches translate worship into English, because it is easier and more foreigners understand the translation. Nevertheless, not all of post-soviet migrants know English enough to understand the idea of a sermon and participate in parish life. As a result, Russian-speaking Evangelical Christians developed various options on how to cope with this problem:

Move to another city with a possibility to worship in Russian. One family moved from Joensuu to Kotka because there are churches established by post-soviet believers. This is the most radical, but, at the same time, most effective option.

Study Finnish language and become a full parishioner in a Finnish church. This is a more obvious option as it helps to become a part of the Finnish society. However, this option is the most difficult one. The parishes do not offer Finnish courses, migrants have to study the language in other organizations.

Leave church at all. Changing place of living can lead to other changes in life, so the lack of simple worship can be a reason for giving up a Christian life at all.

Obviously, choosing one of these options depends on of the personal situation of every migrant. Aleksynska claims that religiosity can change under the influence of external factors and settings. She mentions factors such as: economic development, former communist past, religious freedom and societal attitudes towards religion (Aleksynska, 2013).

The ability of Russian language worship in the Evangelical church can be the main reason to choose the city for living. Joensuu, despite the convenient geographical position for Russian-speaking migrants is a not suitable variant for Evangelical Christians.

## References

- Aleksynska, M., & Chiswick, B. R. (2013). The determinants of religiosity among immigrants and the native born in Europe. *Review of Economics of the Household*, 11(4), 563-598.
- Bisin, A., Patacchini, E., Verdier, T., & Zenou, Y. (2008). Are muslim immigrants different in terms of cultural integration? *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 6(2-3), 445-456.
- Bisin, A., & Verdier, T. (2000). " Beyond the melting pot": Cultural transmission, marriage, and the evolution of ethnic and religious traits. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, , 955-988.
- Connor, P. (2008). Increase or decrease? the impact of the international migratory event on immigrant religious participation. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 47(2), 243-257.
- Ellis, C. S., & Bochner, A. (2000). Autoethnography, personal narrative, reflexivity: Researcher as subject.
- Hirschman, C. (2004). The role of religion in the origins and adaptation of immigrant groups in the united states. *International Migration Review*, , 1206-1233.
- Hokkanen, S. (2012). Simultaneous church interpreting as service. *The Translator*, 18(2), 291-309.
- Lunkin, R. (2012). Believing in Russia-religious policy after communism, Geraldine Fagan: Book review. *International Journal for Religious Freedom: Measuring and Encountering Persecution*, 5(2), 179-181.
- Martikainen, T. (2009). Religious diversity beyond the cosmopolis: Immigration and the religious field in the city of Turku, Finland. *Religion*, 39(2), 176-181.
- Martikainen, T. (2013). *Religion, migration, settlement: Reflections on post-1990 immigration to Finland* Brill.
- Mayer, J., & Hämmerli, M. M. (2014). *Orthodox identities in western Europe: Migration, settlement and innovation* Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Reed-Danahay, D. (1997). auto/ethnography. *New York: Berg*,
- Tilastokeskus: Foreign citizens living permanently in Finland, 31 December 2014, preliminary data  
[http://www.migri.fi/download/58101\\_Tilasto\\_ulkomaan\\_kansalaisista\\_2014.pdf?51151a5748e0d288](http://www.migri.fi/download/58101_Tilasto_ulkomaan_kansalaisista_2014.pdf?51151a5748e0d288)
- Thumma, S (1991). Negotiating a religious identity: The case of the gay evangelical. *Sociology of Religion*, №. 4, 333-347.
- Tyulenev, S. (2014). *Translation and society: An introduction* Routledge.
- Vertovec, S. (2004). Migrant transnationalism and modes of Transformation. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), 970-1001.

## IN SEARCH OF AN IDENTITY FOR THE POLISH-RUSSIAN BORDER

Stanislaw K. DOMANIEWSKI<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

*The opening up of borders in Europe since 1989 has created vast possibilities for trade and cultural interaction. The collapse of the Iron Curtain has seen a radical shift in the reconfiguration and re-administration of the European borders landscape. Formerly hostile borders now resemble ever expanding economic and cultural bridges. Great strides have been made towards integration throughout vast areas in both Western and former Soviet Bloc economies (Mazurkiewicz 1992). An interconnected single market has been created where once only barriers existed. Links have been fashioned between countries, societies and individuals. Nonetheless certain border areas are still difficult to access and continue to challenge not only to wider EU economic integration, but also individual aspirations.*

*This paper reflects interviews conducted along the Polish-Russian border near Braniewo in Warmia-Mazury County, Poland. This area still has a militarized and bureaucratic border, requiring individuals to make an effort to access the other side. During individual interviews, conducted in summer 2012, two common themes were expressed. The first was of people making the most of the border which contrasted with others having no desire to cross or know what is on the other side. The first group made a choice to (inter)act and tolerated the current border situation. The second group instead chose to focus their lives inwards away from the border, highlighting the border as a kind of living entity with its own identity. This paper will discuss these themes and how individuals interact because of the existing border.*

**Keywords:** *Borders, Europe, Poland, Kaliningrad, Borders, Identity*

### Introduction

During the summer of 2012 fieldwork was undertaken in Braniewo, Poland to interview local townspeople about living in the border area. It was hoped that through these interviews a sense of what was going on in the lives of ordinary individuals living on the border could be gauged. Concerning everyday lives the

---

<sup>1</sup> Stanislaw K. Domaniewski, PhD Candidate at the University of Eastern Finland. stanido@uef.fi.

subjects showed how connected they felt to those on the other side in Kaliningrad Oblast (Province). These interviews were conducted before the change in border bureaucracy that occurred on the Polish-Russian border in August 2012. These interviews shed light on the mood at the time. Generally this was one of hope that the border would eventually be opened. They also display the discussions, both in locally and within the larger sphere of society, that were occurring during the time period before the bureaucratic shift occurred between the old visa regime and the new visa free regime.

Many positive stories of relationships were collected concerning multiple individuals living on both sides of the divide. Some respondents spoke in positive terms on what those living on the other side meant to them. The overarching theme that was presented from these interviews was one of compromising with the reality of the border. Individuals stated that the border demanded not only obedience to banal bureaucratic norms (visas, paperwork, etc.), but also a level of flexibility or adaptability. Although this idea of ‘working with the border’ needed to be incorporated into their daily lives, by no means was it acceptable to them. Rather it was perceived as one of a number of inconveniences that needed to be tolerated the price of living the border experience. Individuals still went about their daily business and tried to cope as best as possible.

Not all the respondents were aptly or positively inclined towards the border divide and the inhabitants beyond and some felt that they lived at the peripheral end of the country. Others spoke about how there was a feeling that the unknown was just beyond the tree line, but that it did not need to be investigated. Some of these respondents had never been to the other side of the border even though they had lived their entire lives in the town and repeatedly stated that they had no interest in the other side of the border. Instead, they felt like they had their backs to the border. Their overall sentiment was that to go north, over the border into Kaliningrad, was to go nowhere. Their lives ended here.

Interviews and informal conversations comprise the empirical part of this paper that looks at the following question through interview analysis: What occurs when an individual tries to interact or not interact with the border and those on the other side? This will be theoretically framed and grounded by the idea of what it means to live along a border. This will be accomplished by a theoretical deconstruction of the notion of the identity. This paper will also try to understand why a deconstruction of identity leads one to surmise that flexibility is part of a so

called 'identity of the border'. Lastly, this paper will offer some concluding thoughts on what the consequences are of not interacting.

### **Borders in Context**

Historically borders often have been seen as an area of contention and conflict rather than as a space to exchange ideas. It is here where cultures meet, intermingle, clash or divide entirely. More recently borders have been viewed as possible resource and economic bridges. Even so, demarcation seems to be a necessary human process to project a form of stability or 'sameness'. Sameness only can be defined by another's otherness or their difference from oneself (O'Dowd 2002).

The view of state borders, as an administrative demarcation line for 'otherness', has shifted to the idea of borders as unique and individually defined. O'Dowd writes that borders can be viewed as:

*...a global patchwork of vastly variable and unequal states shaped by different historical trajectories and with very different capacities to regulate and control their territorial borders and the passage of goods, people, capital and information across them. (2010: 1045)*

Still one can argue that the perceptions and the reality of individual borders are two separate things. Each border has its characteristics or dichotomy of how it functions. Likewise, each individual perceives the border and is influenced by it in their own way (Laine 2014). The external borders of the EU are no different.

To understand the idea of what 'living at the border' is and crafting an identity from it one must first look at what 'identity' is and what it entails. Simply put identity is the cumulative sum of the individual and their circumstances expressed to themselves and others. It is as Heyman and Pallitto state, "*the way in which individuals experience and understand themselves*" (2008: 320). Even so, this is a collective process that involves more than just one person. Who a person 'is' is expressed in their own actions and the understanding the actions of others. This understanding is not necessarily conscious. It can instead be understood as actions or ideas expressed at the subconscious or emotional level. Jenkins (1996) states that to attach an identity to something is to classify it. These classifications can range from the very broad to the very minute: gender, ethnicity, nationality, sexuality, living space or place. The classification of the human object is a reflection of societal needs or wants aimed at the individual (Weedon 2004). This creates order or structure within a society and outside of that society. In a similar fashion identity is

arbitrated by groups imposing definition or classification on other groups. None of these processes are finite and can instead be understood as never ending. This process of categorization by society or others continues to move on in an adaptive fashion (Hall 1990). The individual takes on what categorizations are necessary and useful and sheds ones that are not. The individual conforms to one extent or another.

Issues concerning identity and the ‘other’ become problematic when one incorporates the border. What defines who one is and who one is not can be challenging at best. Sovik (2006) argues that identity itself is dividing line of some sort between groups. Placing an administrative border line between two peoples further complicated this identity relationship. Even so Hubbard et al. (2002) argues that the dualistic ideas that identity implies are too simplistic. Simply defining an identity as territorially bound, such as to the border, does not allow for a complexity of that identity. Secondly, the geographical bounds of an identity happen in multiple ways. Reflexivity is a potent force when one group’s own identity is bound up in who the other is not, but often this is not a complete picture of who they are. Instead identity can be defined as a multi-layered social construction (Du Gay 2000). It is the societal and individual accumulation of multiple pieces of ‘baggage’ from which comes a certain hierarchical stratum of who one is/ is not. Not all these parts are useful to understand how the individual functions within a society but may instead impede one’s way by restricting certain actions that would otherwise be desirable.

Arguably, if only a simple definition of the other is allowed it creates overarching identity categorizations. One can begin to look at the initial deconstruction of an identity by looking at generalized structures (Self and Other, Here and There, etc.), but this should be only a starting point. Some classification are broad (language, race, etc.) while others are far more nuanced (accent, self-identification, etc.). The intermeshing of multiple categories or strata makes up an identity. Derrida (1991) argues that not all these categories are always in confluence with one another by examining the relationship between language and identity, but it is equally applicable to other strata of identity.

What becomes problematic is when identity is challenged by outside forces such as the power of the state and its bureaucratic processes. Paasi (1996) argues that these power structures can manifest themselves into both a negative and positive fashion concerning social identities (friends, enemies, stereotypes, etc.). These can range from diverse real ideas that can be felt (state power, bureaucratic structures, etc.) to more imagined ones (exoticism towards the ‘other’s’ culture, feelings of cultural hegemony of one culture over another). The identity of a borderland can be

argued to be built upon similar categorizations to those expressed by Derrida (1991) while still sharing a relationship with multiple power hierarchies. Furthermore it is the importance or prominence of these power relationships that influences the identity of the border. In a figurative way, just as good fences make good neighbors, so do mutually beneficial power structures.

If one takes into account Lundén's (2011) ideas that crossing the border is a necessary human trait maintaining one's own psychology and wellbeing, we can ask what happens when someone shuns crossing the border because of previously mentioned power relationships or dichotomies? The answer may be found in the creation of imagined realities. Part of a belief system that lacks full knowledge of others and oneself is susceptible to falling into the trap of stereotyping the other (Paasi 1996). Marginalized border dwellers that lack knowledge of those on the other side may accept such 'simplified' truths. Stereotypes of the 'other' can develop on such a border because of a perception that the individual has no power to influence larger practices. Without cross-border interaction individuals can end up becoming a caretaker of diminished identity, creating a situation in which the 'other' is nonexistent or unimportant. In this scenario they are then left to figuratively look inward at society with their back against the border.

### **The Creation and Remanufacturing of the Polish-Russian Borderland**

The areas that are today Warmia-Mazury Wojowod (County) and Kaliningrad Oblast are a result of World War II. Previous to 1945 the area was known as East Prussia. Territorially, linguistically and culturally the land and the people were linked to the German nation, albeit sometimes as a part of different nation states, in one way or another for over 700 years (Diener 2011). This changed after the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945. In 1946 the Soviet Union divided the territory between itself and the newly created People's Republic of Poland (Lunden 2012). It then began to systematically seize all land and property from local inhabitants. Between 1945 and 1950 the remaining ethnically German population were forcibly expelled (Mertin 2013). The northern part of the territory was formally annexed to the Soviet Union and renamed Kaliningrad Oblast after one of the founding members of the Bolshevik Party, Mikhail Kalinin, and resettled with individuals from multiple parts of the Soviet Union<sup>1</sup>. The Polish side was repopulated mainly by Poles who were resettled from land lost to the Soviet Union east of the 'Curzon' defensive line in 1939 and later annexed after the war's end in 1945 (Dewars et al. 2000).

During the Soviet period the border of the Kaliningrad/Warmia-Mazury region was promoted as an area where Poles and Soviets could meet to trade and build cultural ties. This idea was backed by communist propaganda that touted the border as a zone to build friendship between nations, though as no official border crossing point existed in the area, individuals could not interact even if they had wanted to. What existed beyond the line was a mystery to border residents (Swiecicki 2009). Some cross-border meetings of the two sides did occur, though almost all happened on an official level between government functionaries (Balogh 2012). Additionally, interactions were made more difficult due to Kaliningrad Oblast's special military status in the USSR (Gromadzki 2001).

The situation remained relatively unchanged until the end of the communist period in 1989. In the early 1990s the Gronowo-Mamonovo border crossing, near the towns of Braniewo (PL) and Mamonovo (R) was opened to allow vehicular traffic across the border divide. Poles and Soviets could now travel to each other's side of the border with the proper paperwork. Cross-border trade began to be fostered and individual interactions increased after the collapse of the USSR (Palmowski 2010). Concerns about the future of the border arrangement started to grow as Poland began talks in the mid-1990s to join organizations such as NATO and later the EU. These were respectively completed in 1999 and 2004. The role of the border area took on greater importance for both sides because of the direction that Poland was moving towards, i.e. new defense alliances with NATO and economic alliances with the West. Many questioned whether Russia would continue to allow Poles into the territory if they were moving away from their influence. These concerns were generally resolved in 2003 with an agreement allowing Polish citizens to apply for a preferential visa. The incorporation of Poland into the EU made travel from the Russian side more difficult during 2004. From late 2004 until July 2012 Russian citizens were granted entry to Poland via bilateral EU agreements if they lived within 30km of the border and had submitted the proper paperwork to the respective border agency. Such agreements already existed with other states that border Poland but were not part of the EU (Ukraine and Belarus) (Radio Free Europe 2010). The EU had been facilitating a move away from the idea of the border as a military demarcation line towards the concept of creating security by building closer economic ties since the late 1990s along its own internal borders (Andreas 2003). An argument has been made that this process is occurring on other external borders, but this process seems to be an uneven one (O'Dowd 13). Kaliningrad is just such an example of said unevenness (Sagan 2011).

August 2012 marked a turning point in the way the visa regime functioned towards those who lived in the Polish-Russian border area. A long awaited visa free zone was created in the whole of Kaliningrad Oblast, half of the Warmia-Mazury Wojowod and about a tenth of the Pomorskie Wojowod which encompassed the 'Three Cities' area of Sopot, Gdansk and Gdynia. Russians can travel to Poland for up to 30 days in a month or 90 days in a 6 month period provided that they have lived in Kaliningrad Oblast area as their primary residence for the three previous years. Travel beyond these areas would result in one or all of the following penalties: variable fine of 5-125 Euros, deportation, revocation of their Schengen visa status and a subsequent ban on the renewal of visa free travel for an undetermined period of time (Polish Ministry of the Interior Website).

The new border regime configuration and bureaucratic structure on the Polish-Russian border is a marked change from what residents have previously lived through during the communist system and later period after 1989.

What follows is a presentation of the empirical fieldwork. The sections also contain an analysis of the qualitative data and how it relates to previously mentioned theoretical ideas. This analysis is based on Barnes and Gregory's (1997) idea that meaning or analysis can be gleaned from events that occur in people's lives. The collection of all of these initial formal and informal encounters, as well as the later analysis discussed in this paper, was taken in an ethnographic anthropological style as described by Robinson (1998).

### **'Open Borders' in Braniewo: A Paradox of Perspective**

Braniewo is the last Polish town on the western edge of the border with Russia. The northern Polish-Russian border, a closed one until the end of Cold War has been opened to border traffic after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. This has created new possibilities for many of the residents on both sides. Many Poles drive across to Russia to fill up with cheap fuel. Russians drive to Poland to fill shopping carts with better quality products that cannot be purchased at home. The area is true to the classic idea of border divides (O'Dowd 2002). The two nation states are split linguistically, culturally, economically and politically. Each side has its own traditions and value systems.

From a geographic point of view the area is quite unique. It feels so remote to not only the rest of the nation state of Poland but also to what is on the other side of the border. Public transportation links between the core of the country and the

border area are sporadic at best. The travel time to cover the 300km distance to the capital of Warsaw is quite long (between 6-9 hours). This separation is exacerbated towards Kaliningrad on the other side with long queues on the border.

Multiple respondents spoke of how people adapted to the logistical situation. It was a part of their daily lives and the individual had to adapt to it as to all things. This was a common theme expressed by all the interviewees: resourcefulness, flexibility and adaptation to any given situation concerning the border. One needed to allow the border time to do what it does. One respondent stated that you could set your watch to the border, but it would almost always be wrong<sup>ii</sup>.

A local hotelier spoke at length about how he needed to be flexible concerning his own business and those coming from the other side<sup>iii</sup>. Long queues at the border could force him to check-in guests many hours after their expected arrival time. Often this occurred at earlier morning or late night hours that were not necessarily convenient. His personal life also needed to take into account that scheduling a meeting with associates coming from the other side and the logistics of crossing the border did not always work in tandem.

Another common theme that was expressed by one respondent was that the border somehow was a machine that sometimes broke down for no fathomable reason. *“We are all part of great machine here at the border. Some of us don’t know where we fit and others don’t want to fit”*.<sup>iv</sup> A local businessman expressed this sentiment when stating that setting up football matches in the last year had truly taken on an impromptu fashion<sup>v</sup>. The matches were often planned, but had an ad-hoc feel to them. This was because of the need for them to be delayed or have a variable start time. He stated that it was getting more and more difficult to run the tournaments across the border because of the cost in time and money. He could see no reason for why the situation in crossing the border had become more difficult. One respondent stated that things seemed to work out one way or another. The end product of getting across the divide to do a, b, or c would in the end *“come out in the wash”*<sup>vi</sup>.

There was also the expression that the border had its own personality and moods<sup>vii</sup>. The logistics of getting through the border depended on these moods. Somewhere, someone was pulling the strings on how the border functioned on any given day. The respondent could give no specifics on who that might be beyond vague ideas of some politicians on their or the other side or possibly this or that border bureaucracy. These ideas are much in keeping with Paasi’s (1996) thoughts that a lack of knowledge creates a false image or imagined dichotomy on what is happening on and beyond the border.

Multiple respondents stated that the logistics and bureaucracy of getting across the border made them not want to go across<sup>viii</sup>. One of them, a Polish Army 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant, stated that in spite of these hurdles he obviously had to interact with the border<sup>ix</sup>. This interaction can be labeled as one of adhering to the securitization of border. He vehemently saw no point to it. He would rather be back in Afghanistan and rejoin his previous assignment. He expressed his sentiment of how out of touch he felt with Braniewo and the surrounding place. “It’s a hole”. He saw his position in the town as only a temporary one. The army would move him elsewhere when the time came. In keeping with Kolossov (2011), the 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt. saw the border as no more than a line. This was because his job was based on defense, not bridging the divide in keeping with the ideas of O’Dowd (2002).

A public servant stated similar sentiments<sup>x</sup>. In his position he had to interact with those who came across the border in his day to day, but did not care so much about these interactions. The respondent had been living in the town for over a decade but had never crossed the border. His governmental position serving the public did not make him comfortable with crossing. He feared the time constraints when applying for the proper paperwork or trying to cross.

Public servants, whether they are employed by the state or the military, seemed to be trapped in a paradox of securitization of the border (van Houtum 2011). Directly involved with said securitization and charged with the protection of the border to one extent or another, ironically they spoke about how this hindered their interaction with it. This also impacted the stereotype that they had built up about those on the other side. None could reconcile these because they could not see the reality of what was beyond the line of the border.

Two public servants spoke about having an image of Russians as part of criminal organization only based on the car that they drove. Stereotyping of the other was displayed particularly well upon leaving the town for the highway as respondents assumed any woman seen hitchhiking by the side of the road as a ‘Russian prostitute’<sup>xi</sup>. Likewise, traders selling cheap defective goods or cigarettes at the local open air market were labeled by respondents as ‘Russian’.

All respondents stated that they benefited in some way from the cheap gasoline that people trafficked in from across the Russian border. Likewise, all respondents stated that they occasionally took advantage of the trade that was provided by so called ‘ants’ (individuals who make their livelihood through petty trade or the smuggling of goods).

### **In Search of an Identity for the Border**

One can argue that the identity present in Braniewo is in fact not an individual identity. Instead one can argue that it is the identity of the actual border. All the different classifications or subjectivities which it inhabits (bureaucracies, economics, culture, language, religion, etc.) feed the identity. It can be classified as fragmented at first glance, but only because its characteristics are so multiple in nature. The respondents displayed these different aspects in one way or another. The following section will try to glean meaning from some of the characteristics which were observed.

One piece of the so called ‘identity’ that was experienced within the town is being directly shaped by multiple aspects of life interacting with the reality that is ‘the border’ divide. Firstly, it is shaped by the sheer logistics of such interaction, especially with the time constraints of the border. Because of this difficulty those individuals that do interact incorporated a large amount of flexibility into their daily lives. The business of everyday life needed to run by the timepiece of the border.

An observable secondary aspect of individuals adapting to the logistical issues was one of falling into the trap of the unknown. Respondents spoke about the border divide as if it was actually a living entity. The border had feelings or a ‘mood’ that governed the way it functioned. They spoke of this set of border traits as if it was a real rather than imagined idea. An air of mystery surrounds the border. The difficulties of getting past stereotypes of the other and all this entails is made more difficult by the fact that getting to see where the other comes from is time consuming or cost prohibitive. One can wonder whether the lack of interaction with those on the other side had psychological implications. This would be in keeping with Lundén’s (2011) ideas of the necessity of crossing the border for one’s own wellbeing. All respondents, to one extent or another, had created an image of the other that was far from reality. Whether this image was one of honest hard working Russians or criminal elements depended on who they were and what they worked as. Their role on the border, whether as businessman, civil servant or being employed in the black economy, painted the image of who the ‘other’ was. The use of stereotyping was quite prevalent, but this was created to fit the situation or the context. For some respondents Russians were customers, for others they were criminals or they provided a means to an end in the past and present. Many of these view points and stereotypes were based on assumptions without evidence. During the time spent with respondents it became clear that the overt level of securitization of the border

contributed to this general level of mistrust towards those on the other side. No respondent stated that those coming from the other side were 'good people'. At best they were shoppers or had money. At worst they were criminals and prostitutes.

The logistics of crossing the Polish-Russian border are not the only aspect that influences the identity of the border. Individuals are separated by more than just the crossing time. The border is more than just the sum of its respective parts (Newman 2003). It is beset by multiple pieces interacting with one other and inhibiting the growth of the individual. One can make the argument that a narrative is observed in the power of the border. Lives were shaped by the pressure exerted by the border. Whether these manifestations were real or imaged did not matter. People's daily habits made them real. Individuals are separated by their experiences of interacting with border and the receiving shared knowledge or narratives they gain from these interactions (Paasi 1996, Zhurzhenko 2011).

All respondents acknowledged that the border had some sort of power over their own lives, be it negative, positive, logistical, imagined or real. As a result of their border experiences some respondents turned their back away from it, while others grudgingly embraced it out of necessity. Even so, all had a monetary stake in the border and needed the border to function. They accepted the fact that sometimes it did not function as planned and that they were occasionally bound by its whims. Remarkably, those respondents who shied away from border interactions were employed by the state and had little or no personal monetary stake in the border beyond their state funded jobs.

## **Conclusion**

The goal of this paper was twofold. Firstly, it tried to show how current border theorization resonates when one couples it with a discussion concerning identity. Although the matter may be complex, one must acknowledge that a conceptual framework does somehow fit together. Secondly and more importantly, it tried to show that the Polish-Russian border is more than just the sum of a group of lines on a map, territorial edicts, orders or bureaucratic rules. It extends beyond the dividing line that is the physical demarcation of its extent. The research question hoped to illustrate how the physical border extends to the individual because one is forced to live with the border and the circumstances it brings.

The identity of the border plays a role in the way individuals live their everyday lives. As with all identities a basic building block is the concept of place.

Living on the border is no different. The border is more than the sum of its most basic parts and other strata are influenced by these basic building blocks (Newman 2003). Individuals gain key pieces of their own identity because of what the border is and how its subjective aspects function with one another. From this a trickledown effect can be felt towards societal roles and behavior. Looking at what has been presented in this paper one can see how this is manifested between the respondents that were interviewed, though further study is needed.

### References

- Andreas, P. (2003) 'Redrawing the Line Border and Security in the Twenty First Century', in *Internal Security*, 28:2, 78-111,
- Balogh, P. 2014, "The Russian-Polish borderland: From physical towards mental borders?" in *The New European Frontiers: Social and Spatial (Re)Integration Issues in Multicultural and Border Regions*, eds. M. Bufon, J. Minghi & A. Paasi, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, pp. 89-109,
- Barnes, T. Gregory, D. (1996). *Reading Human Geography: The Poetics and Politics of Enquiry*. Arnold, London,
- Diener, A. Hagen, J. (2011) Geopolitics of the Kaliningrad Exclave and Enclave: Russian and EU Perspectives, in *Eurasian Geography and Economics*. 52 : 567 -592,
- Derrida. J. (1991). *A Derrida Reader: Between the Blinds*. Harvester Wheatsheaf Press, Brighton,
- Dewar, S. Fairlie, L. and Joenniemi, P. (2000). *The Kaliningrad Puzzle: A Russian Region within Europe*. Aland Islands Peace Institute, Aland Islands, Finland,
- Dieckhoff, A., Gutiérrez, N. (2001). *Modern roots: studies of national identity*. Aldershot: Ashgate,
- Du Gay, P. (2000). Identity, Sociology, History, in P. du Gay, J. Evans, P. Redman ed., *Identity: A Reader*. Sage. London,
- Hall, S. (1990). Cultural Identity and Diaspora Identity: Community, Culture and Difference, in Rutherford, J. ed. *Identity: Community, Culture and Difference*. Lawrence and Wishart Press, London,
- Heyman, J, Pallitto, R. (2008). Theorizing Cross-Border mobility: Surveillance, Security and Identity in *Surveillance & Society* 5(3): 315-333,
- Hubbard, P., Kitchen, B., Bartley, B., Fuller, D. (2002). *Thinking Geographically*, Continuum, London,
- Jenkins, R. (1996). *Social Identity*. Routledge, London,

Gromadzki, G., Wilk, A. (2001). *Overcoming Alienation: Kaliningrad as a Russian Enclave inside the European Union*, Batory Foundation, Warsaw,

Kolossov, V (2011). Post-Soviet Boundaries: Territoriality, Identity, Security, Circulation, in: D. Wastl-Walker, Editor, *Ashgate Research Companion to Border Studies*, Ashgate, Surrey, 171-194,

Kostyashov, Y. (2007). The Post-war Settlement in the Kaliningrad Region and the Characteristics of the Soviet Settlers. in *Kaliningrad Identity: Crucial to Democracy and Development in the Baltic Sea Region*, Center for Baltic & East European Studies, Sodertown University, 45-54,

Laine, J. (2013). Understanding Borders: Potentials and Challenges of Evolving Border Concepts. In: Sevastianov S. V., P. Richardson & A. Kireev (Eds). *Borders and Transborder Processes in Eurasia*, 30-44. Dalnauka, Vladivostok,

Lunden, T. (2011). Borderlands- a Friendly Meeting Place? <http://kulturaliberalna.salon24.pl/371571,lunden-pogranicza-przyjazne-miejsca-spotkan>. Accessed 23.05.13,

Lunden, T. (2012). Enclaves-Geographical and Historical Perspectives. In: Jańczak, J., Osiewicz, P. (Eds), *European exclaves in the process of de-bordering and re-bordering*, Logos Verlag, Thematicon, 18, Berlin, 11-19,

Mazurkiewicz, L. (1992). *Human Geography in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, Halsted Press, New York,

Mertin, U. (2013) *Forgotten Voices: The Expulsion from Eastern Europe after World War II*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick,

Newman, D. (2003). Boundaries, in Agnew, J., Mitchell K. and Toal, G. ed., *A Companion to Political Geography*. Blackwell, Oxford. 127-137,

O'Dowd, L. (2002) 'The Changing Significance of European Borders'. *Regional & Federal Studies*, 12:4, 13-36,

O'Dowd, L. (2010). From the 'Borderless World' to a 'World of Borders' 'Bring History Back', in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*: volume 28, Pion Ltd. 1031-1051,

Paasi, A. (1996). *Territories, Boundaries and Consciousness: The Changing Geographies of the Finnish-Russian Border*. Wiley Press, New York,

Paasi, A (2011). A Border Theory: An Unattainable Dream or A realistic Aim for Border Scholars? , in: D. Wastl-Walker, Editor, in *Ashgate Research Companion to Border Studies*, Ashgate, Surrey, 11-31,

Palmowski, T. (2010). *Problems of Cross-Border Cooperation Between Poland and the Kaliningrad Oblast of the Russian Federation*, Gdansk University,

Radio Free Europe (2010), *Poland To Push For Visa Free Travel In Russia's Kaliningrad*. Retrieved from [http://www.rferl.org/content/Poland\\_To\\_Push\\_For\\_VisaFree\\_Travel\\_In\\_Russias\\_Kaliningrad/2120781.html](http://www.rferl.org/content/Poland_To_Push_For_VisaFree_Travel_In_Russias_Kaliningrad/2120781.html). Accessed 26.05.13,

Robinson, G. (1998). *Methods and Techniques in Human Geography*. John Wiley Publishing, New York,

Sagan, I. (2011). Post-Socialist European Neighbourhood and Civil Society Networks between Poland, Russia and Ukraine: a Case of Multi-Level Contingency, in: Scott, J. & Liikanen, I. Editors, *European Neighbourhood through Civil Society Networks?*, Routledge, Oxen, United Kingdom, 17-34,

Sovik, M (2006). Languages in the Ukrainian- Russian Borderland: Talking about History and Identity, in: Hurd, M. Editor, *Borderland Identities*, Forlags ab Gondolin, 195-224,

Swiecicki, J. (2009). Kaliningrad Identity as a Russian bridge between Past and Present, between East and West, in: eds. Lunden, T., Bergström, G. and Nilsson, L., *Kaliningrad Identity: Crucial to Democracy and Development in the Baltic Sea Region*, Center for Baltic & East European Studies, Sodertown University, 37-43,

van Houtum, H (2011). The Mask of the Border, in: D. Wastl-Walker, Editor, *Ashgate Research Companion to Border Studies*, Ashgate, Surrey, 49-62,

Weedon, C. (2004). *Identity and Culture: Narratives of Difference and Belonging*, Routledge, London,

Zhurzhenko, T (2011). Borders and Memory, in: D. Wastl-Walker, Editor, *Ashgate Research Companion to Border Studies*, Ashgate, Surrey, 63-84.

#### **Websites**

[http://msw.gov.pl/portal/pl/2/10135/Otwarcie\\_malego\\_ruchu\\_granicznego.html](http://msw.gov.pl/portal/pl/2/10135/Otwarcie_malego_ruchu_granicznego.html) (Polish Ministry of the Interior regulations concerning visa free travel to and from Kaliningrad)

#### **Endnotes**

---

<sup>i</sup> For a detailed breakdown on incoming migrants, see Kostyashov (2007)

<sup>ii</sup> Respondent: Tradesperson, June 9th, 2012

<sup>iii</sup> Respondent: Businessman, June 12th, 2012

<sup>iv</sup> Respondent: Tradesperson, June 9th, 2012

<sup>v</sup> Respondent: Businessman, June 12th, 2012

<sup>vi</sup> Respondent: Civil Servant, July 6th, 2012

<sup>vii</sup> Respondent: Tradesperson, June 27th, 2012

<sup>viii</sup> Respondent: Civil Servant, July 6th, 2012.

Respondent: Civil Servant, June 8th, 2012.

<sup>ix</sup> Respondent: Civil Servant, July 10th, 2012

<sup>x</sup> Respondent: Civil Servant, June 8th, 2012

<sup>xi</sup> Respondent: Civil Servant, July 12th, 2012

## **INFORMAL ECONOMY AND URBAN SPATIAL CHANGES IN THE BORDER TOWN BANEH. A CASE STUDY FROM THE IRANIAN-IRAQI BORDER**

**Reza Kheyroddin<sup>1</sup>**  
**Mehdi Razpour<sup>2</sup>**

### **Abstract**

*Considering the various economic and political contexts in different parts of the world, economic relations and integration are performed with different intensity in regions such as the EU or the Middle East. One of the main reasons for the emerging of informal economy at the border regions in the Middle East is the strong barrier function of boundaries in Middle East countries. The Tourism consumption has extended recently in Baneh County, one of the western border regions of Iran neighboring with Iraq. The specific situation of informal economy, low price of smuggled goods, commercial tourism and massive flows of financial capital, all together have caused unpredictable changes in micro and macro levels of the Iran & Iraq border region and specially in Baneh County. The future growth of Baneh County is despite emerging positive spatial changes in Baneh city, doubtful. Unclear policies of local and national government regarding decision making, unclear management of the informal economy and currency instability create an uncertain future. Conventional methods of planning will not have necessary enough impact and effects in order to influence those issues in border regions. The paper is based on the examination of recent spatial changes and economic trends, which were done by descriptive and analytical methods in Baneh city. The research was documented through face to face and video interviews with local stakeholders, photography, field works and visits to the border region. As a result, some strategies were determined which steer recent trends. Further on threats towards a sustainable regional development had been described.*

**Keywords:** *Informal economy, border regions, commercial tourism, urban and regional spatial changes, strategic analysis.*

---

<sup>1</sup> Assistant Professor, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning, Iran University of Science and Technology, Tehran, Iran, [reza\\_kheyroddin@iust.ac.ir](mailto:reza_kheyroddin@iust.ac.ir), Tel: +98(0)2177240467

<sup>2</sup> Ph.D. student in urban and regional planning, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning, Iran University of Science and Technology, Tehran, Iran, [m.razpour@gmail.com](mailto:m.razpour@gmail.com), Tel: +989189828327

## **Introduction**

The informal economy and its spatial consequences is one of the most important issues in the border regions of Iran. The topic had been neglected in recent national and regional territorial plans. There are many factors that affect border provinces, such as discrimination and inequality in employment opportunities and income. The consequences of this inequality are poverty, lack of security, lack of minimal indicators of life quality, migration and smuggling. In addition, the marginalization of these regions from the central government intensify those problems. The border residents had been prompted to diversify their business exploiting the divide. They are forced to test new ways to secure their life quality – putting them in contrast with the formal rules from the capitol. The resulting activities have profound impacts on the economic, social, cultural, physical and spatial structure of border regions.

Despite of the difficulties of the informal economic activities, there are significant positive effects of the informal economy on the life quality of border residents such as:

- Establishment of commercial and financial centers such as malls and banks in Baneh city
- transforming the city from an administrative-political to a commercial role
- Flourishing economic activities in rural areas through the creation of informal depots of imported goods, which helps to keep and even increase the rural population
- Increasing employment in the service sector
- Increasing employment opportunities related to the informal trade
- Increasing commercial tourism

The economic growth and the urban development of Baneh are indicated by the rising per capita income of the border residents. They become less reliant on agriculture and industry. This results in the creation of appropriate security in the margins of the country, which is a positive result for the national government.

This study attempts to analyze and assess the significant economic and spatial consequences of the informal economic activities and the trade tourism on

Baneh. As a result, strategies will be extracted which might support a sustainable regional development.

### **The spatial effects of informal economic activities in Baneh**

The regional development planning in Iran has rarely had a positive role for sustainable regional development. The role of cities in the peripheral border regions had been almost fully neglected. The national regional development plans contain a couple of obstructions for the border regions such as: top-bottom approach, non-reliance on the original context of development and a lack of participation on the one hand and using traditional methods of development researches, while ignoring newer and innovative theoretical approaches and methods of scientific knowledge on the other hand.

Baneh city in the Kurdistan province of Iran, is one of the border cities that have been exposed to a wide trade and goods exchange. The difference between national currency prices on both sides of the border has created a flow of informal activities like smuggling and non-registered trade. Most of the smuggled goods are consumed by commercial tourists from throughout the country. According to the head of the Cultural Heritage of Kurdistan province, 1.438.500 commercial tourists visited Baneh city in the first four months of 2009 (Felegari, 2009). The existence of this massive influx of tourists who are buying the smuggled goods have extensive spatial and physical consequences on the city and the region. The central part of Baneh city has had extensive changes over less than a decade due to the construction of commercial centers and malls. The population increased unexpectedly in the city, which has nowadays 104422 inhabitants and most of the border villages, leading to an unprecedented and unstable monetary circulation. But all of these changes are insecure, since the flow of capital is affected by government legislation. The decisions of the national government can change the situation in the border region easily by blocking the borders or increasing the currency price.

In order to develop Baneh sustainable, it is necessary to create plans for the future. The economic, social and cultural boom and sustainable development can be realized within the region by planning, managing and monitoring the recent changes correctly. But, insecurity, the occurrence of an unstable border economy, unemployment, depression and inactivity might be a result of the inadvertence of local and national institutions resulting in the disorganization and marginalization of the border region.

The conventional methods of planning are not responsible and efficient enough to analyze spatial and physical changes of the region and the city. Therefore, special methods for the process of surveying, recognizing and analyzing are required. They have to take into consideration the special situation in border regions.

This paper attempts to survey the imported smuggling goods and analyze the spatial and physical consequences of this flow on the urban space. Strategic planning approaches in urban development should be the base for analyzing and steering the recent unstable changes to a sustainable urban and regional development. A systematic approach is necessary to identify the factors of urban and regional changes. Thus, the external and internal factors influencing the development of Baneh are analyzed. Most sources and samples used in this paper were obtained through library and field studies. Descriptive and analytical methods had been used. The data and information had been collected through face to face interviews with local actors, photography, field surveys and visits to the border region. The extend of the informal economy and its spatial consequences had been analyzed and considered on macro and micro level (urban and regional level). Some development, such as the increase in commercial land use was analyzed in the city center on the micro level (urban level), while unprecedented demographic changes in the border villages had been considered on macro level. A SWOT analysis was performed in order to analysis the opportunities and challenges of the economical and touristic development of the city. The desired status for this study is achieving a sustainable development of Baneh by relying on an optimum management and planning of the recent processes in the region. The method of the SWOT analysis is used as a technique for strategic planning models. The external and internal factors of the system (the city of Baneh) are identified and codified. The identified factors act beneficial or detrimental for achieving the goal. In this technique, weaknesses and strengths are determined as internal factors, opportunities and threats are determined as external factors. The strategies are extracted by facing external and internal factors together. Table 1 illustrate the produced strategies and the relation of the factors to each other.

**Table 1.** S.W.O.T. Table Structure; The relation between Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats and the output strategies

<b>Weaknesses</b>	<b>Strengths</b>	
<p><b>Offensive Strategies</b></p> <p>How do I overcome the weaknesses by using the opportunities?</p>	<p><b>Planning</b></p> <p>How do I use these strengths to take advantage of the opportunities?</p>	<b>Opportunities</b>
<p><b>Critical Issues</b></p> <p>How do I address the weaknesses that will make the threats a reality?</p>	<p><b>Defensive Strategies</b></p> <p>How do I use my Strengths to reduce the likelihood and impact of the threats?</p>	<b>Threats</b>

Source : Pires and Robinson, 2001 & Authors modification 2015

### **Trade-based tourism industry**

Commercial tourism which is defined by Davidson as travel for purposes related to work, it is considered one of the earliest forms of tourism (Davidson, 1994: 1). According to World Bank's research, tourism is confirmed as a strong factor in regional development (Hawkins, 2007:350). According to Laurel et al., most governments realize the role and importance of tourism as a source to generate income and employment. Most governments developed strategies for developing the tourism industry (Laurel, 2007). On regional level tourism can help to increase income in the destinations through the expenditures of tourists or tour operators directly. (Gee & Chuck, 2003). Thus tourism is a widespread activity which accompanies important economic, social, cultural and environmental effects with itself playing an effective role in regional development (Alizadeh, 2003: 57). Used in a responsible way, tourism can highlight regional authenticities and helps to preserve and improve these authenticities resulting in the growth and development of national income (Mikaeili, 2000: 21-22). Along with the planning for touristic development, sustainability aspects should be noted. Griffin underlines that some countries have adopted the strategy of sustainable tourism development (Griffin, 1999:10). In 1999 at the UN conference on environment and development in Rio de Janeiro it was asserted that travel and tourism have prepared suitable and positive solutions to achieve sustainable development goals as one of the major sectors of economy (W.T.O, 1999: 1).

Nowadays, urban tourism is an important activity that has stimulated social actions and spatial changes (Cazes & Potier, 2003: 10). According to the theoretical frame of urban planning, tourism has an important role in urban development. The urban infrastructure has to be planned taking into consideration the needs of the tourism industry. This is specifically relevant for cities such as Baneh, which are located on the edge of the country. The border regions is benefiting from the flows of financial capital, goods and the commercial tourism, which are the key factors for the recent flourishing dynamics. They constituted the major factors for the local economic activities, capital accumulation and development of the border region.

### **The concept of informal economy and its consequences**

The gross domestic product (GDP) is determined by all official registered and accounted economic activities of all economic actors. The aim of those national accounting system is regarding to Mardokhi (2012) to enter the production value of all actors and economic activities in the national accounting system. In developing countries the establishment of informal economy had been enabled since not all economic activities and actors are registered. They act individually and outside of the formal system. Mardokhi believes that 'formal activities' produce in developing countries serious obstacles, which let actors prefer to work out of the formal system. The state creates those obstacles through bureaucracy, which makes formal activities so complex, expensive and lasting that it prevents actors from even trying. It may be said that bureaucracy is the most important factor for creation and extension of informal economy in Iran, that it has obvious impact as well on Baneh city (Mardokhi, 2012). Increasing tax burden and social security payments combined with increasing restrictions on the formal labor market and the low wage level in the formal economy increase the tendency of establishing informal economy (Schnider & Enste, 2000). Feige classified informal economy in to four groups:

1. Illegal economy
2. Not reported economy
3. Unregistered economy
4. Informal economy

In illegal economy, the rules which define legal forms of trade are violated. Actors are employed in the production and distribution of forbidden goods and services. The costs are ignored and inserted interests in the laws and administrative rules, property relationships, commercial licensing, labor contracts, damages, financial credit

systems and social security are deprived (Feige, 1990: 991-2). In the broader sense, informal economy are all activities that are not entered in the national accounts due to any reasons (Thomas et al, 1997: 3).

Informal economy can have various consequences. Some of the positive and negative consequences of informal economy are:

- Deduction of production inputs especially work forces from the formal economy
- GDP decrease in case of informal economy growth (Frey, 1984)
- Significant increase in tax revenues
- Simulation of economic growth in the face of declining informal exchange
- Optimization of the underground economy to respond to the demands of the economic environment of urban services and small-scale industry
- Efficiency and positive relationship between the underground economy and economic growth (Schnider & Enste, 2000)
- Intensification of tax evasion (Bhattacharyya , 1999)
- Stimulating the demand for bank notes and coins
- Decrease of inflationary policy as a result of increasing uncontrolled money supply.
- Increasing financial activities outside the control of the central bank
- Raising potential for political corruption
- Increasing public pessimism about the role and power of government and the efficiency of the tax system
- Reduced public support for voluntary compliance with tax (Giles, 1999).

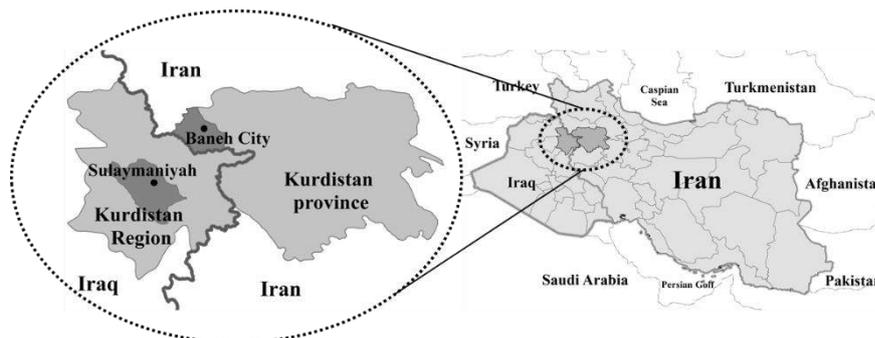
While focusing on Baneh, it seems that the relevance of informal economy is slightly different, providing a synthesis of mentioned consequences and adding further factors. The location in a border region, neighboring the troubled Iraq, the

marginalization of the region, the weak local economy and currency issues of Iran increase the attractiveness of informal economic activities. The hidden economy of Baneh County is influenced by factors like tax evasion, failure of registering trade in national accounting system, ignoring legal forms of trade, ignoring institutional financial rules, failure to report to the governmental statistical center, evasion from the cost of transaction and lack of licensing of commerce.

### **Case Study: Baneh - a city with national and international interactions**

Baneh County has specifics that distinguish it from other regions of Iran. The political-administrative center of Baneh County is located at a distance of about 170 km from the capital of Iraqi Kurdistan, Sulaymaniyah, putting the city in a close proximity towards neighboring Iraq. The geographic location provides a specific opportunity for the exchange of goods between the two countries.

**Fig1.** Geographical location of Baneh County



Source: Authors, 2014

### **Baneh and the cross-border flows of informal economy**

The informal economy connected to the border shapes the economic base of Baneh. A large number of residents work in border trade, using livestock and special cars ‘Fig. 2-3’, which are made for crossing the border illegally in Baneh County. The economic flows in the region are divided into two sets of activities:

1. Activities performed in order to transfer goods formally or informally from the Iraqi cities Sulaymaniyah and Erbil to Baneh
2. Commercial activities related to the distribution of those smuggled goods within Baneh.

The goods are usually bought by ‘commercial tourists’ from the north, west and northwest of Iran. The buyers are attracted by the low price of the smuggled goods.

**Fig 2 and 3.** Baneh Border residents transferring smuggled goods



Source: The headquarters of the fight against smuggling, 2015.

Until summer 2012 the low rate of currency, determined by the government of Iran, led to the formation of smuggling by crossing informally the border of the country. As a result, enormous profits are earned by those engaged in smuggling and an informal economical system was established, connecting the border residents of Baneh with smugglers in the neighboring countries. The dynamic development of Baneh County which is affected by the border is the most important consequence of the informal economy flows in this marginalized region. The border region creates to a certain extent their own development circuit, outweighing the disadvantages like the distance from the center, geographical isolation, ongoing displacement of population and cultural, ethnic, religious tensions with the central regions. Cross-border activities can be understood as a chance for economic stimulation for border regions. Unlike in previous periods, Baneh is nowadays faced with extensive spatial changes, caused by the proximity to the border. The town became the most important hub for selling and buying of informal imported goods in Iran, which creates a vast impact that can be observed in the cityscape.

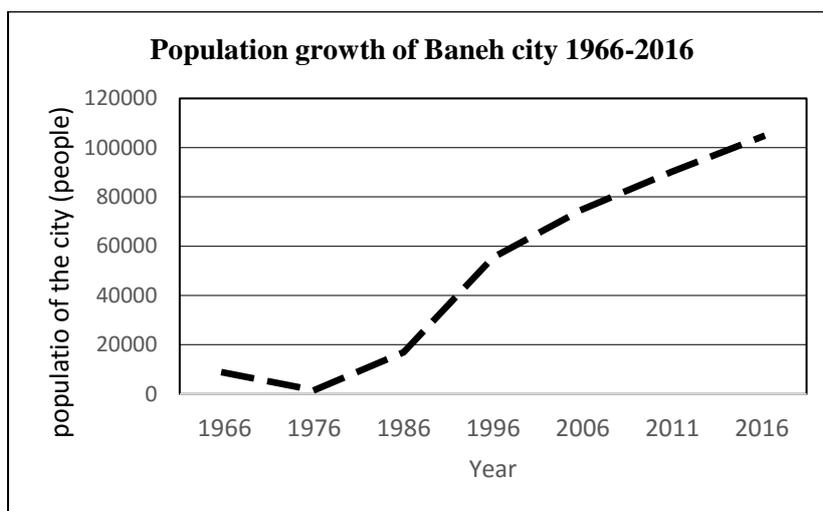
### **Functional-spatial consequences of the informal economy and commercial tourism in Baneh**

The population of Baneh has increased continually from 1966 up to now. This population growth is based on a positive migration, underlining the attractiveness of the location at the border. Despite this fact, the government undertook actions in order to make people stay in the border settlements, but most of these plans could not improve the quality of life for the border residents.

**Table 2.** Population growth of Baneh city

Year	1966	1976	1986	1996	2006	2011	2016
Population	8617	1552	16933	55433	74960	90304	104422

Source: Statistical Center of Iran

**Fig. 4** Population growth of Baneh city


Source: Statistical Center of Iran

### **Shopping malls and commercial centers – the development of trade tourism in Baneh**

The most important and obvious physical impact of the informal border economy on Baneh is the building of commercial centers and shopping malls. Until the 1990s, Baneh did not have any indoor shopping centers or malls. The main commercial district of the city was located at the main street in the downtown, forming a commercial axis which supplied the residents with products of daily and monthly needs. After the 1990s and especially from the 2000s, the commercial centers appeared. They contained at the beginning two- and three-story and recently several floors. According to Aminnejad's research after 1996, ten large malls were constructed in seven years with 8950 sqm commercial area and 831 shops (Aminnejad, 2004: 63). Until 2013 54 malls had been constructed. These commercial centers are the places where the informal imported or smuggled goods are offered and sold. Those malls have a catchment area which is reaching far beyond the region.

**Table 3.** Number of shopping malls in Baneh

<b>Year</b>	1996	2006	2007	2013
<b>Number of malls</b>	1	14	23	54

Source: Cultural, handicrafts and tourism Heritage of Baneh city, 2014.

The vast construction of malls in a small city like Baneh is neither sponsored nor financially supported by the central or local government. More than 1.500.000 tourists visited Baneh city in the first four months of 2009 (Felegari, 2009). They had been mostly attracted by the offered illegal imported goods with low prices. According to the head of the Cultural, Handicrafts and Tourism Heritage authority of Baneh, in summer 2013 five thousands tourists visited Baneh daily, creating vast physical-spatial consequences.

**Table 4.** Tourists visiting Baneh city in the first 20 days/year

<b>Year</b>	2005	2006	2007	2009	2011	2012	2014
<b>Tourists</b>	25000	264000	568000	1438500	700000	612000	630000

Source: Cultural, handicrafts and tourism Heritage of Baneh city, 2014.

The tourist attentions are attracted by the number of services such as inns, hotels, restaurants, catering facilities and banks which form the physical texture of Baneh. Furthermore, due to the large number of tourists, hidden jobs in the tourism industry are created related to one and two-day rental dealer for inns, hotels or even residential homes licensed by the cultural Heritage of Baneh. The city is perceived, especially in holidays, as a space of tourists.

**Fig 5,6,7 and 8.** Tourists in the new commercial center of Baneh city

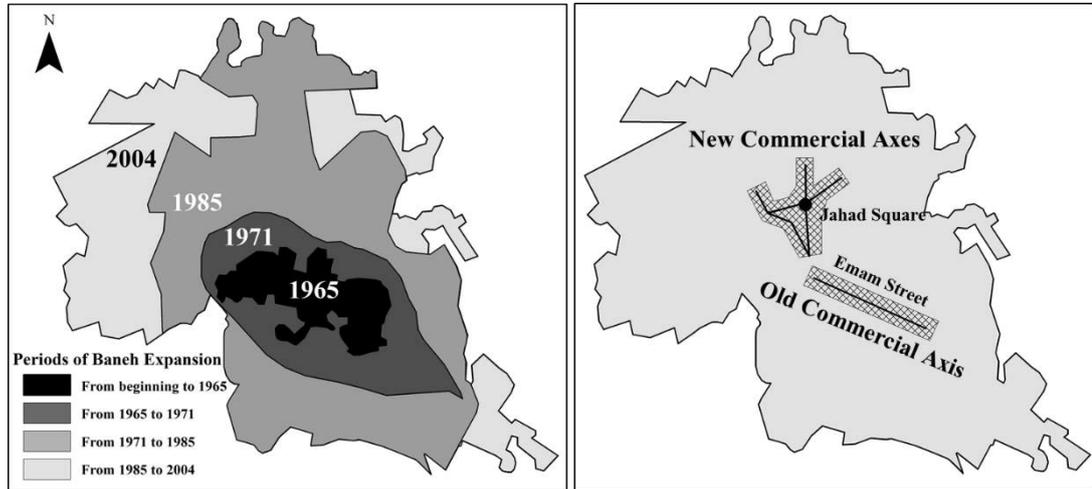


Source: Authors, 2014.

### **Shifting the commercial core of Baneh**

The boom of trade as a consequence of the informal economy and commercial tourism has strengthened the economic heart of Baneh. The commercial centers expanded to the north and northwest of the city (Municipality Street, Shohada Street, and Jihad square). Multi-story buildings and shopping malls were constructed around the new commercial core of the city. The shifting commercial resulted in a concentration of administrative centers, banks, services and catering facilities around the new commercial core and increasing land and rental prices in this part of the city. Indirectly the concentration of commercial centers in the new core had stimulated further construction activities so that the phase one and two of Golshahr town and Azadegan town had been constructed in 1991 to 1996 and 1999 to 2003 (Aminejad, 2004: 63).

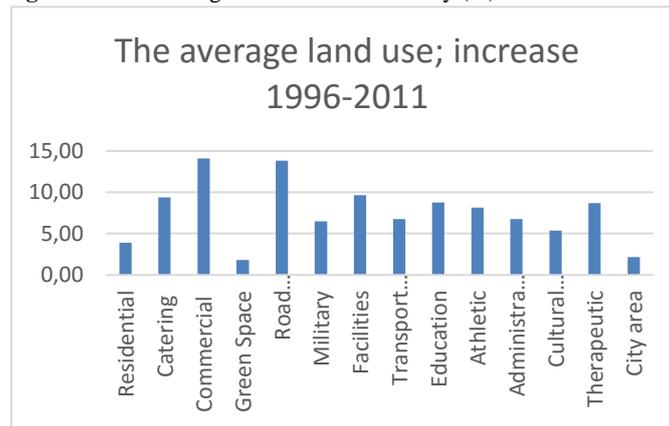
**Fig. 9 and 10.** Shifting the commercial core of Baneh



Source: Authors, 2013.

The share of commercial, catering and roads land uses have increased in the time period 1996 to 2011. The commercial area of the city has increased from 29.000 sqm in 1996 to 245.000 sqm in 2011. It should be noted that this figure is only specified to the land use. New commercial centers are made in multi-story buildings. The commercial land use per capita can be calculated with approximately 8.16 sqm, by assuming three floors in the average building. This impressive allocation per head is noteworthy, since it is far above the normal allocation rates.

**Fig. 11** The land use growth rate in Baneh city (%) from 1996 to 2011.



Source: the statistics of Baneh city municipality, with author's modifications, 2013.

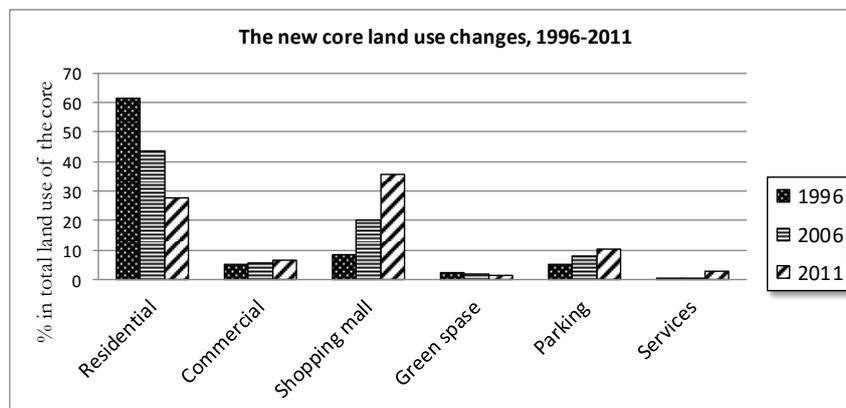
The analysis of land use changes underline the intensive increase of shopping malls during the new urban expansions of the city from 1996 to 2011. The share of new core land uses are shown in table5. The comparison of the changes point out the reduction of residential land use and the growth of commercial land use in the new core. It seems that the constructions of shopping malls caused to the destruction of residential buildings in the new core of the city.

**Table 5.** The share of land uses in the new commercial core of Baneh city (%), 1996 to 2011

Land use	1996	2006	2011
<b>Residential</b>	61.5	43.79	27.59
<b>Commercial</b>	5.17	5.52	6.42
<b>Shopping mall</b>	8.46	20.12	35.55
<b>Green space</b>	2.32	1.7	1.22
<b>Parking</b>	5.09	7.77	10.2
<b>Services</b>	0.7	0.7	2.6

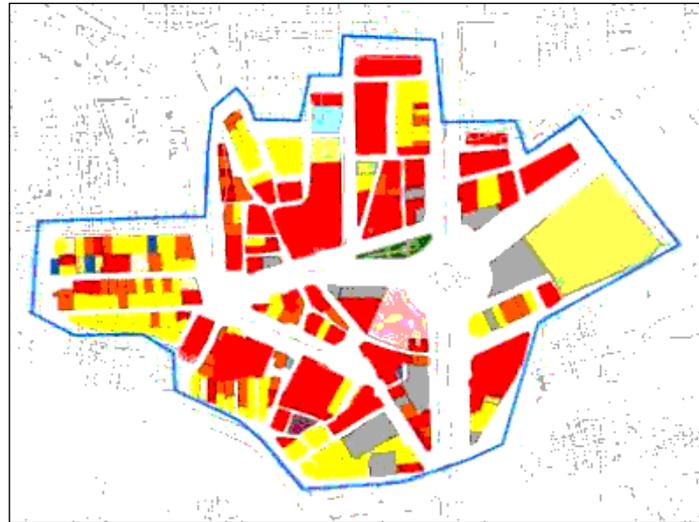
Source: Abdekhoda, 2013 & authors modifications, 2015.

**Fig. 12** The new core land use changes, 1996 - 2011



Source: the authors

**Fig13.** The new core of Baneh city, 2011



Source: Abdekhoda, 2013.

The dynamic economic development of Baneh results beside the increase of commercial malls and urban sprawl in the growth of municipality revenue in toll and taxes. In 2003 the revenue just from the formal border bazaar in Siranband had been calculated with about 330.000 US Dollars. Additionally the municipality charged 2013 one dollar per car and entry for parking. If the revenues are used wisely, they can help to create needed infrastructure and enable an urban development which is not dependent on agriculture and industry.

### **Instability of economic development - the main challenge for the city growth**

The lack of manufacturing and industrial factories and under developed agriculture due to the mountainous nature of the region, resulted in a high unemployment in Baneh. The lack of employment for young people have pushed most of them towards informal economic activities and smuggling, helping them to aggregate a good income. Still the income is unsecure and unstable, since the smuggling activities depend on the counter measures of the border police. If the policy of the border troops is oriented towards non-involvement income can be generated, if not the smuggled goods will be confiscated, erasing the income.

It can be summarized that the informal economic activities, which are the basis for the current economic growth and flourishing of the city and the region basically depend on the policies and decisions applied by the police commander and

governmental managers. Furthermore, the ‘real’ exchange rate in Iran can have irreversible effects on informal activity of border residents. In fact, the current price of exchange, which is determined by the government, is lower than the real exchange price. The border residents buy the government cheap dollars and use them to buy goods across the border with the actual rate. If the government will decide to adapt the current exchange rate to the real exchange rate, smuggling and informal activities will generate no more profits for border residents. Due to the possibility of changing policies and decisions of government agents and local decision-making institutions, the current border economy is highly dependent on external factors and cannot be understood as sustainable. Therefore, strategic, long term planning has to be the basic requirements for the regional development of Baneh border County.

As before described a SWOT analysis on the region was performed. Table 6 summarize the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of Baneh. The table highlight the urban development based on commercial tourism and the consequences of the informal economy. Internal factors are those factors which can be influenced in Baneh, external factor are those challenges which are pressed upon the city.

In planning context, the analysis extract strategies that will exploit the strengths and opportunities such as formalizing informal trade by creating a free trade zone, a better management of infrastructure and the establishing of a sustainable local tax system. Strategies like supporting investment flows, developing the tourism and transport infrastructure help to overcome the weaknesses. Strategies which help to overcome threats are supporting the frontiersman in order to create unity and human dignity by the government and supporting the informal economy by a general review of regional development plans.



<p>and insecurity of the recent economic prosperity</p> <p><b>B2,B5-D4</b> Economic risks in the event of a sudden change on the border regime</p> <p><b>B4,B5-D3</b> Lack of specific plans for the use of capital</p> <p><b>B2,B3-D1</b> The unstable and dangerous life of border smugglers</p>	<p>and national unity in the border region</p> <p><b>A4,A5-D4</b> Supporting the current informal border economy</p> <p><b>A6-D5</b> Management and monitoring of tourism impacts on indigenous people's culture and enhancement the authentic identity of Baneh</p>	<p><b>D2</b> threatening the territorial integrity thereby win-win policy of good exchanges between Kurdistan province of Iran and Iraq</p> <p><b>D3</b> lack of economic diversification and Instability of the informal economy</p> <p><b>D4</b> damaging the life standard of Baneh County by closing the borders and preventing the informal economy</p> <p><b>D5</b> negative effects of tourism on the traditional cultural habits</p>	<b>Threats</b>
--	--	--	----------------

Source: the authors 2015

## Conclusion

In this paper the impacts and consequences of informal economy and commercial tourism at the border are reviewed, analyzed and identified. Recent flourishing economic developments of Baneh city are considered as opportunity for a sustainable development but as well as threats which need more careful planning. The instability of this boom is the main challenge. The variable policies of national government and local decision making institutions concerning the border regions, fluctuations of exchange rate, loss of capital from the region, a lack of turnover management and more importantly a lack of defined processes on how to use this capital flow and spent it to create basic infrastructures of regional development will challenge the city of Baneh. In plans like the Regional Development Comprehensive Plan, Service description is set standard and pre-defined. This plan investigates different regions of the country with various characters by the same and inflexible approach. The basic economy of a region is always included into the Service description of the Regional Development Comprehensive Plan, but rarely pays attention to study and analyze the informal activities. The informal economy in the Baneh border region is the most important effective factor on regional economic activities. The Regional Development Comprehensive Plan and other similar plans do not have the capacity and appropriate approach to review and analyze such issues. The

question remains, which approach should be followed by current and future regional planning systems? Thus, the modeling and analysis of specific areas with specific functions and challenges requires a deeper study and more realistic approaches. This process surely has specific problems and can be considered in studies of scientific community's researchers. This article is an attempt and an example on how to investigate those issues and interactions in border regions. The approach can help us to modify or adjust new models and efficient development plans. At the end it should be asked which institutional agents and decision makers on local, regional and national level can propose appropriate solutions to achieve the objectives of regional development programs and deal with mentioned problems at the same time?

## References

- Abdekhoda, K. (2013). The effects of trade on urban land use changes in the tourist-business cities in Iran (Case study: Baneh city), National Conference of Geography, Urban Planning and Sustainable Development, Tehran.
- Aghazadeh, A. (2005). Analytic and Applied Research on Criminal Policies About Good Illicitly. Teheran: Aryan Publication.
- Alizadeh, K. (2003). The Effect of Presence of Tourists on the Sustainability of Environment. *Research in Geography*. 44. Year.35.
- Aminnejad. K. & Bochany. M. H. (2004). Baneh border market an opportunity for town and region sustainability. Monthly magazine of research, training and municipalities information. 6(63).
- Bhattacharyya, Dilip K. (1999). On The Economic Rationale of Estimating The Hidden Economy. *The Economic Journal*. 109 (June). 348-359.
- Cazes, G. & Potier, F. (2003). Urban Tourism. Translated in Persian by Salaheddin Mahallati, University of Shahid Beheshti Publication.
- Chugh, R.L & Appal, J.S. (1986). Black Economy in India. New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill Pub.Co.
- Davidson, R. (1994). Business Travel, London: Pitman Publishing.
- Donald, E., Hawkins, Shaun Mann. (2007). The World Bank's Role in Tourism Development. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 34(2). pp. 348–363.
- Felegari. A. (Head of Cultural Heritage of Kurdistan Province). (2009). Interview with Fars Press in : <http://www.farsnews.com/newstext.php?nn=8806020912>
- Feige, E. L. (1990). Defining and Estimating Underground and Informal Economies: The New Institutional Economics Approach. *World Development*. 18(7). 989-1002.
- Frey, B. S. and Weck-Hanneman, H. (1984). The Hidden Economy as an Unobservable Variable. *European Economic Review*. 32. 23-44.
- Gee, Y., Chuk. (2003). International Tourism; a Global Perspective. Teheran: Culture & Management Publication.
- Giles, D. E. A. (1999). Modeling the Hidden Economy and the Tax-Gap in New Zealand. *Empirical Economics*. 24. 621-640.
- Golkar. K. (2006). Guide Assessment by SWOT Method ; appropriate Analytic Technique of SWOT in Urban Design. Journal of Soffeh. 41.
- Griffin, And Tree, M.k. (1999). Human Development. Translated in Persian by Gholam Khaje Pour. Teheran: Wedad Publication.
- Khalatbari. F. (1990). Underground economy. Journal of Ronagh. 1(1). 5-11.

Laurel, J. & Reid, S. & Smith, L.J. & McCloskey, R. (2007). The Effectiveness of Regional Marketing Alliances: A Case Study of the Atlantic Canada Tourism Partnership 2000–2006, *Tourism Management*.

Mardokhi, B. (2012). Dimensions of the informal economy in Iran. *Internet Journal of Tabnak*. Press Kode : 273874. December 6, 2012 in: <http://www.tabnak.ir/fa/news/273874>.

Mikaeili, A.R. (2001). Tourism Planning in Accordance With the Ecological Principles. *Research in Geography*. No. 39. Year 32.

Pires & Robinson. (2001). Planning and strategic management. Translated by Sohrab Khalili Shorini in Persian. Tehran : Yadvare ketab Publication.

Schnider, F. and Enste, D. (2000). Shadow Economies: Sizes, Causes and Consequences. *The Journal of Economic Literature*. Vol.38. No 1.

Thomas, J. J. & Riskavich, Raoul & Thomas and Sisto, Vincenzo. (1997). *Informal Economy*.

Wehrich, H. (1990). The Matrix: A Tool for Situational Analysis, in R.G.Dyson (ed) *Strategic Planning: Models and Analytical techniques*. pp. 17-36.

World Travel, and Tourism Organization and International Hotel and Restaurant Association, 1999, *Tourism and Sustainable Development, the Global Importance of Tourism*, New York.

## **POLITICAL BOUNDARIES, CONSUMPTION AND CULTURAL CAPITAL: CROSS-BORDER SHOPPING IN POST-SOCIALIST SLOVENIA**

**Polona SITAR**<sup>1</sup>

### **Abstract**

*The contribution deals with cultural memory and tourism in the case of cross-border shopping in Slovenia, a former socialist republic of Yugoslavia. It points out the special position that Slovenia had with its geographical location, sharing borders with Austria and Italy by analyzing narratives of informants, born before and immediately after WW2. The contribution examines cross-border shopping to 'Western' capitalistic countries in the period between mid-1960s and late 1980s and the period after the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991. The contribution will examine an important distinction between shopping tourism and leisure tourism, since Yugoslav citizens travelled abroad in large numbers for both recreation and shopping. The article places reasons for cross-border shopping into a wider context of socialist economy. A detailed description of shopping practices with an emphasis on gender division is also given. The paper will contribute to the discussion of the perception of individuals on cross-border shopping in the context of political implications of the historical changes and processes of de- and re-bordering in post-socialist Yugoslavia.*

**Keywords:** *Cross-Border Shopping, Post-socialism, Gender, Reconfiguration of Borders, EU*

### **Introduction**

The contribution examines cross-border shopping to 'Western' capitalistic countries in the period between mid-1960s, when Yugoslavia opened up towards the West and late 1980s. Cross-border shopping is a common activity in many parts of the world and a border-related phenomena. According to O'Dowd (2001: 67) political borders are the inevitable outcome of the range and limits of power and

---

<sup>1</sup> dr. Polona Sitar, researcher and assistant at the Institute of Culture and Memory Studies, ZRC SAZU (Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts). email: PSitar@zrc-sazu.si

coercion, social organization, the division of labor and the promotion of a collective identity within a delimited territory. In this context borders are understood as multi-dimensional, complex, ambiguous, contradictory, flexible and durable (O'Dowd, 2001: 69). As stated in Timothy (1995: 525) international boundaries are invisible vertical planes that transect the airspace, the soil and the subsoil between adjoining states, marking the limit of territory in which a state can exercise its sovereign authority. Borders limit contact between people and can function as lines of economic containment and military defence (Prescott, 1987). However, in addition to their role as lines of separation, boundaries may also be viewed as lines of contact: places where similar dissimilar cultures and economies converge (Timothy, 1995: 526).

There is little information in the literature to offer a conceptual basis for studying the relationship between political boundaries, consumption and tourism therefore, the purpose of this paper is to address these gaps by examining the perception of people on cross-border shopping in the context of gender division. A special attention is placed on newly acquired cultural capital. Also, the paper will point out the perception of individuals on cross-border shopping in the context of the political implications of the historical changes and processes of de- and re-bordering in post-socialist Yugoslavia after its disintegration in 1991. The analysis consists of open interviews with mainly female informants, born before and immediately after WW2, living their active lives in the time of socialism. Through their experiences of shopping abroad, particularly in Italy and Austria, the article will demonstrate how consumption and tourism were interconnected, including discourses of other informants to provide a broader context.

The oral history approach will be used to explore women's history from the perspective of subjective interpretation, arguing that the oral history method is usable not to obtain objective, but subjective information (see Oakley, 2003; Riessman, 1987; Ritchie, 1995; Thompson, 2000). By using the oral history approach, it is not aimed to reconstruct the socialist past, but to provide a different perspective on it, based on the experiences of women's everyday practices. In this way an additional discourse will be added to the already existing official historic narratives, filling a gap by including the cultural and social narration about the every-day life of ordinary people. It must be taken into account that memory is always a reconstruction and representation of the past with an active production of the meaning by informants (see Burawoy and Verdery 1999; Crowley and Reid, 2000; Koleva, 2012). We will try to understand the meanings that the informants now ascribe to the past, how they perceive it, feel about it and shape it in accordance to the present.

Since the beginning of the 1950s, socialist Yugoslavia was very different from the Eastern European socialist countries in terms of personal life standard, tourism, travelling, shopping abroad and the imitation of the Western way of life. Freedom to travel and consume established Yugoslavia's status as a hybrid between East and West and marked its separate road to communism. The country was more open to Western influences in terms of consumption trends and nurturing the belief that every citizen is entitled to a good quality of life, measured in accordance with consumption objects (Mikula, 2010; Patterson 2011). In the early 1950s, Tito's regime embarked on a number of reforms, such as retreat from central planning towards market socialism, consumer orientation and openness to the West. Simultaneously with the ongoing industrialization, a rapid urbanization and general modernization of society took place after World War Two. The basic social welfare was represented in the form of consumption and leisure time (Duda, 2005: 143).

In terms of territory, Slovenia was not a large part of Yugoslavia. Slovenes represented 8.4 % of the Yugoslav population. However, Slovenia had an important political influence within Yugoslav federalism. Slovenian policy was in favor of more liberal economic-political discourses, especially regarding a larger role of market and political decentralization of power. Following the introduction of the free-market system in Yugoslavia, which allowed the development of a lifestyle superior to that of any other country in the Eastern Block, the official discourse on consumption produced mixed messages. According to Repe (1998) on one hand, consumption was seen as a reward for workers, and on the other as social evil. The Slovenes found themselves in a paradoxical position, because they believed in self-management, Tito and the non-alignment movement, but also in washing machines, televisions and other consumer products.

Between 1960 and 1970, there was a rapid increase of the standard of living in Yugoslavia. This was partly a result of a high level of employment and wage increases. The American culture, portrayed in the form of movies, rock and roll, new household appliances and the idea of freedom of choice in modern supermarkets gave Yugoslavs a different perspective on how spending their leisure. Images of the Western world created the expectations of a future with a better life and social well-being (Vučetić, 2012: 364). It turned out that people took the dream of a better and happier world more seriously, than the state ever imagined.

### **‘Cross-border shopping’ vs. ‘touristic shopping’ in the context of socialist economy**

The nature of cross-border shopping in the former Yugoslavia changed over time, reflecting the evolving political and economic processes after the World War II. In the early 1950s and early 1960s trips abroad were still restricted and limited. From the late 1950s, travelling abroad became easier for Yugoslav citizens because of easily accessible passports and the establishment of a visa regime for leisure travel. Until the year 1954, when the *London Memorandum* resolved the distribution of an independent territory of Trieste to Italy and Yugoslavia, Yugoslavs rarely travelled to Italy. In 1955, Yugoslavia and Italy signed the *Videm agreement on local border traffic*, according to which the permission for border crossing was extended to all border population within ten kilometers of the border. Border crossings became more common. People not living close to the border were able to cross with a passport.

According to Repe (1998: 94) *the Ossim agreements* between Italy and Yugoslavia in 1975 turned the Yugoslav-Italian border to the most open border between any capitalist and socialist state. From 1962 onwards, Yugoslavs could legally buy foreign currency and keep foreign-currency bank accounts. In shopping destinations across the border shopkeepers accepted the Yugoslav Dinar at an exchange rate more favorable than the official one. The proximity of the Western borders contributed significantly to the expansion of consumer mentality. Because of the neighboring countries, the citizens of Yugoslavia were more familiar with the western lifestyle than elsewhere behind the Iron Curtain. Among the republics of Yugoslavia, Slovenia had a privileged position in terms of access to products from Western capitalist countries due to the borders with Italy and Austria. Therefore Slovenian consumerism has developed to a greater extent than in other republics of the socialist Yugoslavia (see Mikula, 2010; Repe, 1998; Švab, 1998).

However, its geographical position and the proximity of the western borders were not the only factors. According to Mikula (2010) the nature of cross-border shopping changed over time also due to the economic and political processes. In the 1950s and early 1960s travelling abroad was still very restricted, but in the 1960s Yugoslavia accepted economic reforms and incorporated elements of the free-market system which eventually led to the heyday of former Yugoslav cross-border shopping. The economic reform in 1965 had reduced the role of the state in the economy and gradually started to deploy market socialism. Goals of the new five-

year plan (1966–70) strived to increase personal consumption, modernization and greater freedom in the marketplace, since the state and the Communist Party realized, that the desired satisfaction could no longer be postponed into the future. All this resulted in the fact that Yugoslavs could travel abroad, explore, buy items and bring them home. Thus, in between the mid-1960s and early 1980s cross-border shopping blossomed in Yugoslavia.

Until today, many researchers have studied the cultural significance and influence of shopping in the neighboring capitalist countries Austria and Italy and their influence on the daily lives of Slovenians (see Luthar, 2006; Mikula, 2010; Repe, 1998; Švab, 1998). Mikula (2010) uses the term ‘cross-border shopping’, which is defined as the ‘movement of people across an international border with the expressed intention of buying goods and then returning home’ (Donnan and Wilson in Mikula, 2010: 214). Wessely (2002, 6–8) defines ‘shopping tourism’ in opposition to ‘tourism shopping’ as the ‘travel abroad with the explicit aim to buy goods that are unavailable or difficult to find in one’s home country’. In her opinion, ‘shopping tourism’ is leisure travel combined with purposive economic activity. It represents one of the manifestations of an informal ‘private economy’ within the social system, therefore it had different meanings and functions in the lives of the various socioeconomic strata.

‘Tourist shopping’ can represent a form of leisure activity in the form of an excursion or a rational economic transaction, which means consuming products and services abroad, where they are significantly cheaper than in home countries. Nevertheless, as Bracewell (2006) points out, shopping and tourism are always intertwined since shopping was what a Yugoslav tourists did. International cross-border shopping is not only an economic activity, but it can be understood as a pleasure-based form of recreational travel and a major tourism generator in border areas (Timothy and Butler, 1995).

Chelcea (2002: 26, 30), who researched shopping trips in Hungary, distinguishes between three types of trader-tourists: ‘household-oriented’, ‘profit-oriented’ and ‘leisure seeking’. ‘Household-oriented’ are those travelers, who are doing ‘cross-border shopping’ for the needs of their own household as opposed to ‘profit-oriented’, who resell goods, bought abroad. They do not perform the usual tourist activities, because their trips are standardized and time limited. Unlike them, ‘leisure seekers’ practice ‘shopping tourism’, which requires more free time of the traveler.

Švab (1998) uses the term 'shopping tourism' without problematizing it, while Luthar (2010: 362) considers that in the case of Yugoslavs shopping in Trieste, the term 'shopping tourism' is not appropriate because the performed tourism does not have much in common with tourism as a specific cultural form. Shopping in Trieste was not a recreational practice as in the case of 'shopping tourism', which also includes browsing through exhibited goods in the shops and doing sightseeing. This kind of shopping was experienced as deliberate and planned work and not as hedonistic wandering. Arguably in trying to define shopping abroad, it is necessary to derive from the experiences of informants. They perceive shopping in neighboring Austria and Italy as work, but also as a trip. When discussing shopping in neighboring Austria and Italy with an exclusive purpose of buying goods, from which touristic sightseeing was excluded, the term 'cross-border shopping' will be used. When talking about a trip which basic aim is not shopping, but rather touristic sightseeing, the term 'touristic shopping' will be used.

As Appadurai (1996: 83) points out, consumption is a serious form of work in terms of governing the consumer credit, reading fashion messages, managing finances and dreaming, all which is necessary for the desire for new goods. When Meta, an accountant, born in 1928 in Domžale near Ljubljana, went shopping to Ponte Rosso, she did not go sightseeing. She saw only stands and stores while shopping. Other informants said that they did not have the time to do sight-seeing because they rather used their precious time for shopping. Meta usually went on the one day 'cross-border shopping', which was 'domestic oriented' and motivated by the explicit aim of purchasing goods. These trips took place during the weekend and began early in the morning. She returned home on the same day. She remembered that she did not buy lunch in Italy, just snacks. She ate lunch with her friends in Slovenia, next to the border, because it was cheaper. However, when she arrived to Trieste, she always went for coffee: "*Coffee there was so good. Oh god! You could cut the Cappuccino's foam!*"

Doing 'cross-border shopping', Slovenians were becoming skilled buyers. Their consumption culture was based on oral information about products and pricing. Unlike 'flaneur' browsing (Wilson, 1992) in shopping centers, the socialist consumer prepared for shopping, analyzing thoughtfully the use of the goods, looking for useful contacts. According to informants, the reasons for shopping in neighboring countries were connected with the insufficient and overpriced supply at home, just as with the low quality and the unfashionable appearance of domestic products. Meta was buying products that were of a better appearance than those back home and she was impressed by the great choice. She remembered:

*“Once I bought boots. I had skinny feet and boots, made at home, did not fit me. Italian women have very thin feet. Never in my life had I such beautiful boots. They were the first boots that I bought by myself. Before that, I wore my sister's boots. They were really beautiful, brown. In Italy, they had very beautiful things, but at home the boot was bigger than the foot. If I wanted to buy something, I bought something beautiful and at home there was not much to choose from.”*

‘Cross-border shopping’ can be understood as a critique of the socialist system and its unsatisfactory supply of products at home, differing from one time period to the other. Particularly in the 1950s and in the first half of the 1960s, purchases abroad were conditioned by the low standard of life in Yugoslavia. The increasing lifestyle in Yugoslavia was reflected in a greater choice and quality of available products. Meta remembered:

*“Later, after the 1970s, it was possible to get many products at home and it was not worth going shopping abroad. Going abroad also meant travel expenses.”*

Today Meta shakes her head when she hears that it was not possible to buy things in Yugoslavia - since the late socialist era she was mostly satisfied with what could be found in domestic stores. She pointed out that products bought back then, were of a better quality and more beautiful than they are today. She proudly told that she is still wearing pieces of clothing, bought in socialist Yugoslavia.

Her comments point out that we need to critically re-evaluate the anthropological studies of the post-socialist material culture, which are mainly based on Kornai's (1992) definition of socialism as an ‘economy of shortage’, while according to Shalins (in Fehérváry 2009: 434), the very expression ‘rarity’ was created from the perspective of a society, marked by abundance. Fehérváry (2009: 454) points out that socialist material culture became the symbol of the failed economic system and Western goods became icons of the superior capitalist political system. The Western goods were perceived as high quality, with a nice design, comfortable and the promise of pleasure. Their very qualities seemed more than simply the result of a better production system, but as iconic of a superior political system based upon human dignity. The daily encounters with a variety of goods and commercial spheres have also contributed to the gradual materialization of political subjectivity.

Meta did her shopping in Ponte Rosso in Trieste, buying mainly washing powder, coffee and clothing. At first, she did the shopping there because the products were not available at home and later because they were cheaper there. She recalls

Ponte Rosso as a place with cheap products of poor quality and unfriendly salesmen. She remembered:

*“I and my friend brought an umbrella from Italy. When I opened it at home, there was a hole in the new umbrella! At Ponte Rosso you could find this kind of goods. I almost took a beating once because I reserved a handbag and said I will come to get it soon. The salesmen saw I bought it elsewhere and he was very angry with me.”*

According to Vidmar-Horvat (2010: 31, 37) not all consumer goods produced in a socialist country were perceived as tasteless, nor were all adopted or rejected because of their socialist origin. At the same time not all Western products were regarded approvingly by socialist consumers. Socialist culture produced citizens, who were faithful and unfaithful to the state at the same time – not necessarily because of the political belief, but because consumers were caught up in consumer practices that were not based on ideological considerations of the ‘political correctness’. However, as Fehérváry (2009: 445–6) states, through the contemporary perspective of capitalist consumption, socialism is being perceived as materially poor and the socialist country is being constructed as an entity, which neglected its citizens. Within this policy and material worlds, the iconic Western goods adopted a remarkable importance, as they became a symbol of the system that produced them.

In the anthropological analysis of post-socialism, as recalled by Thelen (2011: 53–4), the socialist economy is studied insufficient. During the period of socialism, studies of socialist societies were conducted with the use of analytical tools of the Western countries. Through the process of post-socialist reforms that made the socialist institutions seemingly look more like capitalistic ones, the socialist actors, previously perceived as ‘similar’, now became ‘others’. As noted by Vidmar-Horvat (2010: 28–31), Western Europe continues to be represented as an important point of reference in the current ‘new Europe’. In it consumers from the former socialist countries are once again embedded into the category of the European ‘other’ on the basis of memories of the traumatic experiences and the denial of consumer wishes, which is based on the past imagery of the cultural subordination of the East – and the historical domination of the West.

When Meta went to neighboring Austria on a trade-union trip with her coworkers, the venture lasted at least two days, so they stayed in a hotel. Often they went on a trade-union trip during holidays, such as the Republic Day on November 29 or May 1.

*“When we went to Klagenfurt with the company, we did lots of sightseeing. We left home in the morning, I think it was Saturday. Our goal was not to shop. If you found something beautiful, then yes. And if you had money.”*

These trips were mostly connected with touristic activities, not shopping. Meta remembered that she bought only nail accessories as she went there with the purpose to do sightseeing. Meta was a ‘leisure seeker’ that practiced ‘touristic shopping’, which demanded a greater amount of free time. When Meta was shopping in neighboring Italy, in Trieste or Rome, she did not perceive this as mere shopping, but also as a trip, since she visited exhibitions, churches, monuments. In Trieste she went to see the sea, the *Miramare castle* and the main square. Also, when she went on a trade-union trip to the Netherlands, she did not go with the purpose of shopping, but she went there as a tourist, to see the Netherlands, its tulips, paintings of the famous painters in the galleries.

*“I went to see scientific things”,* Meta remembered, and continued: *“When travelling around the world, I bought some trivialities, souvenirs for others and things like that. And we did not stroll around in the stores a lot, because we preferred to see other things.”*

Since the beginning of the 1970s, Yugoslav tourist agencies organized touristic and shopping trips to European metropolises in addition to holidays in foreign countries. Those shopping trips were mainly focused on buying technical goods for amusement, leather goods and clothes (Repe, 1998: 264). Due to the proximity of the Slovenian coast, informants also used the vacation at the sea side to quickly go and shop in neighboring Italy. Vera, an economist, born in Maribor in 1929, remembered:

*“We went to the sea side at least once a year. We went to Koper and Portorož. We took advantage of this proximity with the border and we crossed it to buy something. However, we regularly went to Austria, at least twice per month.”*

Meta bought ‘more beautiful things’ or ‘everyday luxuries’, which marked the Yugoslav experience of well-being (Patterson, 2011: 264). ‘Cross-border shopping’ was one of the ways of achieving the ‘good life’ in socialist Yugoslavia because consumption is also a source of happiness and joy. It must be pointed out that the Yugoslav society was also able to produce happiness through the production of concrete products, available for people to buy in their own country. A satisfactory life was therefore not only an idea, projected into the distant future, but a reality of living and a foundation for achieving the ‘normal’ life of socialist citizens.

### **Cultural capital, gender and rebordering of post-socialist Yugoslavia**

*“Products bought on stands in Ponte Rosso were cheaper and of worse quality than those, bought in stores, so you had to be very cautious...”* Meta often said. She learned that sometimes it was better not to buy anything than to buy a cheap and broken object. On the other hand, at the stands it was possible to haggle over the price, unlike in stores, where the price was fixed. According to distance and type of products, informants had to calculate which city in Italy to choose for shopping. Many preferred to shop in Gorica because it was closer to their home than Trieste. Also the products were of better quality. In Meta's opinion, Rome was known as an expensive city for shopping, Trieste was the best place to buy jeans and Treviso had the best selection and quality of products in Italy.

Through their experiences with ‘cross-border shopping’ and learning how to shop, how to pay, what one could and could not get abroad, dealing with scarcity, abundance, choice or its absence, Meta and other Slovenians were gaining cultural capital, which manifested in cultural competences and in knowledge on how to consume. They were actively participating in the interpretation of the cultural meanings of the desired goods that acquired new meanings (compare to Bartlett, 2010; Berdahl, 2010; Yurchak 2005 etc.).

‘Cross-border shopping’ had different meanings for different socio-economic classes. According to Bartlett (2010: 241–2) shopping trips, travelling abroad and foreign goods provided an experience enriching the cultural capital of the middle classes in socialism. Wessely (2002: 7) notes that for the socialist middle class it served for showing off their status and maintain a social differentiation. Further it provided an additional income to the lower-middle or working class. ‘Cross-border shopping’ in neighboring Austria and Italy did not only mean creating stockpiles, but became as well a status symbol. Danica, an opera singer, born in 1958 to a working family in Ljubljana’s surroundings, remembered:

*“I remember my classmate, who came from a family of teachers. I admired them because they were so educated and cultivated and she admired me because we were going to Austria to shop and they did not.”*

Social stratification of ‘cross-border shopping’ manifested itself in space. In the 1970s, Ponte Rosso became a symbol of a consumer mentality, adjusted to socialist consumers with not much money (Repe, 1998: 94). According to the narration of female informants, the biggest difference between Slovenes existed in the fact that poor people went to shop in Ponte Rosso with cheap stands and cheap

goods and wealthier visited shopping centers – magazines (*Via Mazzini, Corso Italia, Via Cardussi*) in Trieste. Stores had been more expensive, but provided products of better quality. Informants' perception of shopping abroad was influenced by their social status, education, income and their worldview. The fact that the political elite, the working class and the critics of the regime met in Italy and Austria while shopping is, according to Repe (1998: 96), a reason why self-managed socialism was not taken seriously by many in the last two decades of its existence.

According to Bowbly (1997: 99), shopping is not only hard work, but is primarily an 'experience'. While talking about their 'cross-border shopping' experiences, many informants often added that they went abroad to see something and to have fun. Meta would browse through products while doing shopping in Italy and Austria, sometimes without buying anything.

*"Me and my friend got lost once in Italy. We were walking and walking. She had other desires than me. We were window-shopping in different stores ... In the end we did not buy anything there."*

In practice, Meta experienced shopping as a leisure activity with window-shopping, browsing and daydreaming, which did not necessarily lead to a purchase. As stated in Švab (2002: 70), reasons for shopping abroad were based on irrational complex reasons, stemming from the experience of longing. Marija, a housewife, born in Most na Soči in 1941, remembered:

*"When we went to Italy, we went there to feast our eyes. Like nowadays, for example, when you go to a store in Ljubljana. You do not go there with an exclusive intention of buying something, but it is nice to see what they have."*

Danica, born in 1944 in Celje, remembered shopping in Austria:

*"When we arrived there, it was ... Even we, oldies, had big eyes and were impressed by everything we could see there in contrast to the conditions at home. When children grew a little bit, we went there all together by car. We could hardly get them out of the store. It was necessary to feast your eyes and we bought something also."*

Campbell (2001: 98, 102) points out that longing creates desire for unattainable goods. Shopping is performed in order to experience pleasure, which is a consequence of the self-allusive hedonism; but first the discomfort, associated with the need and the belief that the satisfaction will bring pleasure have to occur. The main motive of consumers is the desire to experience the pleasant scenes that their

imagination is generating. Although needs are rapidly extinguished, the longing, generated by daydreaming, is not, and consumers are constantly looking for new products to replace the object of desire (Campbell, 2001: 136–7). Appadurai (1996: 136–7) points out that the search for novelty is only a symptom of a deeper consuming discipline, in which desire is organized around the moral, aesthetic and material practice of short duration. The meaning of consumption is the longing itself, therefore the main motive of the modern consumer is unmaterialistic - the ultimate goal is the experience of pleasure, not the possession of the objects of consumption (Bauman, 2001: 13).

*“When I entered the store, I would buy everything! My husband said: ‘You know what, if I would give you my credit card, you would empty it’ (laughing). You had wishes. I had terrible desires for clothing.”*

This is how shopping in Italy was remembered by Tatjana, a social worker, born in Celje in 1958. Luthar (2010: 352, 356) notes that for women strolling in the company of other women and the pleasure of looking at objects in Trieste was an integral part of the ‘female’ shopping. Although informants mainly perceived cross-border consumption as hard-work, connected with the household, they also felt a longing for the fashionable Western products. As stated by informants there was a differentiation between genders in regard to shopping across the border and regarding the product selection. Women were mainly buying food and household products, clothes and cosmetics while men bought technical products. While shopping together, men and women were, according to informants, buying products connected with home equipment, such as ceramic tiles, wallpapers, television sets. When buying bigger appliances such as washing machines or cars, men would perform the purchase alone or in the company of other men.

When it comes to the experience of ‘cross-border shopping’, almost without exception women informants expressed a bigger longing for objects than men which confirms Campbell’s (1997) findings that male shopping rhetoric is focused on the need, while woman’s rhetoric is concentrated on the desire and longing. Campbell (1997: 171) assumes that women find it easier than men to obtain enjoyment from shopping because female fantasies tend to resolve around what they look like much more than it is true for males and also because they daydream more than men and hence can be more easily related to clothes and adornment. Also, females are socialized into being the aesthetically skilled gender and find it easier to appraise aesthetically significant goods. Both ideologies present each gender’s shopping style as the ‘natural’ and ‘rational’ way to shop. The male ideology supplies them with

arguments with which to portray the feminine mode of shopping as ‘irrational’ and reinforcing the general male stereotype of women as prone to impulsive and irrational conduct.

The decline of border shopping began with the economic crisis of the early 1980s, when the indebted Yugoslav government restricted the outflow of private capital by introducing heavy deposits for cross-border travel. Another factor was the war that led to Yugoslavia's disintegration in 1991. Slovenia separated from Yugoslavia in 1991 and began the process of entering the EU. In 2007 it fulfilled all requirements and became a full EU member state. A new border was established in a place where it had not existed before, now between ex-Yugoslav states. Consequently, with the unification of the European market, cross-border shopping, which today still has an integrative role between all countries within the EU, became less frequent between Slovenia and Italy/Austria, as the newly independent states opened up their markets and became a part of the global flows of capital and commodities.

After Slovenia gained independence in 1991, most of informants no longer went shopping in neighboring Austria and Italy. If they went to Trieste, they went there to visit their relatives or do sight-seeing, but seldom for the purpose of shopping. Trieste was the largest city near to the border with Italy. Its shops, bars, restaurants, and lively streets and especially squares such as Ponte Rosso, looked like a gigantic urban mall. According to informants, after 1991 Trieste was no longer a city that they once knew and liked – it became dull and uninteresting. Ponte Rosso was gone, together with its markets and stalls. Trieste was depopulated and its shops were moved to the south. Milena, born in 1955 in Trzin near Ljubljana, an administrator, remembered:

*“The attitude of traders towards us changed after Slovenia became independent. Also, traders became more reserved, introverted and unfriendly towards buyers and no longer gave them the impression, that consumer is a king, as they did before 1991. We did actually spend a lot of money there.”*

Silva, born in 1941 near Maribor, an administrator, added:

*“They regarded us as a purchasing power as we left loads of our money there. After we became independent, they looked down on us, superiorly, like they are something more than we are.”*

It should be noted that informants spoke from the perspective of a consumer, who is interested in the price of products and not from the perspective of an

employed trader or producer that would be interested in understanding the condition, under which employed traders work today. Narratives vary depending on the perspective, from which informants are speaking, so they must be understood according to this perspective and the wider context (compare to Tsing, 2009).

After 1991, the post-socialist transition led to the process of privatization and expansion of global trade through taking over the former East European markets (see Dunn, 2004; Vodopivec, 2007 etc.) in which according to Petrović (2013) the worker as an ideological figure and a symbol of the value of labor disappeared from public spaces. As stated in O'Dowd (2001: 70), the neoliberal system created a 'borderless' single market, which reduced transaction costs and increased competitiveness by creating a division of labor that would benefit from economies of scale in competition with North America and Japan. State borders have multiplied following the post-1989 collapse of the Soviet empire and despite the rather misleading slogan of the Single European Market – a 'Europe without Frontiers' – the process of European integration has been one of managing an ever-increasing number of national frontiers (O'Dowd, 2001: 68). As stated by Scott (2015: 30) one of the defining characteristics of Post-Cold War Europe coincided with the proliferation of discourses of 'borderlessness' and nation-state decline, has been the driver for national self-determination in Central and Eastern Europe. This drive for re-asserted sovereignty has shifted the political map of Europe, creating new borders and having a fatal blow to multinational federations such as Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

The newly independent ex-Yugoslav states opened their markets and were integrated into the global flows of capital and commodities. In the period of post-socialism, a transformation of the meanings of socialist consumer items took place. With easily accessible goods previously rare and desired objects became trivial and mundane. As years went by, cross-border shopping became less and less frequent, also because the products, displayed in stores at home and abroad, became more and more similar. New Chinese traders appeared in Trieste (Italy) and in Slovenia. The informants did not find Chinese stores interesting since in their opinion they have too similar appearance and offer. They also described the goods in Chinese stores as cheap and of poor quality. In the current process of rather reconfiguring than obliterating state borders in the EU it is important to consider that some informants associated the described circumstances with the financial crisis and fear of outflow of capital. The context of a global reorganization of capitalism with foreign investments is illustrated by the informants in the case of the spreading of Chinese markets.

Nowadays citizens of Slovenia do not feel that same need to cross borders to access foreign goods, since international retail chains have their outlets in most cities and imported goods are easily available at home also. However, the phenomena of cross-border shopping has not completely disappeared. Reasons for the contemporary cross-border shopping are as pragmatic as they were in socialism. Despite the good availability of imported products in their domestic stores, Slovenes still shop in neighboring Austria and Italy mainly due to the lower prices of products in the stores.

### **Conclusion**

The article pointed out the important distinction between shopping tourism and leisure tourism, providing a distinctive understanding of cross-border shopping in socialist Slovenia. It discussed the people's perception on cross-border shopping in the context of gender division, paying special attention to a newly acquired cultural capital. Through the experience of cross-border shopping and by learning where, what and how to shop, informants were gaining cultural capital, which manifested itself in cultural competences and knowledge of how to consume. This contribution critically evaluated the influence of the construction of the socialist 'Other' in the anthropological analyses of post-socialism. The socialist economy is understood in this context as insufficient, constructed and neglecting its citizen. It was shown that cross-border shopping evokes pleasant memories by informants and associations with the Yugoslav era of peace and plenty and people's notions of what constitutes the 'good life' in the Yugoslav society.

According to Mikula (2010) the practice of cross-border shopping is deeply implicated in the former Yugoslav nation-building narratives and in the identities of the citizens of the ex-Yugoslav independent countries. The narratives enacted the hegemonic narrative of Yugoslavia's 'uniqueness' by translating it into the lived experience of pleasures, unavailable in the countries of the Eastern Block. According to Repe (1998: 96) the shopping abroad between 1950 and 1970 has to be understood in a broader context, including movies, television, the development of foreign tourism in Slovenia and economic orientation towards more liberal social and economic policies while trying to become a part of the Western consumption culture. By consuming abroad Yugoslavs were indirectly putting pressure on the domestic politics, taking into account the demands for a higher standard of living.

With the onset of capitalism and Slovenia joining the EU the country saw a rise in poverty, unemployment, discontent with the market economy and social inequality. Discourses, reflecting the disappointment of informants regarding the

closed shops in Trieste and the unkindness of traders on cross-border shopping must be understood also in the context of political implications of the historical changes and processes of de- and re-bordering in post-socialist Yugoslavia that occurred after its disintegration in 1991 and lead to the Europe we know today. We also need to take into consideration the dissatisfaction with the sale of public property and with contemporary discourses, present in the Slovenian public sphere, which are surrounding the sale, and the loss of rights that ex-Yugoslav citizens had under socialism, such as guaranteed paid work and other social rights. The discourses are not necessarily evidence of nostalgia, but rather a response to today's feeling of insecurity in the framework of discontentment with the capitalist market economy in former socialist countries, which gives priority to capital rather than people and their social protection. Therefore the narratives of informants on cross-border shopping, together with other forms of post-socialist nostalgia, represent a critique of capitalism and a longing for an alternative economic, social and moral system.

#### **References**

- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota.
- Bartlett, D. (2010). *Fashion East: The Spectre that haunted Socialism*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: The MIT Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2001). "Consuming Life," *Journal of Consuming Culture*, 1 (1): 9–29.
- Berdahl, D. (2010). *On the Social Life of Postsocialism: Memory, Consumption, Germany*. Bloomington in Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Bowlby, R. (1997). "Supermarket Futures." In: Falk, P. and Campbell, C. (Eds.), *The Shopping Experience*, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage, 92–110.
- Bracewell, W. (2006). "Adventures in the Marketplace: Yugoslav Travel Writing and Tourism in the 1950s–1960s." In: Gorsuch, A. E. and Koenker, D. (Eds.), *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, New York: Cornell University Press, 248–265.
- Burawoy, M., Verdery, K. (1999). "Introduction." In: Burawoy, M. and Verdery, K. (Eds.), *Uncertain Transition: Ethnographies of Change in the Postsocialist World*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1–18.
- Campbell, C. (1997). "Shopping, Pleasure and the Sex War." In: Falk, P. and Campbell, C. (Eds.), *The Shopping Experience*, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage, 166–76.
- Campbell, C. (2001). *Romantična etika in duh sodobnega porabništva*. Ljubljana: Studia humanitatis.

Chelcea, L. (2002). "The Culture of Shortage During State-Socialism: Consumption Practices in a Romanian Village in the 1980s," *Cultural Studies*, 16 (1): 16–43.

Crowley, D. and Reid, S. E. (2000). "Style and Socialism. Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe." In: Reid, S. E. and Crowley, D. (Eds.), *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe*, Oxford and New York: Berg, 1–24.

Duda, I. (2005). *U potrazi za blagostanjem: O povijesti dokolice i potrošačkog društva u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih i 1960-ih*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa.

Dunn, E. C. (2004). *Privatizing Poland: Baby Food, Big Business, and the Remaking of Labor*. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press.

Fehérváry, K. (2009). "Goods and State: The Political Logic of State-Socialist Material Culture," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51 (2): 426–59.

Koleva, D. (2012). "Introduction: Socialist Normality: Euphemization of Power or Profanation of Power?" In: Koleva, D. (Ed.), *Negotiating Normality: Everyday Lives in Socialist Institutions*, New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 7–34.

Kornai, J. (1992). *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Luthar, B. (2006). "Remembering Socialism: On Desire, Consumption and Surveillance," *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 6(2): 229–259.

Luthar, B. (2010). "Shame, Desire and Longing for the West: A Case Study of Consumption." In: Luthar, B. and Pušnik, M. (Eds.), *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, Washington: New Academia, 341–77.

Mikula, M. (2010). "Cross-Border Shopping in Former Yugoslavia, 1960s–1980s." In: Grandits, H. and Taylor, K. (Eds.), *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s–1980s)*, Budapest, New York: Central European University Press, 211–37.

Oakley, A. (2003). "Interviewing Women: A Contradiction in Terms." In: Lincoln, Y. S. and Denzin, N. K. (Eds.), *Turning Points in Qualitative Research: Tying Knots in a Handkerchief*, Oxford: Altamira Press, 243–26.

O'Dowd, L. (2001). "Analysing Europe's borders." *Boundary and Security Bulletin*, Summer: 67–79.

Patterson, P. H. (2011). *Bought & Sold: Living & Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*. Itaca, London: Cornell University Press.

Petrović, T. (2013). "Museum and Workers: Negotiating Industrial Heritage in the Former Yugoslavia." *Narodna umjetnost*, 50 (1): 96–120.

Prescott, J. R. (1987). *Political Frontiers and Boundaries*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Repe, B. (1998). "'Tihotapijo vse, razen ptičjega mleka': Vpliv nakupovalnega turizma na kulturne spremembe in način življenja v Sloveniji po drugi svetovni vojni," *Zgodovina za vse: vse za zgodovino*, 2: 90–6.

Riessman, C. K. (1987). "When Gender is not enough: Women Interviewing Women," *Gender & Society*, 2 (1): 172–207.

Ritchie, Donald A. (1995). *Doing Oral History*. New York: Twayne Publishers.

Scott, J. W. (2015). "Bordering, Border Politics and Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe." In: Celata, F. and Colleti, R. (Eds.), *Neighbourhood Policy and the Construction of the European External Borders*, New York and London: Springer, 27–44.

Švab, A. (1998). "‘To si enostavno morala imeti!’ – nakupovalni turizem v vzhodni Evropi," *Časopis za kritiko znanosti, domišljijo in novo antropologijo*, 26 (189): 131–43.

Švab, A. (2002). "Consuming Western Image of Well-Being – Shopping Tourism in Socialist Slovenia," *Cultural Studies*, 16 (1): 63–79.

Thelen, T. (2011). "Shortage, Fuzzy Property and other Dead Ends in the Anthropological Analysis of (Post)socialism," *Critique of Anthropology* 31 (1): 43–61.

Thompson, P. (2000). *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Timothy, D. J. (1995). "Political boundaries and tourism: borders as tourist attraction." *Tourism Management* 16 (7): 525–32.

Timothy, D. J. and Butler, R. W. (1995). "Cross-border shopping: a North American perspective." *Annals of Tourism Research* 22 (1): 16–34.

Tsing, A. (2009). "Supply Chains and the Human Condition." *Rethinking Marxism: A Journal of Economics, Culture & Society* 21 (2): 148–76.

Vidmar-Horvat, K. (2010). "Consuming European Identity: The Inconspicuous Side of Consumerism in the EU," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 13 (1): 25–41.

Vodopivec, N. (2007). *Labirint postsocializma: Socialni spomin tekstilnih delavk in delavcev*. Ljubljana: ISH publikacije.

Vučetić, R. (2012). *Koka-kola socijalizam: Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka*. Beograd: Glasnik.

Wessely, A. (2002). "Travelling People, Travelling Objects," *Cultural Studies*, 16 (1): 3–15.

Wilson, E. (1992). "The invisible flâneur," *New Left Review* 191: 90–110.

Yurchak, A. (2005). *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.