VYBORG: A BORDERLAND TOWN REMEMBERED AND FORGOTTEN

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Master's thesis
September 2014
This thesis sets out to explore how the changes to the Finnish-Russian border after WWII had an effect through a study of the town of Vyborg (formerly Viipuri) which was, before WWII, Finland's second largest city but, after the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947, became part of the Soviet Union.

The thesis will examine Finnish views of Vyborg, specifically how Vyborg is remembered in Finland as a lost town of the past, using theories of collective memory, national identity and Anssi Paasi's theory of spatial socialization. The 'loss' of Vyborg fits within wider ideas in Finland of a 'Lost Karelia' and the idea of a possible return of the territory ceded after WWII (the so called 'Karelian Question').

The thesis will attempt to show that though the Finland (EU) – Russian border is now the most open it has been since before Finnish independence in 1917, diminishing the effects of the physical border in separating Finns from Vyborg, the town remains 'cut off' from Finland by the mental borders constructed in Finnish collective memory which preserve it as a 'lost town' of the past.

This thesis will describe the cultural significance of the 'lost' town for Finns, examining the ways Vyborg is presented within Finnish society and culture (through an examination of media and museum portrayals). This thesis also presents the results of original research conducted with Finnish 8th and 9th graders from 3 different schools in North Karelia regarding Vyborg and the wider framing themes of Karelia, World War Two, and Russia and Russians.

The thesis will begin with a review of previous related research followed by a brief outline of the history of Vyborg and the past border changes affecting it (Chapter 1) and progresses to present the author’s original research findings (Chapter 6) after first detailing the theoretical and methodological frameworks used to analyse the topic (Chapters 2 and 3) and examining how Vyborg is represented within Finnish culture through an analysis of museums and media portrayals (Chapters 4 and 5).

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Title of research: Vyborg: a borderland town remembered and forgotten.
Faculty/Subject: Faculty of Social Sciences / Human Geography
Pages: 137
Work: Master's thesis
Time: September 2014
Key words: Vyborg, border, Finland, Russia, collective memory, teenagers.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly I would like to thank my supervisors Dr. Paul Fryer, Dr. Pasi Tuunainen and Prof. Laura Assmuth for their knowledge, advice, encouragement, and patience. Additional thanks go to those who 'got me in' to the Finnish schools I visited: Stefano de Luca of the Erasmus in Schools programme, Kaisa Tuunainen, and Jussi Petrelius, as well as to all the students who took part in my visits. Thanks also to Prof. Kimmo Katajala and all the others involved in the Meanings of an Urban Space, Past and Present. Cross-cultural Studies of the Town of Vyborg from the 16th to the 21st Centuries project for taking me with them to Vyborg. Special thanks to Mika Karjalainen for helping with translations and for his love and support. Many thanks also to my family back in England who have been regaled repeatedly and at length about this project!

Viipurilaisille – for the residents of Vyborg.
...the built environment...can be looked upon as a kind of collective history...But environments can only reflect this history through intermediation. The buildings speak only to those who can recognize what they tell.”

-Anna-Maria Åström and Pirjo Korkiakangas, 2004

“Sellanen ol' Viipuri – Karjalainen kaupunki” (“That was Vyborg – the Karelians' town”)

-Juha Vainio, Sellanen ol' Viipuri, 1965

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The research question

The research eyes the formerly Finnish, now Russian, town of Vyborg solely from the Finnish side of the border. This thesis aims to place Vyborg into the wider contexts of Finnish nationhood, territoriality and the Finnish-Russian border. The research uses the history of Vyborg as told in Finland (and how that history is told and presented) as a contrast point with which to compare the results of original research conducted with Finnish teens on their ability to identify Vyborg and on their ideas about the wider framing themes of Karelia, World War II and Russia and Russians within which Finns fit their conceptions of Vyborg. Media and museum portrayals of the town and the views of Finnish teens are analysed in an attempt to answer the question: what does Vyborg mean and represent in Finland today?

There seems little question that Vyborg still occupies a place within Finnish national identity and collective memory but the aim of this research is to pin point more precisely the nature of Vyborg's significance for Finns and Finland. This is done within the framework of analysing what is remembered about Vyborg and what is forgotten and how the remembrance of Vyborg might change in the future (the research with teens aims to shed light on this). Thus there is also a sub research question: is the image of Vyborg in Finland is fixed and enduring, or likely to change?

1.2 On the map: the geographical location of Vyborg

The town of Vyborg, Russia (formerly Viipuri, Finland) is a place situated on the coast of the Gulf of Finland, 138km north-west from St. Petersburg and 38km south-east from Russia's border with Finland. It is an early medieval town which has variously belonged to: the Swedish Empire, the Russian Empire, The Autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland, Independent Finland, the Soviet Union,
and the Russian Federation. Nowadays it is a town within the Leningrad Oblast\(^1\) with a population (in 2010) of 79,962 (Russia's 2010 Census) about 5,800 more than the current population of Joensuu municipality (Karelia Expert Tourist Services, 2014).

Fig. 1. Location of Vyborg. Map: Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 2. Location of Leningrad Oblast. Map: Wikimedia Commons.

The borderline on the Karelian Isthmus\(^2\) which nowadays divides the territories of the nation-states of Finland and Russia has been fixed by seven different peace treaties since 1323 (Böök, 2004:34) and been decided between 5 different territorial-political powers.\(^3\) These border changes have all “in some way... affected the castle and the city of Vyborg and its inhabitants” (Tandefelt, 2003:85). These borders changes, and their effects on Vyborg are detailed below.

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1. an administrative district of the Russian Federation.
2. the strip of land between the Gulf of Finland and Lake Ladoga, see Fig. 1 above.
3. The Swedish Empire, the Novgorod Republic, The Russian Empire or Tsardom, Independent Finland, The Soviet Union.
1.3 A brief history of Vyborg and the border changes affecting it.

The town and castle of Vyborg have a long history, a history shaped by the town's location on the Karelian Isthmus, a much fought over piece of land which forms a strategic bridge between “the great eastward mass of Russia and Asia and the immense Scandinavian peninsula that opens to the west” (Trotter, 1991:3). Legend has it that Vyborg castle was founded in 1293 by the Swede Torgils Knutsson (Kirby, 2006:154) and the settlement officially became part of the Swedish Empire after the 1323 Treaty of Nöteborg between Sweden and the Novgorod Republic (Kirby, 2006:306). It is often cited that the first physical 'border' in the territories of what are now Finland and Russia was created in 1323 via this treaty (see Fig. 6 below). This 'border' was not, however, a state borderline by any modern understanding, but more a marker of the extent of Sweden and Novgorod's respective spheres of influence and taxation which met on the Karelian Isthmus and in what is today Southern Finland. Vyborg at this time took on its role as a defensive outpost of the Swedish realm.

There has been a strong tendency in Finnish historiography to impose territorial, Westphalian borders on the 'maps of Finland' of the past (see Fig. 6, below, for an example of this). The borderline of 1721 is described briefly below as the first Westphalian border in the Karelian territory but the first borderline between Finland as a national (but not yet sovereign) entity and Russia is here understood to be the 1812 borderline (see below). In this limitation I agree with Häkli (2002: 76) who says that Finland cannot be seen as being “a nation and a state” before the nineteenth century.

For almost 420 years, from 1293 until 1710, Vyborg was the the capital and main administrative centre of Swedish Karelia (Toivonen, 2009) and grew to become the commercial and trading centre of Karelia (Katajala, 2007:71). It was during this time that Vyborg castle was completed and Vyborg's round tower (pyöreä torni in Finnish) built. These two structures are key to how Vyborg is represented in Finland as they are judged to be two of the most enduring physical symbols of Vyborg and are repeatedly used in media portrayals of the town (see Chapter 4 below).

In 1710 Vyborg was captured by Peter the Great during the Great Northern War and arrangements were made for the administration of Vyborg and its surroundings even before it was ceded by Sweden (Kirby, 2006:42). During this war much of Swedish Finland was occupied by Russia in a period known in Finland as 'The Great Wrath' (isoviha in Finnish). The folk memory of

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4 which did not exist as a sovereign nation state until 1917.
5 although its appearance today is due to renovations in the 1890s.
the “trauma of occupation” (Kirby, 2006:42), “despotism and atrocities of the Russians” (Karonen, 2008:205), “years of hostile Russian rule” (Lähteenmäki, 2007:147) and the “ruthlessness” of Russian administration of the territory (Kujala, 2000:85) shaped Finnish perceptions of Russia and Russians for generations afterwards, as well a casting doubt on the ability of Sweden to defend or protect its Finnish half from attack (Kirby, 2006:43). This era of Finland (and Vyborg's) history undoubtedly shaped Finns' conception of their eastern neighbours.

In 1721 Vyborg officially became a part of the Russian Empire as a result of the border drawn between Sweden and Russia at the Treaty of Nystad which concluded the Great Northern War (Edwards, 2006:28-29). This new border was far 'harder' than the border of 1323 and can be seen as the first true border between the part of Sweden which was later to become Finland and Russia. This was a Westphalian border, a border between states. The territory ceded to Russia at this time became known as “Old Finland” (Katajala, 2007:79). Old Finland was expanded in 1743, after the Russo-Swedish 'War of the Hats' which Sweden lost, to include the towns of Hamina, Lappeenranta and Savonlinna (ibid: 80; see fig 4 below). In the second half of the 18th Century Vyborg, as well as by now being a satellite town for St Petersburg, became the most important port for European timber exports in Old Finland (ibid.:81). It was also still being an important regional trading centre which was still also served by Karelian and Savonian traders from the Swedish side of the border who could illegally cross the poorly guarded border (ibid.) to sell goods in Vyborg. Thus Vyborg's reputation as an international trading town stretches back several centuries.

In 1808 the Swedish Province of Finland was annexed from Sweden by Tsar Alexander I during the so-called “Finnish War” (Katajala, 2007:82) and in 1812 Old Finland was adjoined to the
newly created 'Grand Duchy of Finland' making Vyborg and its surrounding province part of the Grand Duchy. The territory of Old Finland became the province of Vyborg (ibid.). This change has recently (Kaukiainen, 2014:12) been described as “Vyborg province returning to Finland; Finland coming to Vyborg province.” Vyborg had been part of Russian territory for just over 100 years but now it was to form the easternmost town and province of the new Grand Duchy of Finland. The 1812 border put Finland 'on the map' as a territorial entity. (See Kirby, 2006:15,307; Lähteenmäki, 2007: 147) and allowed the nascent creation of the Finnish nation to “assume a territorial framework which would remain virtually intact until 1940” (Häkli, 2002:78). Vyborg was an important part of this territorial frame, marking out the south eastern edge of Finnish national territory. The Grand Duchy of Finland was given “a relatively large degree of home rule in respect to legislation, government, religion and the economy and Finnish state administrative organs were created” (Katajala, 2007:82). This led to the formation of Finland into a national-territorial entity.

Fig. 4. The Swedish/Finnish – Russian borders of 1721, 1743, 1809 an 1812 and Old Finland. From Lähteenmäki, 2007:148.

During its time as a Grand Duchy, Finland experienced a period of 'national awakening' and underwent a process of nation building. This was aided by the elevation of the Finnish language. The prime example of this is the Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala*, a collection of sung Karelian folk poetry compiled by the Finn Elias Lönnröd which was published in 1835, with a second, longer edition in 1849. Vyborg would be on the south western edge of this conception of Karelia.

6 The prime example of this is the Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala*, a collection of sung Karelian folk poetry compiled by the Finn Elias Lönnröd which was published in 1835, with a second, longer edition in 1849.

7 Vyborg would be on the south western edge of this conception of Karelia.
today as can be seen by Finnish teens' conceptions of 'Karelia' as both familiar and other (see Chapter 6 below).

In December 1917, after the October Revolution in Russia, the Grand Duchy of Finland declared independence from the fledgling Soviet Union -becoming the Republic of Finland - and the 1920 Treaty of Tartu confirmed the eastern borderline of the new nation-state of Finland. The treaty was a necessary officialisation of the border after the Russian revolutions of 1917, Russian Civil War of 1917-1920 and establishment of the Soviet Union, Finland's declaration of independence in 1917 and its Civil War in 1918 (Lähteenmäki, 2007:157). This borderline between the independent Republic of Finland and the Soviet Union was substantially the same as the 1812 border. The only change was that Finland gained the Petsamo region on the Arctic Ocean and lost some territory in White Sea Karelia (see Fig. 6 below). Up until 1917 the border between the Russian Empire and its Grand Duchy had been only “a formality” (Paasi, 2000:89) but, post-independence, Finland “tried to secure its boundaries and use them to strengthen and legitimise the territoriality of the state” (ibid). To this end, the 1920 border (in effect since 1917) made “itself felt as a categorical dividing line and barrier to interaction” (Eskelinen et al., 1999:330).

This new physical borderline also symbolised an ideological border separating the Communist Soviet regime from democratic 'White' Finland. The border was closed and the “fruitful interrelation between Finnish and Russian culture[s] almost completely ceased” (Isachenko, 2004:49). According to Paasi (2000:90) “Finnish publicity and education before...World War II represented the Soviet Union in negative terms.” Thus Soviet Russia became 'the other,' separated from Finland by both a hard physical borderline and by mental borders based on political ideology and the perceived threat of Communism. Before and during World War II Finland was presented as “the last outpost of the West against the barbarism of the East” (Katajala, 2014) and the garrison town of Vyborg and its castle, located in the eastern borderland of Finland, came to symbolise this conception of Finland.

The 1920 Finnish-Russian border represents the idea of a border as both security and threat. The closed border provided an imaginary or perceived reality of security and separateness for

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8 Totalling about 10,500 sq. km (Lähteenmäki, 2007: 157).
9 The Finns had at first demanded the whole of Karelia including Petrozavodsk (Lähteenmäki, 2007: 157), territory which had not been part of the Grand Duchy or Swedish Finland.
10 Finland's rule was re-affirmed as 'White' after the bloody Civil War of spring 1918 when 'Red' forces, the working class, and those sympathetic to the workers' cause were violently forced into submission by the Government-backed Civil Guard. This episode is Finland's history is almost taboo and not often represented in museum or media histories of Finland.
11 This continued after WWII, until the 1980s, with “politicians and the writers of school books etc” in Finland emphasizing “the deep gap” between Finland and Russia (Lähteenmäki, 2007: 167).
Finland but the need for it, after the open border of the Grand Duchy era, was a constant reminder of the changed geo-political situation, that Finland was now neighbour to a proselytizing Communist regime.\footnote{The Soviet Union did attract a significant number of Red Finns both from Finland and the USA and Canada to move to Russian Karelia both immediately after the Finnish Civil War during the 1920s – giving the lie to the idea that any border can be totally impermeable.} Vyborg stood only about 80km from the border and the border itself was only around 50km from Leningrad.

An 'Additional Secret Protocol' appended to the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of August 1939 assigned Finland to the USSR's sphere of influence and on October 5, after Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania had all signed 'mutual assistance' treaties with the USSR, the Soviets issued an invitation to the Finnish government to come to Moscow discuss “concrete political questions” (Trotter, 1991:15). These 'questions' were in fact demands for changes to Finnish territory including that the Finnish border be pushed back “westward to a point only 20 miles [32km] east of Viipuri” and that the Mannerheim line of Finnish defensive fortifications on the Karelian Isthmus should be destroyed (ibid). Finland, as a “sovereign nation...had every legal and moral right to refuse any Russian demands for territory” (ibid:17) and its government refused Russia's repeated demands during that autumn that the border be moved. This prompted the Soviets – who were fearful that in future Leningrad could be attacked via the Finnish half of the Karelian Isthmus – to attack Finland.

On 30\textsuperscript{th} November 1939 the Soviet Union invaded Finland, violating its sovereignty by crossing Finland's eastern borderline in numerous places. Finland fought back during a conflict known in Finland as the Winter War. In March 1940 the Treaty of Moscow which ended this war created a new Finnish-Soviet border substantially to the west of the 1920 border, ceding the Soviet Union approximately 10\% of Finland's territory (Kirby, 2006:287, 215) including Vyborg and its surrounding province, and the towns of Sortavala and Käkisalmi (now Priozersk) as well as numerous rural communities (Karelian Association, 1996:15). Finland ceded far more territory than the Red Army had managed to invade and occupy (ibid). The loss of Vyborg\footnote{The Red Army had reached the outskirts of Vyborg by the final days of the Winter War but the town did not fall to the Soviets during the war. The town was heavily bombed damaged during the war.} was represented at the time as a bitter blow to Finland. Describing the terms of the Peace being broadcast over the radio in a Helsinki restaurant British journalist John Langdon-Davies reported that: “'Viipuri' ...produced...a stifled, spasmodic cry that seemed to come from almost everybody in the room, as if in response to a physical blow” (quoted in Trotter, 1991:261). Vyborg was evacuated and handed over to the Soviets as an empty shell.

Between June 1941- September1944 Finland, on the side of the Axis powers and aided...
militarily by Germany, re-occupied this ceded territory including Vyborg (on the 31st August 1941) and advanced past the pre-Winter War Finnish-Russian borderline deep into Russian Karelia, territory which had never previously been part of Finland. This Finno-Soviet conflict is known in Finland as the Continuation War. On June 20th 1944, after about 2.5 years of ‘stale mate’ trench warfare between Finnish and Soviet forces in Karelia, Red Army forces took Vyborg from the Finnish Army with “surprising ease” (Tarkka, 1991:89) as part of the Red Army's counter attack in Karelia. In the end the Red Army advanced past Vyborg, which they had occupied, as far as Tali-Ihantala, some 20km north east of Vyborg on the Karelian Isthmus (ibid:89,90) where they were held, by fierce and heavy fighting, by the Finnish Army until mid-July 1944 when the Soviet attack came to a standstill (ibid.:92, 93). On 5th September 1944 a cease fire was declared on the Isthmus front (ibid.:95) and the Moscow Armistice of 19th September officially ended the Continuation War.

As part of the Armistice Finland agreed that the Finnish-Russian border should be the same as the 1940 Peace of Moscow borderline with Finland in addition ceding Petsamo in the Arctic (Tarkka, 1991:97). The Paris Peace Treaty of 1947 re-affirmed the 1940 borderline and since 1944 Vyborg has been a part of the Soviet Union and then the Russian Federation. As a result of the 1944 border change around 430,000 Finns evacuated from the ceded territories, including Vyborg, were resettled in other parts of Finland (Karjanliito ry, n.d.) and by the end of 1948 95% of these evacuees had been given a new homestead somewhere in Finland (Tarkka, 1991:110).

Fig 5. Ceded areas of Finland. Marked in red are the areas Finland ceded to the Soviet Union after the Winter War (1940). Map: Wikimedia Commons.

The 1944 border change had a huge effect on both sides. For Finns (this thesis argues) the
areas they had lost (including Vyborg) became idealised, mythic places preserved in collective memory as they were when they were part of Finland (i.e. pre 1939/1944): “almost without exception, in reminiscing about their ceded native localities the resettled Karelians describe them as places of inimitable beauty...The collective and individual memory have suppressed all negative features of pre-war life...” (Böök, 2004:40). Post World War II “the concept arose [in Finland] of a lost, forfeited Karelia that no one wished to forget but for which all notions of time and space came to a standstill at the moment of evacuation” (Raivo, 2004:67), In short, ceded Karelia “gained a...nostalgic aura” (Böök, 2004:33). This constructing of ceded Karelia as a 'perfect' and 'lost' place, frozen in time, was aided by the fact that the borderland was closed to foreign visitors until the late 1980s (ibid). Thus, until that time, Finns had no access to the reality of ceded Karelia and their preserved mental images, concepts and memories of those places remained unalterable.

For the new Russian inhabitants of the ceded areas, who often came from distant parts of the Soviet Union, the formerly Finnish areas had no history that they were aware of, thus they had to create their own myths around the Finnish buildings and landscapes. Physically, over the course of 40 post war years, the ceded area of Vyborg Karelia transformed “from a rural into an urbanized area” but whose primary function as a region was to provide recreational opportunities for Russian city dwellers (Isachenko, 2004:50,52). Post World War II and currently Vyborg Karelia has been viewed by Russians as “primordial Russian countryside” and Vyborg as “an ancient Russian town” (Isachenko, 2004:53). The Finnish past of the area was “passed over in silence” (ibid). Currently it still appears that, as in the past, “Moscow apparently does not assign Border Karelia -nor any part of ceded Karelia – adequate resources to prepare or maintain its infrastructure” (Böök, 2004:42) and there are fairly frequent media reports in the Finnish press about the poor state of Vyborg's Finnish-era buildings (see Chapter 4 below).

1.4 Viewing the border from Finland: on which side of the border does Vyborg 'belong'?

The border of 1812 is sometimes seen, from the Finnish side, as the 'correct', 'natural' or even 'holy' border between Finland and Russia as it was the first time the border was drawn between the nation of Finland and its Eastern neighbour (rather than between Russia and a Swedish province) creating the 'Autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland' which, as the name suggests, though part of the Russian Empire had considerable autonomy (see Pelo, 1988; Lähteenmäki, 2007:147-8). The 1812 border also created a border between Sweden and Finland and thus created the complete outline of the nation-state of Finland; it literally put Finland 'on the map.' The 1812 border was almost completely replicated when Independent Finland negotiated its border with the Soviet Union in 1920 at the
Thus, Vyborg is seen by some on the Finnish side as 'naturally' being a part of Finland as it was on the Finnish side of both the 1812 and 1920 borderlines. The later, post World War II, border redrawing is still seen by some as an unjust or 'bad' border dividing from Finland a town and territory which it sees as rightfully its own. This perception of Vyborg is strictly unofficial. There is no official or government standpoint in Finland to the effect that Vyborg and the other ceded areas 'rightly' belong within Finland's borders. But one can certainly find this view unofficially circulating amongst some sections of the Finnish population, namely the Karelian evacuees and those sympathetic to them, and in societal discourses in the forms of museum exhibitions and media artefacts. This thesis explores whether Finnish young people today hold similar views about 'lost' Karelia.

There are also specific groups within Finland which argue for a return, or at least a discussion about the return, of the territory lost to Finland after World War II (including Vyborg). This possibility of discussion is known in Finland as 'the Karelian question.' The Finnish Karelian League -formerly The Karelian Association- (Karjalan Liitto ry in Finnish), which is a large and influential organisation in Finland dedicated to the interests of evacuees from ceded Karelia, has “tried to raise the political issue of returning the lost parts of Karelia to Finland” (Oksa, 2003). In 2005 the League stated its position as follows:

The Finnish Karelian League is of the opinion that negotiations on the areas ceded to the Soviet Union or their use could be conducted on a new basis, if Russia has an interest in this. There has been no change in the willingness of Russia to discuss changing the borders defined by the peace treaty [i.e. Russia refuses to discuss the issue].

ProKarelia (ProKarelia ry) is another, more radically-minded, group in Finland who make similar demands: “ProKarelia aims at returning Finnish Karelia [and the other territories] ceded to the Soviet Union...back to the context of Finland and the EU...thus humanitarian catastrophe in Karelia will be avoided” (ProKarelia website). However, “The return of the ceded areas (even by leasing them) has not been regarded as realistic or feasible” by the majority in Finland (Oksa, 2003). Thus Vyborg remains a town firmly situated within the Russian Federation.

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14 the only changes were that Finland gained Petsamo on the Arctic Ocean and lost some territory in White Sea Karelia.
Fig. 6. The changing borders of the territory of Finland, from Korpela, 2008.
2. THEORETICAL APPROACHES APPLIED TO THE TOPIC

This thesis examines Vyborg using a number of different theoretical approaches, combining and comparing them in order to shed light on 'Vyborg as Finnish cultural phenomenon.' The thesis approaches the topic from the Border Studies and Human Geography perspectives so the theories used come largely from these disciplines. However theories of memory and history are also employed with a focus on how the collective, cultural memory of a place and is transmitted and circulated within a culture, especially in the analysis of the data collected from Finnish teens (see below).

2.1 Physical and mental bordering

This thesis rests on the idea that physical bordering, the imposition of nation state borders in the physical geographical landscape, has a direct effect on mental bordering - indeed that the one creates the other. Mental bordering is here taken to mean the construction of borders internally inside a person's or, in this case, a nation's collective psyche, that is to say, borders not actually present in the physical landscape. This thesis acknowledges that all physical borders gain their power through what they represent symbolically and thus all physical borders must also be considered as mental borders. Here I agree with Anssi Paasi who argues (Paasi, 2000: 88) that borders arise “out of processes in which territories and their contested meanings are socially and culturally constructed.” In other words, there would be no physical borders without there first being processes of mental bordering: processes of 'us and them' leading to the need to mark 'us' out in the landscape with a physical border separating 'us' from 'them.'

I will also argue, however, that physical borders, once imposed, can give rise to new kinds of mental bordering: in the case of Vyborg the mental 'walling off' of the places of the past. Places which are 'lost' behind new physical nation state borders are subject to transformations in the minds of those physically separated from them by the state border. In the minds of those separated from the place by the border the place is crystallised and frozen in memory as it was when last they were there or when last it was their side of the state border. The physical place itself, meanwhile, still living and evolving continues its life inside the new border. These new forms of mental bordering are closely linked to collective memory (see below) as these mentally-bordered places exist only as memories: they do not correspond to the physical reality of the geographical place. Thus two places exist simultaneously: the imagined place defined by a mental border, and the physical, geographic place defined by a physical border.
These ideas about physical and mental bordering and how they are linked are applied to the thesis topic by looking at the effects of the imposition of a new physical border, the 1940/1947 Finnish-Russian border, on collective mental bordering in Finland as regards the town of Vyborg. This thesis will argue that the new physical border prompted new mental borders especially the mental 'closing off' of Vyborg as a 'lost town' of the past. This followed the wider pattern of the whole of 'lost Karelia' (the ceded territories) being similarly 'bordered' in Finnish collective memory as a lost and / or golden place of the past. This 'walling off' of Vyborg of the past is represented physically by the permanent exhibition at the Museum of South Karelia (see below).

This mental bordering of 'lost Karelia' (and so also of Vyborg) underwent a 'turn' or change with the collapse of the Soviet Union which allowed the suppressed “national agony” of losing the ceded territories to come to the surface in public debate (Paasi, 2000:91) and allowed Finns to physically visit the 'lost' territories with the opening of the border. The mental bordering is about to undergo another 'turn' when the last of those with first hand memories of the ceded territories (and Vyborg) as places within Finland, who are already in their 80s, die out. This thesis seeks to take a 'snapshot' of Finnish teens' views of 'lost Karelia' (and of Vyborg) in an attempt to predict whether the current mental bordering found in Finnish collective memory is likely to endure with the next generations of Finns – whether, as Paasi puts it, the “the violent history of the border area [will] still cast its shadow on Finnish attitudes” (Paasi, 2000:96) or whether the bordered image of 'lost Karelia' dies with those who created the mental borders by preserving images of pre WWII Karelia (and Vyborg).

This thesis will also argue that the changing nature of physical borders, in this case the more open, porous nature of the Finnish-Russian border since the collapse of the Soviet Union, can also have very little effect on established, ingrained mental borders, agreeing with Jukarainen that “[c]ultural boundaries...[and] 'us' vs. 'them' demarcations for constructing identities have been far more resilient than politico-adminstrative boundaries” (Jukarainen 2002:86). This argumentation is based on the results of work with Finnish teenagers which show the 'old' negative views about Russia and Russians being perpetrated despite the teens having always lived with the more 'open' border, having had contact with Russian people and, in some cases, having visited Russia (see below). As Raento (2008:2) puts it (referring specifically to Finland) “the reinforcement of mental and symbolic boundaries between individuals and groups of people has been an evident counterforce to new flows and flexibility.”

The lowering of the physical border has not (yet) created changes in the mental border,
except perhaps, to harden it further. This may at first seem surprising, even paradoxical, would one not expect a more open border to create more open attitudes? Jukarainen argues that strengthened cultural boundaries are due to protectionist behaviour by those living on the Finnish border being exposed to foreign cultural influences (Jukarainen, 2002: 87). In other words, the stiffened mental borders are a 'knee-jerk' reaction to the perceived softening of the physical border. As argued above, physical borders serve a psychologically soothing function by separating and preserving 'us' and what is 'ours,' and by keeping 'us' safe from invasion and domination by 'them.' If it seems the physical borders are not doing this job it is natural that mental borders will harden to compensate for this lost feeling of security and to protect feelings of identity ('us'). This follows the idea that “The urge to establish boundaries for self-preservation (i.e. territorial behaviour)...[is] a fundamental aspect of human life” (Ahponen and Jukarainen, 2000:6).

2.2 Collective memory and national identity

Besides the interplays between physical and mental bordering this thesis will examine the role of collective memory and national identity in the ways Vyborg is seen in Finland. This thesis will adhere to the definition of collective memory given by Weedon and Jordan (2012:143) who see collective memory as “narratives of past experience constituted by and on behalf of specific groups within which they find meaningful forms of identification...” Weedon and Jordan link this definition to Anderson's earlier idea of 'imagined communities' by arguing that “[c]ollective memory and the institutions and practices that support it help to create, sustain and reproduce the 'imagined communities' with which individuals identify and that give them a sense of history, place and belonging (Anderson 1981)” (ibid).

As to how collective memory operates Frisch (1994:34) sees it as a process “through which culture may shape the parameters, structure and even the content of our sense of history.” Raivo (2004:63) adds that “the purpose of...collective memory is to reinforce group identity...” I agree with these definitions of what collective memory does and why and will apply these ideas to the phenomenon of the collective memory in Finland as regards Vyborg. This thesis will argue that there is, in Finland, a very strong collective memory which has shaped and defined how Vyborg is remember and how it is presented: its image. This collective memory is steered or orchestrated by those with first hand memories of Finnish Vyborg i.e. Finns who lived there before WWII and were forced to leave after the war. It is the Vyborg of the 1930s which is the dominant image of the town in Finland and this image is – like the image of the rest of 'lost Karelia' – a rose tinted or golden image. Pre-WWII Vyborg is remembered as a near-perfect place where one can be “happy and
“carefree” (Ståhls-Hindsberg, 2004a:80) – as one former Finnish resident born in 1920 admitted “we idealise Viipuri” (quoted in Ståhls-Hindsberg, 2004a:72). This cohesive collective memory of Vyborg serves to reinforce both the group identity of the former residents of Vyborg and the national identity of ‘being Finnish.’

Raivo argues (2004:63) that, as the recalling of past events is, by nature, a social or collective function it is inevitable that an individual’s own memories of past events are “linked to, and in part adapted to, the common memory and identity of a larger social group, a family, local community, or nation.” Thus we can see how easily and inevitably a cohesive collective memory can form around a past event or, in this case, a past place. Memories which fit with the established collective memory and the accepted image serve to reinforce both individual and national identity. Memories or images which do not 'fit' the accepted image or collective memory of the past are not subsumed into the collective memory. As Ståhls-Hindsberg (2004a:70) puts it (paraphrasing Halbwachs) “individual members [of the group] do the work of remembering, but it is the group that decides what is worth retaining of those memories.”

Weedon and Jordan (2012) have examined the idea of 'postmemory,' a term coined by Hirsch, 1999, in connection with the legacy of the holocaust. Postmemory is what I encountered when working with the Finnish teens. They are the descendants of a generation of “survivors of cultural or collective trauma” (Hirsch, 1999:8), descendants of those with first-hand memories of 'losing Karelia' and the teens 'remember' (in this case) the loss of Karelia “only as stories and images with which they grew up, but that are so powerful...as to constitute memories in their own right” (ibid). I argue in light of my results from working with the teens (see below) that these postmemories come to the fore most obviously when the teens turn their attention to the topic of Russia and Russians. The teens do not feel the same nostalgia about Karelia as their forebears who witnessed its loss (see below) however they do repeat the idea that it is a 'lost area', that it was 'taken' from Finland, and even, in the case of one group, that it 'should be a part of Finland' (see below). As regards Russia and Russians the teens express “a reaction that was passed on, a reaction, expressing an emotional complex made up of fear, anger, perhaps sadness and other emotions. All these passed on [to the teens] without realisation...” (Stratton, 2005:61). 16

Finland is about to experience an historic 'turn' whereby these postmemories take over from

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15 For example memories of Vyborg during the Finnish Civil War (see Fingerroos, 2008).
16 Stratton was talking here about “his own mother’s trauma in witnessing 'at a mediated remove' what had happened to others, a trauma that continued to affect her day-to-day response to German people and to media reports about Germany or Germans” (Weedon and Jordan, 2012:147). I see the teens as having a similar response to Russia and Russians for similar reasons.
the prevailing collective memory of events founded on first hand experience of said events (the loss of Karelia including Vyborg). It is, therefore, hoped that the initial study (detailed below) into the postmemories of Finnish teenagers as regards 'lost' Karelia and Vyborg may begin to illuminate the path Finland's remembrance of these events might take in the future.

2.3 Paasi's theory of spatial socialization

In order to attempt to predict how Vyborg might be remembered in the future, however, one must first establish a starting point and clarify the Finns’ “political-territorial understandings” (Murphy, 2013:1217). To do this I will use Paasi's theory of spatial socialization. This theory is a tool which can be used to examine “the specific processes by which peoples and groups come to be socialized as members of specific territorially bounded spatial entities” (Paasi, 2009:226) in blunt terms: how Finns are socialised into feeling 'Finnish' and a part of Finland. I will use the theory to examine the processes of Finnish tabloid media and museum narratives in spatiality socializing Finns into viewing ceded Karelia in certain ways.

In naming his theory Paasi reversed Shields' (1991) idea of social spatialization which Paasi (1999:20) defined as the study of “the way specific spatial ideas about a territory and its boundaries shape the spatial image of society.” Paasi takes Shields’ idea further, arguing that one must also “analyse how these [spatial] ideas [about a territory] become crucial in the construction of territorial entities and the spatial ideas of the people living in them...[peoples’] spatial socialization” (ibid, emphasis in original). Paasi also argues that we need to try to “'read' [boundaries] from discourses taking place in the fields of economics, politics, culture, administration and education” (ibid). This thesis will attempt to apply these ideas of Paasi’s to the case of Vyborg as a physically and mentally bordered town by 'reading' tabloid magazine, museum, and school room discourses concerning Vyborg, Karelia, and Russia.

Paasi's theory urges the boundary scholar to:

move beyond a view of boundaries as demarcators at the edges of states and instead look at the way those boundaries are implicated in the social arrangements and understandings that are found throughout a state’s territory.

(Murphy, 2013:1216-7).

The instruments which can engineer spatial socialization include “textbooks, atlases, history and
geography courses, literature, and media representations” (ibid.:1217). It is the results of textbooks and history and geography lessons (i.e. students' knowledge and views) as well as media representations that this thesis will focus upon as well as museum exhibitions. The aim here is “to understand the construction of institutionalised forms of 'we' and the 'Other' which are produced and perpetually reproduced in educational texts, narratives and discourses” (Newman and Paasi, 1998:196).

17 an aspect of spatial socialization seemingly overlooked by Paasi.
3. METHODOLOGY

This thesis employs mixed methods research. It includes both an analysis of existing data on Vyborg (in the form of tabloid media and museum portrayals of the town, see Chapters 4 and 5) and an analysis of, and conclusions drawn from, original research in the form of data gathered by the author from Finnish teenagers (see Chapter 6).

3.1 Vyborg in Finnish culture: media and museums

As well as presenting and analysing the findings of original research this thesis will also examine how Vyborg is portrayed in Finnish tabloid media and in museum exhibitions. This examination takes place within the framework of theories of collective memory and Paasi's theory of spatial socialization (see above). The examination intends to present part of the Finnish collective memory of Vyborg and also, crucially, to provide a counterpoint with which the reader can compare the views of Finnish teens. Just as I could not broach the topic of Vyborg with the teens without its wider context (see below) so I cannot present the findings of my research to the reader without the wider context of how Vyborg is represented in Finnish culture.

This examination of media and museums is far from exhaustive and is designed to be a framing and contextualisation for the phenomenon of 'remembering Vyborg in Finland' and for the primary data collected from Finnish teens. In fact I will present below (Chapter 4) only a few, carefully chosen, tabloid media artefacts which are representative of the wide range of media artefacts available within the genre of remembering and history telling in Finland. In Chapter 5, I will discuss two museum exhibitions (one permanent, one temporary) on the theme of Vyborg. It is hoped that this examination of select media and museum sources will illuminate to some extent the positioning and representation of Vyborg within Finnish culture. This will then, in turn, provide a framing or context for the data gathered from Finnish teens (chapter 6).

Media artefacts

I assess five selected tabloid media artefacts (4 one-off tabloid magazines and one 4-page tabloid newspaper article) largely on the ways they present information, what headlines they use, how their pages are laid out, what photographs and captions they use. I do not perform an in-depth analysis of their copy although I highlight some key phrases and some of the memorial stories of Vyborg presented in the magazine Viipuri-muistot (see below). My aim is to show how Vyborg is
typically presented in Finnish tabloid media, what images or words are associated with the town, which times in its history are focused upon and the wider contexts in which it is presented.\textsuperscript{18} As Kitch, (2002), Keith (2010) and others have argued popular media has an influence on collective memory and also relies upon it when presenting and structuring articles and magazines. Here I see the dominant media images of Vyborg as both shaping and reflecting the Finnish collective memory of the town: of how it was lost, won and lost again during World War II and how it is seen today. These media images of Vyborg are important because they are what surround and to a lesser or greater extent inform Finns today (especially those, the majority, without first hand memories of Finnish Vyborg) about the Finnish history of Vyborg. The teens in my study will all have been exposed to these tabloid representations of Vyborg which are present online, on supermarket newsstands, perhaps also in their homes, and are also used as teaching materials in Finnish schools.

My media analysis involved going through the magazines and newspaper article 'by hand' noting which photos were used and researching these photos\textsuperscript{19} to contextualise and date them as well as noting how often photos of certain Vyborg buildings were used and whether these photos came from the pre war, wartime or post war era. I also made note of the headlines and subheadings used to try to distinguish common themes. I 'zoned in' on a few of the stories from Viipuri-muistot as being particularly representative of memories of Vyborg as well as certain parts of the copy in the magazines which linked with ideas and themes related to Vyborg found elsewhere.\textsuperscript{20} I did not however have the time or resources to make a detailed analysis of all the copy in the magazines or newspaper article.

Museums

There are over 1000 museums in Finland (museot.fi). I have chosen exhibitions at just two of them which were directly about Vyborg: On the Border: Three Karelian Towns a permanent exhibition at the South Karelia Museum, Lappeenranta and Viipuri-mon amour a temporary exhibition at Lahti Historical Museum, Lahti.

In my analysis of Finnish museum portrayals of Vyborg I look at how the exhibitions were curated with special focus on the visual and visceral impact of the displayed artefacts: what feelings might they provoke in the viewer? What feelings are the displays designed to provoke? Could the average lay visitor/viewer identify with and find a personal link to the items on display? Do the exhibitions tell some sort of story about Vyborg's history and is this narrative “ready made and

\textsuperscript{18} These wider contexts are WWII history and as part of Karelia.
\textsuperscript{19} For example by using Kallioniemi, 1990.
\textsuperscript{20} For example the discussion of the song Sellanen ol' Viipuri in Karjala magazine, see below.
perfect” (Glover Frykman, 2009:302) or open to questioning and interrogation? I analyse whether the museums reflect collective memory regarding Vyborg and whether they aim to provoke feelings of nostalgic longing for a 'lost' place or are more neutral. I also try to link the museum exhibits to media portrayals of Vyborg by seeking similarities between the 'stories told' about Vyborg.

I view the museum exhibitions as “collective memory banks” (Glover Frykman, 2009: 303) and as such my analysis attempts to make explicit the particular collective memory or memories the museum exhibitions are or were attempting to portray. I see the museums themselves as expressing the “dominant values, attitudes and identities of the time” (Al-Ragam, 2014: 672) and, I would add, place and also, by turn, as “playing a significant role in heritage construction” (ibid.). Museums are not likely to stray too far from the 'accepted version' of history: I see museums as presenting “a dominant heritage discourse” (ibid.) and will analyse their exhibitions in light of this view to assess what version of Vyborg and its history they present. Finnish museum portrayals of Vyborg have relevance to the views of Finnish teens as, as with the media portrayals above, the teens will have been exposed to these museum portrayals.

3.2 Gathering primary data from Finnish teens

The aim of this thesis is to provide a 'snapshot' of current Finnish views of Vyborg: what does the town mean in Finland today? My target population for study therefore could not be the oft-researched evacuees and former residents of Finnish Vyborg. As argued here they are the ones who have shaped the image of Vyborg in Finland, their knowledge on Vyborg is demonstrably expansive and Vyborg's cultural, personal and emotional meaning for them is clear and self-evident. In other words I would not expect to find anything other than that Vyborg remains an extremely important place, memory and concept for them: a fact which is already well known and acknowledged. I will therefore turn my attention to the largely unknown and unstudied views of Finnish teens: what, if anything, does Vyborg represent and mean to them?

My target group for study are Finnish 8th and 9th graders (aged between 14 and 16). The Finnish curriculum instructs that students learn the history of World War II (hereafter WWII) between the 7-9th grades (Finnish National Board of Education, 2004: 222-224). In the three schools I visited the history of WWII, Finland's involvement, and the aftermath and consequences for Finland was being taught during 8th grade. Therefore the 8th graders I worked with were currently studying the topics I wished to make some modest assessment of their knowledge of and to discuss with them. The 9th graders would have already (the previous school year) completed their studies of WWII but the topic would still hopefully be somewhat fresh in their minds, also being a year or so
older, they should have more general knowledge and also be more confident and talkative than the 8\textsuperscript{th} graders.

In his study on the religiousness of Finnish 8\textsuperscript{th} and 9\textsuperscript{th} graders Räsänen (2010:143) states that by the age 14 a teen normally has the capacity for abstract thinking, that is they have the ability to solve complicated problems and to “understand and to recognise complex causal connections” (ibid.). He posits that this “improves their self-respect but at the same time it confuses and produces uncertainty” (ibid). Therefore, my subject group should be capable of advanced thinking on the themes I would present them with, seeing the possible causal links between things or the different possible focuses or meanings. However, they may also wish to retreat to what they believe is definite or well-known and may not have the confidence to express any more advanced or original ideas. The final assessment criteria for History students in the 7-9\textsuperscript{th} grades states that they should be “able to formulate their own justified opinions about, and evaluate, [historical] events and phenomena” (Finnish National Board of Education, 2004:224). Therefore I might expect to gather the students’ own opinions and thoughts on the topics rather than just finding out what facts they know.

North Karelian teens were chosen due to the fact they were the ones most easily reachable for myself as a resident of Joensuu and also due to fact they live in the Finnish borderland and the Finnish-Russian border and Russians are familiar to them in their everyday lives; their knowledge on these topics is not just academic but comes from their life experiences. Some of the participants live in a village which is right up against the Finnish-Russian borderline, they can see Russia from their homes. Lack of time\textsuperscript{21} and funding -for travel expenses- and lack of connections or 'ins' to other schools prevented the obtaining of a sample which included students from further inside Finland or from contrasting regions such as the Capital region but it is hoped a future study could look at a much wider sample of Finnish teens from throughout Finland.

I employ a similar methodology to the American historian Michael Frisch who conducted an experiment on his university undergraduate students in which he asked them to individually recall American historical figures and write a list of these (Frisch, 1994). He was testing their collective or cultural memory via a free association exercise and some of his findings and conclusions mirror my own (see discussion of results in Chapter 6, below). In my research setting I mirror that of Anderson and Jones (2009) who used an in-classroom setting. They also went on to interview pupils in a private environment within the school and also at pupils' outside-of-school 'hangouts' – their aim

\textsuperscript{21} The research method of spending lessons with the students was more time consuming than an alternative methodology of, for example, mailing and collecting a survey would have been.
was to determine “the difference the where of method makes to research” (p.293). This was not something I was able to explore in my study although I was concerned with a broader 'where' as I researched specifically Finnish borderland teens.

3.3 School visits: methods and objectives

I visited a total of seven class groups, two 9th grade and five 8th grade classes, at three different schools (identified here as schools K, E and N); two in different rural districts of North Karelia and one in the regional capital, Joensuu, between January and March, 2014. I met the students in their class groups, which numbered between 10 and 15 students, in their classrooms and spent roughly 45 minutes with each group. I spoke to them mostly in English with their teacher translating instructions into Finnish. The groups at School K had seen me previously as the lesson before I had given them a presentation on the United Kingdom. I was therefore not a completely unknown person for them and they had had the previous lesson (lasting 45 minutes) to 'get used to' my presence. Due to time constraints the students at schools E and N had not seen me before the 'data gathering' lesson but I do not believe this greatly affected the results.

My participants were, in a sense, a 'captive audience' as I conducted my research with them during a compulsory school lesson. Their were however warned of my coming and under no duress to take part. All students were given instructions about what I'd like them to do and given paper, but it was their own choice how much, or how little, they contributed to the class discussions and group work or whether they wrote down any answers for the quiz. At one school (School E) I had to get formal written permission from the students' parents before I could work with them, thus there were some students who had not got permission to take part. They remained in a separated group in the same classroom and although they took part, their contributions were not collected or recorded by me. Unlike others working with North Karelian teens in this age group 22 I found the teens I worked with fairly eager to contribute, especially to the group work, although some did suffer from shyness. The only 'benefit' those in my study earned was a break from their normal lessons.

3.4 The quiz, class discussions, and group work

I could not approach the topic of Vyborg in a vacuum devoid of context. I therefore 'led into' the topic by giving the students a 10-question picture quiz on cities (see Appendix 1). This quiz served to give me an idea of their general geographical knowledge regarding global and Finnish

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22 for example Puuronen (2012:6) who “observed...young people were not interested in participating in any research unless they benefitted in some way...”
cities with which I could judge their knowledge of Vyborg. The quiz also served as a 'ice breaker' as I asked the students to call out the answers once the quiz was completed. The final picture in the quiz was Vyborg Castle. I wanted to see how many could correctly identify where the castle was (country and city) and, of those, how many had a high degree of knowledge when it came to identifying cities from their built landmarks (i.e. scored highly on the quiz) and how many did not.  

I presented the picture quiz to a total of 87 students in the 8th and 9th grades. Students were asked to name the city and country from a photograph of one of the city's most famous built landmarks. The colour photos were shown on a projector screen via a Power Point presentation. Alongside each picture was the prompt (in English) 'Where is this? (city and country).’ The students completed the quiz without the help of their peers, each set of answers was an individual effort by that student, and wrote down their answers anonymously on blank pieces of paper (all 10 answers on 1 sheet). Before beginning the quiz the instructions (guess the city and country from the photo) were given in English and Finnish. It was emphasised that the student should try to make a guess and could list only city / only country if they weren't sure of the full answer. Students were also told it was OK to leave an answer blank if they really did not know and could not think of a guess. The details of the quiz, the order of the pictures shown, and the accepted correct answers are given below in Appendix 1.

Following the quiz I used the photo of Vyborg Castle to introduce the topic of ceded Karelia (a topic and concept they had already studied or were in the process of studying), and from there to go on to discuss the topics of Karelia, World War II and Russia and Russians, as well as asking about the students' personal links to these topics. In all the seven classes at all three schools the discussions were hampered by the students' shyness and unwillingness to speak in front of their peers and/or in front of me. They were told they could speak in Finnish and my questions were translated into Finnish by their teachers – thus there was no language barrier to limit communication. Despite the students' reticence I did manage to elicit some comments and answers from them – almost always one word answers. The notes I took during the class discussions are given in transcribed form in the appendix (Appendix 2). I did not have a set of precise questions, instead letting my questions develop organically as reactions to students answers and responses – for example at School K in class 9A we had a discussion specifically about the Winter War because this war was brought up. I did ask many of the class groups the same things and I had a written list of prompt questions and thematic areas I wanted to cover but I did not ask all the classes all the

23 i.e. could not identify other, more 'well known' cities but somehow recognised Vyborg Castle.
24 For example which of them had war veterans and/or Karelian evacuees in their families? Which of them had visited Russia?
questions. The class discussions were fairly brief, about 15 minutes, and consisted largely of my asking the students to call out whatever came to mind, what they associated, with the topics Karelia, WWII, Russia and Russians. The class discussions, like the group work, were based on free association.

Due to the shyness of some of the students when asked to answer me in front of the class I also, with all but one 9th grade group, who were not as shy, divided the class into small groups of 2-5 students and asked them to write down whatever came to mind in association with the headings 'Karelia', 'World War Two,' 'Russia and Russians.' In other words to complete a written, collaborative, free association exercise. Here I mirror Frisch, 1994 except for the fact my students were in small groups. The three headings were written on the class chalk/white board in Finnish by the class teacher / myself as a reminder or prompt (English translations are given here in brackets but were not written on the board):

1. Karjala (Karelia)
2. Toinen maailmansota (the Second World War)
3. Venäjä ja venäläiset (Russia and Russians)

I, and their teacher, emphasised that all answers were anonymous, any answer was permitted, there were no wrong answers, and that 'silly' answers or negative things, e.g. about Russia, were fine and actually encouraged – the point was for the students to write down whatever came to mind. The class teachers gave the instructions in Finnish. The group work was also done anonymously. After about 10-20 minutes I collected the papers from the groups. During the group work I observed the groups to see what they discussed amongst themselves on these topics. The work returned to me consisted of lists of words and phrases (and in one case a drawing) under the three topic headings (and in one case mixed together but numbered rather than written under three headings). These I went through and analysed manually (see below).

Asking the students their thoughts on the wider topics of 'Karelia', 'World War Two' and 'Russia and Russians' was designed to get a picture of their overall historical and cultural knowledge and also in order to see if they repeated wider Finnish cultural stereotypes about these topics 'handed down' to them by previous generations or whether they had their own ideas. These topics frame and contextualise Vyborg and its significance for Finns. The town was, and is still referred to, as 'the Karelians' town' (see Chapters 4 and 5 below) and is situated on the Karelial Isthmus. Its place in Finnish collective memory and national identity is largely based on its history during
WWII, and the fact it was ceded to the Soviet Union as a result of the war. Vyborg is nowadays, of course, a Russian town and how it is viewed and remembered is influenced by this fact – that for some in Finland it is a 'lost' town situated on the 'wrong side' of a 'bad border.' Examining how the teens saw Russia and Russians sheds light on how the Finnish-Russian border is viewed and how Russia and Russians are 'othered' in Finland.

Without knowledge of the above topics, the Finnish teens would be viewing Vyborg in a vacuum devoid of the meanings given to Vyborg in Finnish culture (see Chapters 4 and 5). Their 'gaze' (to use Böök's concept), when they looked upon Vyborg, would not be a nostalgic one eyeing a ceded territory with regret, they would not see Vyborg as 'cut off' or 'lost,' separated from Finland by an arbitrarily imposed 'bad' border. Gaging the Finnish teens' knowledge and views on the above topics was therefore crucial in order to extrapolate how they might conceptualise Vyborg. If they repeated the same notions about Karelia, World War II and Russia and Russians as are prevalent in Finnish culture and in 'inherited' postmemories (both public and private), they would see Vyborg within these contexts and not with a fresh, objective 'gaze.'

3.5 Analysis of data

The 87 quiz results were prepared for analysis by manually inputting them into an Excel spreadsheet (see Appendix 1 for a copy of this). This allowed statistical and numerical analysis of the results. The transcripts from the class discussions were typed up (see Appendix 2) and were manually analysed for key words in common and by thematic areas discussed. The analysis of the group work was also done manually using a typed transcript, with added English translations, of the hand written group work submitted (see Appendix 3). Each piece of group work was assigned a reference code which identified which school, class and arbitrarily numbered group the work belonged to. I then performed “a personal, manual assessment of the material’s content (as opposed to automatic, computer-based counts of certain words, for example)” (Glover Frykman 2009:304). I did not employ any computer programme but went through the material, both the original hand written work and the typed transcript, 'by hand' counting the number of times certain words occurred, noting what order words appeared in the lists and discerning repetitions, trends and unusual or one-off answers (which a computer programme may have missed). This meant I really got to know my material and facilitated “a more complex and individual judgement and interpretation” of it (ibid). The result of this analysis are detailed in Chapter 6.

25 For example 1N8A is group 1 from class 8A at school N.
4. VYBORG IN FINNISH TABLOID MEDIA

4.1 Previous research by others

Journalistic media's role in both revealing and contributing (Keith, 2010:135) to collective memory and national identity is an acknowledged phenomenon, as is the fact that “journalists play a systematic and ongoing role in shaping the ways in which we think about the past” (Zelizer, 2008:379). In 2010 Susan Keith published an article whose contents and title - Collective Memory and the End of Occupation: Remembering (and Forgetting) the Liberation of Paris in Images – tie it closely with the title, theoretical basis and subject matter of my thesis (see Chapter 2 and below). Keith looks specifically at “how collective memory is displayed in war-related anniversary journalism” (Keith, 2010:135). Whilst Keith looked at the commemoration by Parisian daily newspapers of the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Paris this chapter will examine how Finnish tabloid magazines, and one newspaper article, commemorate Vyborg and the events of the Finno-Russian Continuation War (1941-1944). Like Keith I have made a small, considered selection from a wide range of available journalism on Vyborg, choosing to focus on 1930s Vyborg, Vyborg in WWII and how Vyborg is commemorated.

Like Keith (2010:135) with her newspaper articles I found “large amounts of space devoted to archival photographs” in the magazines and newspaper article I analysed (see below). Keith (2010:135) argued (quoting Zelizer) that:

[reproduced images and, in some cases, the accompanying captions] not only reflected 'codified knowledge over time' about which...memories are 'important, preferred and appropriate' (Zelizer, 1992, p.3) but also were used in ways that contribute to the disappearance of detailed knowledge... the images helped paint...[the experience of an historical event] as unrealistically uniform.

In my media analysis below I have also attempted to show how reproduced and often repeatedly used images of, and captions about, Vyborg both represent what is the 'accepted' history and physical representation of the town in Finland, and thus send messages about what should be remembered. Further, other aspects of the town's history and built environment, through not featuring in images or captions, are de-facto ignored, sending messages about what should be forgotten or disregarded in the re-telling of Vyborg's history and the presentation of the town in Finland. I also look at how repeated, 'familiar' archive images of Vyborg are used to validate
personal memory narratives of Vyborg and vice-versa.\textsuperscript{26}

Zelizer (2008:382) has noted that journalism (and, I would add, especially tabloid journalism) tends “towards simplistic narratives, recounting without context, and a minimization of nuance and the grey areas of a phenomenon.” These aspects, argues Zelizer, “make journalistic accounting a somewhat restricted approach to the past” (ibid.). I also argue below that the representations of Vyborg found in tabloid magazines are simplistic, repetitive and often, especially regarding the use of images, not fully contextualised helping to homogenise the Finnish Vyborg of the past into a few black and white images. The headlines, captions and copy are also similarly 'black and white' in their representations of Finnish Vyborg: there is no room for 'grey areas' of uncertainty. The copy is written, and memories recounted, in a simplistic, straightforward style.\textsuperscript{27} I agree with Zelizer that journalistic representations of the past are restrictive, but also argue that they are useful, especially when aiming to illuminate the collective memory of certain events or, in this case, a certain place as journalistic accounts are based on collective memories.

It has been argued by Carolyn Kitch (2002), who looked at anniversary editions of certain American magazines, that by “reusing 'documents' of the past and by packaging them as keep sakes and collector's items, anniversary issues not only invoke but also create national memory” (ibid.: 60). This is an argument I agree with: by collecting together stories and archive photographs and presenting them in certain ways the commemorative magazines and newspaper article concerning Vyborg (see below) create their own 'memories,' of events in Vyborg and their own version of Vyborg the place. Kitch has also pointed out that though “the stories told in anniversary journalism are presented as historical truth, they are actually narrative visions, pictures that are prescriptive as well as descriptive, mythology as much as reporting” (ibid:61). The 'stories told' about Vyborg which are detailed below also prescribe what is remembered of the town and add to its mythology. That is not to say that such stories are without basis in fact or truth (as Kitch also noted) and “because [they are] 'remembered' by audiences and journalists together in a collaborative process” she adds “[they have] collective meaning that is -as an ideal – in a sense real” (ibid). This hints at the symbiotic relationship between journalists and their readers:\textsuperscript{28} they together create and maintain an accepted collective memory of Vyborg.

Jill Edy (1999) has developed a typology to describe “the way journalists use our public past” (ibid:71) which “offers some suggestions about the process of collective memory

\textsuperscript{26} something not covered in Keith's article.
\textsuperscript{27} Even someone, such as the author, with only an intermediate level of Finnish can follow and understand them.
\textsuperscript{28} or as in one case below – the magazine Viipuri-muistot – the relationship between journalists/editors, readers/contributors and readers.
development in the news media” (ibid: 82-83). She argues that each instance of journalistic “use of the past has important implications for the [national] collective memory” (ibid: 83). Edy divides journalistic use of the past into three categories: commemorations (also known as anniversary journalism), historical analogies (or relating the past to the present and vice versa), and historical contexts (or 'how we got here'). I look only at the first type: how Vyborg is represented in commemorative or anniversary journalism (see below). Edy (1999:76) argues that:

[Commemorative journalism] typically does not attempt to connect the past to the present in meaningful ways. Although the stories may contain some references to the present, most notably what has changed since the commemorated event occurred, the connection to present issues and concerns is generally weak.

I also found this to be largely the case with the pieces of anniversary journalism I studied. There is little connecting the Vyborg of the past with the Vyborg of the present except, in the newspaper article I looked at, a comparison of photographs of 'then' and 'now.' Also, in some personal accounts of Vyborg (in Viipuri-muistot) there were references to visiting the town as a Russian place. In general however, the stories ended far in the past during the Second World War (see below). There was no explicit attempt to make the past relevant to the present, playing into the idea of Vyborg as a 'lost' place situated in the past.

4.2 the media artefacts studied

There is not space here, nor is it my main focus, to fully analyse all representations of Vyborg in Finnish media.29 I therefore limit my analysis to a few carefully chosen printed tabloid media documents: 4 one-off tabloid magazines published in 2011, 2013 and 2014 on the themes of the Continuation War, Karelia, and Vyborg and one 4-page tabloid newspaper article published in the Ilta-Sanomat newspaper on 31.8.2011 (to coincide with the 70th anniversary of the recapture of Vyborg by Finnish forces during the Continuation War). In my analysis of the magazines I agree with Kitch (2002: 46) who argues that “magazines...are material culture as well as journalistic texts; they are artefacts” but would add that newspaper articles commemorating past events fall into the same category (that of cultural artefact). These particular artefacts were chosen as being representative of a certain genre of Finnish media output30 which deals with Finland's changing eastern border, ceded Karelia, and with Finland's history during World War Two.

29 Of which there are many thousands. Running a search for 'Viipuri' on the website of Finish broadcaster and news outlet YLE returns over 9700 results (as at 2.9.2014), a search of the website of Finnish tabloid newspaper Ilta-Sanomat returns 315 results for 'Viipuri' (as at 7.9.2014), and a search of YLE's Living Archive of past media artefacts such as documentaries from the 1990s returns 82 results for 'Viipuri' (as at 7.9.2014).

30 Also typified by TV documentaries and radio programmes on the subject of Vyborg and the other ceded territories and re-runs of old Finnish war films.
I see the one-off magazines and commemorative newspaper article which I have selected for study as representations and (re)creations of Finnish culture and collective memory and as expressions of how World War II and ceded Karelia and Vyborg are remembered in Finland. I have selected media artefacts which deal specifically with anniversaries or historic commemorations – which look back at Finnish Vyborg and Finnish history during World War Two. Such so-called anniversary stories “make the past their main subject” and although they may be “factually informative the story that is told about the past may also make that past live again for the audience. The story creates an emotional connection between the past and the present” (Edy, 1999:75).

Vyborg is also featured in the Finnish news media31 in the context of how it is faring as a town today. These articles often focus on perceived problems with Vyborg's infrastructure and the poor condition of its Finnish-era buildings (see, for example, Toivonen, 2009; Helsingin Sanomat, 2014; YLE, 2014d) However, as my focus here is on how Vyborg is remembered, and also for reasons of space, I have deliberately excluded these types of articles.

The magazines/ artefacts which I will examine are (in chronological order):

_Jatkosota – 70 vuotta sodan syttymisestä_ (The Continuation War – 70 years since the war began) published 5.5.2011,

_Viipuri -muistot (Vyborg- memories) _published 14.2.2013,

Karjala (Karelia) published 30.5.2013,

_Suurhyökkäys – Neuvostojoukot iskevät suomeen kesällä 1944 (the Great Attack – Soviet troops strike Finland, summer 1944) _published 22.5.2014.

All four one-off magazines were published by the _Ilta-Sanomat_ newspaper, were for sale at between 2.50e and 3.90e, and were available in supermarkets and kiosks, therefore they were easily available to all. Printed on the front cover of the magazines was the instruction that the magazines should be sold along with the _Ilta-Sanomat_ newspaper but it was possible to buy them separately. The magazines were between 75 pages (_Suurhyökkäys_) and 92 pages (_Karjala_) long.

4.3 Vyborg in the context of the 'Karelian Question' and World War II

The Karelian Question (see above) is not an official issue in Finnish politics however the Finnish media “have maintained a constant debate about the recovery of the ceded areas of Karelia”

31 significantly often in the 'National news' -_Kotimaa_- section of Finnish newspaper websites.
(Juvonen, 2001:98) (including Vyborg) and as such “There has been constant talk...in the media about getting Karelia back” (Armstrong, 2004:2). This 'constant' media discourse on ceded Karelia has occurred since the fall of the Soviet Union and indeed, according to Böök (2004:42):

…the Finnish media took advantage of the occasion of the opening of the [ceded] territory to tourism to evaluate maliciously the consequences of the ceding of the area to the Soviet Union. The indirect message is that under Finnish rule the results would have been different, that is, better.

This media discourse directly influences how Vyborg – as a part of the ceded territory – is treated in Finnish media: it is portrayed as a 'perfect' Finnish place and as a Russian place in decline.

However the point should be made that there is an ongoing media debate surrounding the ceded territories and thus media portrayals are not all decidedly pro 'getting Karelia back.' Indeed much of the 'then and now' comparison may have the opposite effect: showing how much the area appears to have changed or declined and what a burden Karelia might be to Finland in the highly unlikely event the Karelian Question could ever be officially broached. The fact that the “media continues mainly...discussing...negative features in the post-Soviet reality” (Böök, 2004:42) may make Karelia 'now' an unappealing prospect. Making stark comparisons between 'then' and 'now' also adds to the frozen image of 'lost Karelia' in Finnish collective memory and is indicative of the symbiotic relationship between national media and national collective memory: they feed on and support each other. As Kitch (2002:47) puts it: “...reminiscent journalism [looking back at the 'then'] is a dialogic creation of journalists and audiences, who together construct collective memory and a shared, national identity based on the passage of time.”

The magazine Karjala, which concerns itself with the ceded territory, features a letter from the current editor-in-chief of the Ilta-Sanomat, Ulla Appelsin (p.3), in which she sums up what Karelia means, i.e. the collective idea of it, in Finland:

For some, Karelia naturally means much more than [just] traditions. For them, every overgrown corner stone [ruin of a house] represents a childhood and a beloved home lost. Karelia is a dear memory. And at the same time a painful memory. Sometimes the pain returns.32

The editor adds later in the letter that “One learns to live with the pain.” There is no hint in this otherwise decidedly emotional and quite melodramatic letter of an idea that Karelia could be

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32 author's translation from the Finnish. All Finnish-English translations are by the author.
restored to Finland and thus “the pain” ended. Further, this summing up of what Karelia means to Finns (a painful memory of something lost), is in complete contrast to what I found it means to young Finns (see results from school visits below) and seems to apply only to the Karelian evacuees, the editor does qualify her statement by saying “for some [Finns],” thus indicating that the collective memory represented in the magazine is 'out of step' with how Karelia is seen by younger Finns – for them Karelia is more about perceived traditions, especially traditional foods (see Chapter 6 below).

In *Viipuri-muistot*, which features “100 Finnish memories of the lost town” (p.3)33 one story (p.10-11) mentions 'getting Karelia back' in its closing sentences: “the [feeling of] missing [changed] to hoping to get Karelia back. Hope lives!” But more stories in the magazine talk about leaving Vyborg, the loss of Vyborg and of the preserving of memories, for example: “Now I walk in my memories [of Vyborg]. Those memories no one can take away” (p.26); “Vyborg – always in my heart” (p.33); “Oh Vyborg, in my dreams I walk your streets once more.” (p.45). The focus is on a 'lost' Vyborg of memories rather than on the possibility of Vyborg being a Finnish town once again. This ties Vyborg in with how the rest of ceded or 'lost' Karelia is viewed. Vyborg, dubbed 'the Karelians' town' and the Karelian capital (see below) has been made an emblem of 'lost Karelia' as a whole. Therefore it can be used in Finnish tabloid media as a shorthand for 'lost Karelia.'

Most stories recounting the authors' memories of Vyborg in *Viipuri-muistot* end at the moment of the first or second evacuation or the start of the Winter War. As if the history of Vyborg ends there too. Some stories conclude with thoughts on visiting Russian Vyborg, with one author commenting (p.27) that:

I decided [after the war] that I would never visit Vyborg. In the end...[I] decided to make the journey. It happened in 1985 when the Soviet Union still ruled. After that [I] have visited a few more times, even if it's not always easy. There are so many memories. Nowhere else has the same atmosphere. Vyborg is my town.

The author claims Vyborg as hers because she can link it with her childhood memories. This ties into one question pondered by this thesis: whether this feeling that 'Vyborg is ours' will remain once those Finns with first-hand memories of Finnish Vyborg die out?

Two of the four magazines (*Jatkosota* and *Suurhyökkäys*) and the newspaper article I have chosen to look at directly concern Finland during the Second World War. Armstrong notes that

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33 The *Ilta-Sanomat* newspaper—which published the magazine - ran a story writing competition to collect these memories.
“During the 1990s the war years were a popular topic in Finnish media” (Armstrong, 2004:77) and this interest in the war years does not seem to have waned since that time. The magazine Viipurimuistot also has a strong focus on Vyborg during the war years. Most of the 'memories' recounted for the stories in the magazine concern the war years and the years immediately before. The 'memories' were collected in the summer before the magazine was published (Viipurimuistot, p.3) thus those with first hand memories to recount would, due to the length of time elapsed (almost 70 years), be very unlikely to remember an earlier era than the 1930s. The magazine Karjala looks at the consequence of the WWII for Finland – the towns, villages and areas in former Finnish Karelia ceded to to the Soviet Union. World War Two is thus is a fairly all pervasive theme in the media artefacts I have chosen to look at.

4.4 Commemorating Vyborg: anniversary journalism

The newspaper article under study -Viipur on meidän (Vyborg is ours) - and two of the one-off magazines (Jatkosota and Suurhyökkäys) were published to mark anniversaries of events of the Finno-Soviet Continuation War. As Kitch (2002:48) has pointed out: “An anniversary is a ritual celebration of the community who observes it, serving to strengthen its identity and values through remembrance of an event.” The commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the re-capture of Vyborg by Finnish troops on 31.8.1941 (Viipur on meidän; Jatkosota p.68-69) serves to 'remind' the Finnish reader of one of great triumphs of Finland's Continuation War and help them to 'relive it' bearing in mind that most readers were not even born when the event occurred. The headline of the newspaper mimics headlines and titles used in 1941 (see below), in a sense taking the reader back to that time and also makes a strong political statement in the present time.

The marking of the anniversary of the recapture of Vyborg in Jatkosota (p.68-69) focuses on how Vyborg was 'saved' by Finnish troops preventing the detonation of radio land mines planted by the retreating Red Army. The implication here is also that Finland in a wider sense 'saved' Vyborg from Russia. The article uses phrases such as “the Karelian capital [Vyborg] was returned to the Finns” (p.68); and picture captions such as “...Vyborg was taken back...” (p.71). Page 71 of the magazine gives a potted history of Vyborg during WWII, focusing on the loss of Vyborg in 1944, under the heading “Vyborg captured...and lost.” The piece begins by stating that:

When the Winter War ended Vyborg was still held by Finland but it fell behind the new border [agreed at the Peace of Moscow]. It was captured [by Finland] during the

34 Walk into any book shop in Finland and there will be a shelf if not a whole section dedicated to non-fiction books about Finland at war.

35 which was published in the month before the 70th anniversary of the start of the Continuation War.
Continuation War – and lost later on within a few hours [on 20.6.1944].

The information omitted, which is inserted by the current author in the square brackets, is interesting – it shows that the story of Vyborg during WWII is assumed to be so well known that the extra details do not need to be included, that the reader knows why Vyborg fell behind the new border and the date when it was re-captured by the Red Army.

Suurhyökkäys marks the 70th anniversary of the attack on the Karelian Isthmus by Russia which began on 10.6.1944, ending over 2.5 years of near stalemate trench warfare, in which Vyborg fell to the Red Army. The magazine marks the loss of Vyborg with the piece 'Vyborg's bitter last hours' (p.24-29). The article is subtitled “The Karelian capital's fate was decided in just one afternoon. At the end of those fateful hours the Finnish flag was taken down from Vyborg castle's tower.” These phrases play into the collective memory of Vyborg's shockingly sudden loss in 1944, emphasising the significance of the Finnish flag being lowered from the castle tower (see below for more on representations of the castle and the Finnish flag).

Anniversaries, argues Kitch (2002:48) “remind us - journalists and audiences alike - that we are part of something, in terms of place and time, bigger than ourselves; they are also occasions of assess our 'progress.'” This is certainly the case with the 'then' (1941) and 'now' (2011) photos featured in the Ilta-Sanomat spread on the re-capture of Vyborg (p. 16); they remind the reader that the place of Vyborg extends back in time and also allow the reader to assess how Vyborg has (or more saliently, has not) changed over the past 70 years. Kitch's idea that anniversaries remind us that “we are part of something” applies in this case as commemorating an anniversary in Vyborg's history reminds the reader of their identity as part of the Finnish national story.

4.5 Repeated use of certain images

Certain images from Vyborg's built environment are used repeatedly in the magazines and newspaper articles. The two most popular buildings featured in the magazines and newspaper article are Vyborg Castle (Viipurinlinna) and the round tower (pyöreä torni) which dominates Vyborg's market place. Both structures date back to the town's medieval Swedish era and were originally built around 720 years ago and 646 years ago respectively – thus they can be seen as 'eternal' symbols of Vyborg. They have been used to symbolise Vyborg in Finland in past decades, as long

36 Published 22.5.2014.
37 The castle and round tower form a triptych along with Vyborg's clock tower on the front of the 1990 book Viipuri suursodassa 1939-1944 (Vyborg in the great war 1939-1944).
ago as the 1930s,\textsuperscript{38} as well as today.\textsuperscript{39} The castle and round tower are the most iconic images of Vyborg's built environment, thus it makes sense for the magazines to use multiple photos of them. I used a picture of the castle when asking Finish teens to identify Vyborg (see chapter 6 below) as it is likely they will have been exposed to a picture of the castle in conjunction with information about Vyborg. As the tabloid magazines demonstrate, a photo of the castle has become a short hand symbol for Vyborg and further, photos of the castle send certain messages about Vyborg: about its enduring nature and it being a Finnish place.

Vyborg Castle features in 11 different photos throughout the four magazines (details from these photos are reproduced in Appendix 4).\textsuperscript{40} A colourised photo\textsuperscript{41} of the castle dominates the double page spread on Vyborg in \textit{Karjala} magazine (p.28-29).\textsuperscript{42} Alongside this photo the magazine lists the castle as Vyborg's top attraction. Again in \textit{Jatkosota} magazine a colour photo of the castle dominates the spread on Vyborg (p.68-69). In \textit{Suurhyökkäys} the main photo for the article on Vyborg (p.24) is of soldiers crouching in undergrowth behind a barbed wire fence but Vyborg castle can be seen silhouetted in the distance across the bay. Page 28 of the magazine also has a photo featuring the castle from 20.6.1944 (see below for more on how Vyborg, 1944 is represented). Thus the castle often takes 'pride of place' in illustrating articles on Vyborg.

A text box on p.31 of Viipuri-muistot states that “Vyborg castle is the town's unsurpassed main attraction” and the magazine has 7 photos featuring the castle, including one on its cover. Of these 7 there is one colour photo from 2012 (p.6), and 6 black and white photos from the town's Finnish era. Of these four are from the 1920s or 1930s (front cover, p.10-11, 12-13, 50) and two are from the Finno-Russian Wars\textsuperscript{43} (p.61, 70).

In all four magazines, photos of the castle are used to represent Vyborg the fortress town, withstanding battles and enduring. The castle is shown as having “symbolic value as the fortress against the east” (Kirby, 2006:15). Of the 11 photos, 6 show the castle during peace time\textsuperscript{44} and 5 during war time.\textsuperscript{45} The peacetime photos represent the castle as solid and enduring whilst life (traffic, boating, guard duty) goes on around it and the wartime photos similarly show the castle enduring whilst it is surrounded by bombings, destroyed buildings and battles. For a visual comparison of these photos please see Appendix 4; this comparison best shows the similarities

\textsuperscript{38} See section 5.3, below
\textsuperscript{39} If one runs a Google image search for 'Viipuri' of the first 25 pictures retrieved 8 of them feature the castle (and a further 5 are views from the castle tower), and 3 the round tower (as at 29.6.14).
\textsuperscript{40} Interestingly no photos of it appear in the newspaper article.
\textsuperscript{41} A photo turned from black and white or sepia to colour.
\textsuperscript{42} there is also a smaller colourised photo of the inner courtyard of the castle
\textsuperscript{43} One from during the Winter War, one from the re-capture of Vyborg by Finnish forces during the Continuation War.
\textsuperscript{44} The 1 photo of the castle in \textit{Karjala} and 5 of the photos in \textit{Viipuri-muistot}, including the one on its cover.
\textsuperscript{45} One photo in \textit{Jatkosota}, 2 in \textit{Suurhyökkäys}, and 2 in Viipuri-muistot.
between the photos used.

Of the 11 images of the castle which appear in the magazines 4 of them show the castle tower flying the Finnish flag, thus clearly marking the castle and, by extension, Vyborg as Finnish.\(^{46}\)

When photos of the castle flying the Finnish flag are used it is always in conjunction with, and thus serves to emphasise, the 'battle for Vyborg' which took place during WWII. The castle and town are 'tagged' as Finnish by the presence of the Finnish flag in the photographs despite the uncertainty of the scenes of battle or its aftermath in the photos.

In the four magazines and the newspaper article *Viipuri on meidän* there are in total 10 pictures of the round tower.\(^{47}\)

Whereas photos of the castle symbolise Vyborg the fortress town photos of the round tower are used to symbolise Vyborg the busy market and trading town. Ten of the photos used come from the town's Finnish or wartime eras and only two are from the modern day. One of these (Karjala p.76) shows the round tower in its current role as a Russian restaurant.

The caption for this picture states that the restaurant which now occupies the round tower resembles the cafe that was there in the 1920s. Thus even when using a modern-day photo the magazine is keen to stress links to the building's Finnish past.

Page 70 of *Jatkosota* features a small picture of the round tower with a busy market in the foreground from the time when Vyborg was reoccupied by the Finns (1941-1944). The point is being made with the photo that “when the Karelian capital Vyborg was taken back during the Continuation War, the citizens returned to everyday life” (caption, p.71). There is a full page black and white photo of the round tower on p. 7 of *Viipuri-muistot*. The photo shows the tower foregrounded by a busy market scene and the caption for the photo reads: “Trading town. Vyborg was also known for its bustling market life.” The photo is undated but is from the town's Finnish era.\(^{48}\)

On p.30-31 there is another black and white picture of the market square and the round tower beginning the section of the magazine entitled *Kaunis Kaupunki (Beautiful Town)*. Again the market square is full of life. *Suurhyökkäys* features a black and white photo of the round tower from 1944 (p.29) with the caption “the last photo of the round tower by war photographers” This same photo and a very similar caption - “the last photo of the round tower” - appears on p.52 of *Viipuri-muistot*.

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\(^{46}\) Page 28 of *Suurhyökkäys* features a photo of the castle with the Finnish flag flying. The caption for the photo which was taken on 20.6.1944 (Kallioniemi, 1990:275) reads: “The Finnish flag was flying. The flag was lowered from Vyborg castle tower at the very last moments of the battle [the fall of Vyborg to the Red Army on 20.6. 1944].” Page 61 of *Viipuri-muistot* shows the castle with the Finnish flag flying whilst smoke rises from other areas of the town after a bombing. Another photo with the castle flying the Finnish flag takes up the whole of p.70 of *Viipuri-muistot* with the headline below it 'Return to Vyborg.' The fourth photo showing the castle flying the Finnish flag appears on p.69 of *Jatkosota*.

\(^{47}\) Four of these 10 are from the newspaper article, with the same photo appearing twice, the other 2 photos of the round tower are 'then' and 'now' comparisons from 1941 and 2011.

\(^{48}\) One can tell this from the Finnish and Swedish hoardings on a building in the background.
It seems then that the round tower is usually used to symbolise Vyborg the trading centre or market town and also to symbolise 'lost Vyborg' and Vyborg the historic town.\footnote{The pictures of the round tower captioned 'the last photo' link it to the idea of 'lost Vyborg' whilst the modern day photo on p. 76 of Karjala, with its caption referencing the building's early history, and the 'then' and 'now' pictures in the newspaper article link the round tower to Vyborg's history.} Details from the photos featuring the round tower are displayed in the appendix section (Appendix 4). Seeing the photos side by side gives the best impression of the uniformity in the use of images of the round tower within the magazines and newspaper.

The same or very similar images of certain events are also repeated. The edition of the Ilta-Sanomat which carries the Viipuri on meidän article for example features an image from 1941 of Finnish troops parading in front of Vyborg's iconic round tower in miniature on its front cover and a 21cm x 30.5cm colour version of this photo across two pages inside the paper under the headline Viipuri on meidän.\footnote{This same image, again in colour, featured on the cover Viipuri suursodassa... as well as on its inside cover in black and white showing it has been an important image from the re-capture since at least 1990.} A small colour photo of Finnish commander General Oesch striding across the market square during the Finns' victory parade features on p. 15 of the Viipuri on meidän spread and p. 16 features a small colour photo of a small group of troops saluting in front of the statue of Torgils Knutsson. Another similar colour photo of troops on parade in Vyborg from 31.8.1941 appears on p.38 of Jatkosota. And a small black and white photo of three Lottas (Finnish female auxiliaries) watching the troop parade features on p. 64 of Viipuri -muistot. Thus it seems as if the images chosen to represent the 're-capture' of Vyborg, 1941 are those which demonstrate a show of Finnish military force and discipline. The photos featuring the round tower also show two Finnish flags on flagpoles in front of the tower, again 'tagging' the place and time as 'Finnish.'

When presenting 'the fall' of Vyborg in 1944 the magazines which cover this event (Viipuri-muistot and Suurhyökäys) use very similar images. For example pictures of tanks on the streets of Vyborg appear on p. 66, p.58-59 and p.85 of Viipuri-muistot and on p. 26-27 of Suurhyökäys.\footnote{In fact the photos on p.26-27 of Suurhyökäys and p. 58-59 of Viipuri-muistot are of the same Finnish Vickers tank in the same location one photo – in Viipuri-muistot- features Finnish troops in the photograph whilst the other shows the tank looking 'abandoned.' This same photo also appears on p.273 of Viipuri Suursodassa...} The two magazines also use other images which have appeared previously elsewhere.\footnote{for example in the book Viipuri Suursodassa...} Further, Suurhyökäys (published 2014) also reprints images which appeared in Viipuri-muistot (published 2013). For example the same photo of a male evacuee, dubbed 'the last civilian to leave Vyborg' by the war photographer who took the picture (Kallioniemi, 1990:259), taken on 20.6.1944 appears on p. 29 of Suurhyökäys and on p. 85 of Viipuri-muistot\footnote{it also appears on p. 259 of Viipuri Suursodassa..} and the same photo of Finnish troops walking past the ruins of Vyborg Lutheran cathedral appears on p. 60 of Viipuri-muistot and p. 27 of...
As mentioned above, the 'last photograph' of the round tower from 20.6.1944 also features in both Suurhyökkäys (p.29) and Viipuri-muistot (p.52). This suggests that these photos are established as symbolic images of the events of 20.6.1944 in Vyborg. Again the focus with the collection of photographs is on military force but also on the 'human face' of conflict (in the form of the evacuee).

In Viipuri-muistot, these 'classic' images of 20.6.1944 are juxtaposed alongside personal war stories representing quite neatly the link between personal and collective memory. The repeated images together represent the collective or accepted visual record and 'memory' of that day whereas the personal stories each give different accounts. Elsewhere in the magazine personal stories are illustrated with archive photos. By linking the stories and pictures together the magazines help homogenise the 'memory' of Vyborg during WWII – the newly-published individual stories are validated by the familiar, re-published photographs and vice versa: the presence of the photos next to the stories makes the photos seem relevant and personal. Many stories naturally speak about the same events, for example evacuation, childhood in Vyborg, which links the stories themselves together and perhaps makes them seem valid and familiar to the reader who may have themselves experienced evacuation from Vyborg or Karelia or, more likely, have had parents or grandparents who were affected by the war, knew Finnish Vyborg, and / or were Karelian evacuees. In this way the stories are 'familiar' to almost every Finn and are thus likely to be accepted as part of the collective memory.

4.6 Repeated use of certain phrases

Certain phrases which appear in the magazines and articles regarding the events of the Continuation War should be highlighted as they are repetitions or echos of phrases used in the media during the war itself. Viipuri on meidän (Vyborg is ours), the headline of the Ilta-Sanomat article, is perhaps the prime example. This phrase appeared on the front page of the Finnish Uusi-Suomi national newspaper on 31.8.1941 when the newspaper reported on the re-capture of Vyborg by Finnish troops. The very similar Viipuri on jälleen meidän (Vyborg is ours again) is the headline in a different 1941 newspaper photographed in Viipuri Suursodassa... (p.160). Viipuri on jälleen meidän also appeared as the title of newsreel footage of the recapture which was being shown at the Viipuri -mon amour exhibition in Lahti (see below). Some individual Finnish Vyborgers agree with the idea that 'Vyborg is ours': “Vyborg is my town” says one in finishing her story in Viipuri-muistot

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54 and also on p. 273 of Viipuri Suursodassa...
55 Viipuri-muistot also features a full page black and white photo of two men leaving the town from April 1944 (p.51) again adding to 'the human face' of the war.
56 Almost everyone in Finland at the time would have been affected by the war. Roughly 11% of Finland's 1940 population, or around 430,000 people from a total population of 3.69 million, were evacuees.
But the idea is also subverted: for example one story is entitled 'Vyborg – but not mine' (p.73), another author comments “My Vyborg this is not” and another “My Vyborg no longer exists...” (p.9).

The headline for the spread on Vyborg in *Suurhyökkäys* magazine is entitled 'Vyborg's bitter last hours' (*Viipurin katkerat viimeiset tunnit*) and this idea of Vyborg's 'last' hours or days is repeated elsewhere as if Vyborg somehow ceased to exist after June 1944 and of course as a Finnish place, it did. Talking in this way about Vyborg promotes the 'walling off' of Vyborg in collective memory discussed elsewhere in this thesis. Some of the stories in *Viipuri-muistot* talk about the last day in Vyborg, emphasising the break in the authors' lives caused by the need to evacuate due to the war. For example one mini-story is entitled “The last work day” (p.67). The magazine editorials also pick up on this theme, for example one states: “Many remember Vyborg as a school town – and the last school day...” (‘...’ in original) (p.5) showing how the magazine editor will 'follow the lead' of the personal stories and thus help to further solidify the boundaries of what is contained in the collective memory of Vyborg.

The *Ilta-Sanomat*'s writing competition via which the paper collected the 'memories' published in *Viipuri-muistot* was entitled 'Sellanen ol' Viipuri' ('That was Vyborg') (*Viipuri-muistot* p.3). *Karjala* magazine's article on Vyborg talks about the song *Sellanen ol' Viipuri* after which the competition was named stating (p.29), after a very brief history of the town:

But everybody also knows another kind of town: [quoting from the song lyrics] 'That's Vyborg – the Karelians' town [*Sellanen on Viipuri, karjalaisten kaupunki*] – you can always dance there, weekdays and Sundays' Eino Kettunen wrote the original lyrics [for the song] to a German opera tune in the 1920s. It [the song] celebrated the new age and 'the Jazz town.' Kettunen's jazz-girl whispers at the end of the song 'hem til mej' [Swedish for 'come home with me']. When Saukki [a Finnish lyricist] re-wrote the song and Juha Vainio sang it again 40 years later [in 1965], the lyrics were clean and, of course, more nostalgic. But the original version describes the real Vyborg: an international market town, where fresh winds blew and they celebrated in many languages. There were always two Vyborgs [the real and the imagined].

This passage emphasises the multicultural and multilingual nature of Vyborg, which is sometimes overshadowed elsewhere by the idea that Vyborg is 'the Karelians' town.' The passage does not

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57 For example with the re-printing of 'the last photograph' of the round tower, and the story title 'On the last day in Vyborg' (*Viipurin-muistot* p. 58).

58 And one is even titled 'On the last day in Vyborg' (*Viipurin-muistot* p. 58).
mention that Kettunen's version of the song was entitled 'An evening in Vyborg' (*YLE*, 2009) and the title changed with Saukki's version. The changed title, to 'That was Vyborg' (*Sellanen ol’ Viipuri*), adding to the nostalgic air of the new version\(^{59}\) (see *YLE*, 2009a for recordings of both versions of the song). For the author of the above comment the new version of the song represents the imagined Vyborg of peoples' memories. The author – Seppo Varjus- also later wrote the piece 'Vyborg's bitter last hours' in *Staurhyökkäys* magazine (2014) and a piece entitled 'Viewpoint: Vyborg was essential to have' on p.17 of the Ilta-Sanomat's spread on Vyborg (2011), so he can been seen as something of a 'known and trusted expert' (in journalistic terms) on writing on this topic. By stating that 'everyone' knows the town\(^{60}\) Varjus also tries to unite all Finns together in the collective memory of Vyborg. Despite his arguing that there are 'two Vyborgs' he does not leave room for alternative interpretations – that someone might not know of the song or of the history of Vyborg.

The phrase 'That's my Vyborg' (*Sellanen minun Viipurini on*) appears in one mini-story referring to the Vyborg of the past. The story's author continues on to state that: “this is another Vyborg. The same houses, but different residents. This place also interests me. But this is not my Vyborg” (p.74). This indicates that the phrase 'sellanen ol’/ on Viipurini’ (and the nostalgic song it conjures up) is used to refer to pre WWII Vyborg implying 'that was Vyborg before the war.' The phrase 'Sellanen ol’ Viipuri’ is used in one mini-story in *Viipuri-muistot* (p.44), but rather bitterly: “That was Vyborg [Sellanen ol’ Viipuri], but not any more. Luckily Vyborg is not currently part of Finland.” The very similar phrase “Such was and is Vyborg” ("Tällainen oli ja on Viipurin") (Jaakonen, 2011b) is the headline on a page of the *Ilta-Sanomat* comparing photos of Vyborg in 1941 and in 2011 expanding on the idea of a fixed static 'sellanen ol’ Viipurini' by contrasting it with the present. Further, one online news piece (not otherwise looked at here) cleverly subverts the phrase by using the headline 'That was Vyborg, the Russian's town' ('Sellanen ol’ Viipuri, venäläisten kaupunki') (Hämäläinen, 2013) to discuss the book *Vyborg's Lost Years 1940-1990* (*Viipurin kadotetut vuodet 1940–1990*) by Yury Shikalov and Tapio Hämynen which looks at Vyborg's more recent, Soviet past. The headline highlights the fact that Vyborg already has 70 years of non-Finnish or Russian history behind it since the time when it was part of Finland.

In the repeated phrases there are the ideas that Vyborg is 'ours' (i.e. Finnish) or 'mine'\(^{61}\) and that life in the town can be defined in a certain way (“that was Vyborg”). This implies that there is a commonly shared, remembered, experience of being in the town. These ideas link with collective memory, which belongs to a certain group\(^{62}\) and which refines or homogenises the idea of a time

\(^{59}\) The line in the song 'That's Vyborg...' also changed to 'That was Vyborg...'

\(^{60}\) Clearly not true, at least if one includes teenage Finns, see below.

\(^{61}\) Or, conversely, now 'not mine.'

\(^{62}\) The ones who claim Vyborg is, or, was theirs.
and place\textsuperscript{63} as being a certain way excluding other conceptualisations.\textsuperscript{64} The collective memory of Vyborg which is embodied in these media artefacts also exerts control over Vyborg's history – ending it in 1944 – by using phrases like 'Vyborg's last hours' and by describing Vyborg as a 'lost town.'

4.7 Black and white stories

The media artefacts I have examined present simplified, streamlined versions of the past which chime with the Finnish collective memory of Vyborg orchestrated by Finnish Vyborger evacuees. The narratives they present are 'black and white' both due to their focus on the past and due to their definite presentation of Vyborg as a perfect, lost Finnish place. There is no room for grey areas or ideas or narratives which do not 'fit' with the rest. Vyborg was a multicultural multilingual town before the war but the media narratives examined here are all from the Finnish perspective, thus the town is preserved as only Finnish. There are stories which talk about Vyborg being a busy, lively trading centre but it is also firmly 'the Karelians' town.'

The magazines \textit{Viipuri-muistot} and \textit{Suurhyökkäys} represent “particular pieces of the past [which have been] resurrected and presented in a particular order and context” (Kitch, 2002: 50-51). The magazines have a thematic structure or an “organisation of past material into themes” to create a narrative (ibid). In the case of \textit{Suurhyökkäys} the thematic sections are: \textit{Normandy, The Attack, Battles, Victims, Heroes}. These are very strong, but also very general thematic titles. In the case of \textit{Viipuri-muistot} the thematic sections are: \textit{Childhood, Entertainments, The Town, Departure, War Time, Return, The Exhibition}, again strong but general. The magazine has managed to fit '100 memories' within these themes.

The section headed \textit{Childhood} in \textit{Viipuri-muistot} is particularly interesting as it serves as a reminder that many of those who entered the Vyborg stories competition from which the 'memories' come were children during their time in Vyborg. This idea of Finnish Vyborg as a place of childhood memories may only grow stronger as, naturally, the last remaining Finns with first-hand memories of Vyborg will be those who were only young children when they had to leave, those who were teens or adults during the final evacuation (now 70 years ago) having died out. 'Vyborg as childhood memory' will also likely reinforce idealised images of pre-Second World War Vyborg as those with first hand memories relate happy and carefree childhood days which are perhaps remembered even more fondly due to the danger, uncertainty and strangeness with which they were faced during and after the war.

\textsuperscript{63} In this case pre war Vyborg.
\textsuperscript{64} In this case anything negative, see also Ståhls-Hindsberg, 2004a:72, 80 for this positive remembrance of Vyborg.
One particular mini-story in Viipuri-muistot (p.78) exemplifies the way Vyborg is remembered and also proves the concept of postmemory. The author of the mini-story never knew Finnish Vyborg but, due to possessing postmemories of its loss handed down to her by her family, she has a strong emotional reaction to the place of Vyborg upon visiting it for the first time; she eyes it nostalgically, negatively and with longing, the way it is usually presented in Finnish media portrayals:

My dear, damaged Vyborg

Torkkeli Street, the parks, the square, the library, the castle – everything felt quite familiar. It was summer 2011. It was my first time in Vyborg. My father grew up in Vyborg, the family rented a place on Torkkeli Street, beside Patteri Hill. My grandfather worked as a vet and blacksmith. When I stood there on the streets of my Vyborg in the deathly silence, where once there was such life, all I could do was cry. I missed my home town, my Karelian home, I can't express in words the huge lump in my chest. I also well understand my mother's decision not to visit Karelia. [Being there] once was enough for her when, as a child evacuee, she lost her home and family.

4.8 Conclusions

The media artefacts examined above are representative of the popular and productive genre of wartime commemoration and anniversary media in Finland. They can be seen “as material culture, as treasured objects in which memory and identity are inscribed” (Kitch, 2002:61). They are important in the process of spacial socialization within Finland; they help create a Finnish identity for the reader by reminding them of Finland's past and of a past Finnish place linked with the nation-state, territoriality and borders of Finland. This common past is preserved via collective memory. These journalistic products are not scholarly articles and are simplistic and 'black and white' representations of Vyborg but herein lies their power to reinforce and (re)create collective memory: they send a strong clear message about what is remembered about Finnish Vyborg. A message that everyone in Finland (including the teens in my study) is to some extent exposed to either actively by reading the magazines and newspaper article or passively by seeing them on newsstands.

These media artefacts both 'remember' and 'forget' aspects of Vyborg's past. They remember Vyborg's history just before and during World War II; how it was lost, won and lost again during the war. They largely forget the town's post war, Russian history except within the context of

65 Which this thesis examines by assessing Finnish teens' knowledge of Vyborg and its wider context.
comparing a Russian 'now' with a Finnish 'then.' There are scant details about what came between
the 'now' and the 'then' (i.e. 70 years as a Soviet and Russian town). In terms of its past, pre-war,
population, Vyborg's working classes and their neighbourhoods, and its pre WWII Russian and
international populations are not part of the collective memory of Vyborg presented in Finnish
tabloid media which focuses on Vyborg's iconic and ancient buildings and tells the narratives of
only its Finnish occupants. Vyborg's history during the Finnish Civil War is not mentioned
reinforcing this 'memory' as taboo.

As to why Vyborg is presented this way in Finnish tabloid media the simple answer is, of
course, because it sells magazines and newspapers. There is an interest in the past in Finland,
especially in the wartime era (Armstrong, 2004) and Vyborg, as a borderland town caught up in the
fighting and territorial changes, has an eventful history during this period which is relevant to
Finland as a whole. The dramatic, to some tragic, history of Vyborg appeals to and interests Finnish
readers. Media artefacts about Vyborg also help to push certain agendas as Vyborg is linked to the
Karelian Question, thus discussing Vyborg is an oblique way of raising this question.

*Viipuri-muistot* may represent a potential 'split' within the Finnish collective memory of
Vyborg. Some of the stories recounted in the magazine remember Vyborg only as a pre-war, Finnish
place, with no 'story' after 1944 whereas some of the other authors have visited Russian Vyborg
pointing to a reconciliation of past with present and a reengagement with Vyborg now. It remains to
be seen which of these two narratives will endure in the future.
5. VYBORG BEHIND GLASS: MUSEUM PORTRAYALS

5.1 Previous research by others

Suzy Hakimian (2010:183) has noted that national museums can be in themselves symbols of national identity as well as being seen as “guardians of a nation's common past.” Thus it has already been acknowledged that museums can play a central role in preserving collective memory and in forming a sense of national identity. I look at Finnish museum exhibitions about Vyborg to see how this happens in practice and how Vyborg is presented as part of Finnish collective memory and national identity (see below).

My study of museums, like that of Puuronen (2012) aims to illuminate how “the transmission of historical memories [and] historical narratives and discourses [are] organised in the framework of...local museum[s]” (ibid.: 6). Puuronen looked at the North Karelia Museum, Joensuu whilst I examine two other similar local museums in Finland: the Lahti Historical Museum situated in Lahti, Päijänne Tavastia and South Karelia Museum, Lappeenranta, South Karelia. There are many similarities between the three museums all three being fairly small, serving their own locality, and focusing on local and national Finnish history. Further, North Karelia Museum contains a scale model of pre-World War II Sortavala linking it further with the South Karelia Museum, Lappeenranta which contains scale models of Finland's other ceded towns, Vyborg and Käkisalmi, as they were pre-World War II.

Puuronen (2012:22) found that the staff he spoke to at the North Karelia museum “think that the museum represents dominant and official narrative [sic] of historical events.” It is likely that the exhibitions at Lahti and Lappeenranta too present only the dominant narrative as, as in Joensuu, there are neither resources nor room to “present alternative narratives” (ibid.:23). One museum worker in Joensuu also stated that “the history the museum represents is institutionalised; it is more or less [the] common narrative in all Finnish museums.” (ibid.:23). The same worker also claimed that “visitors are not interested in learning or hearing about alternative narratives” (ibid.). Puuronen also points out that the museum may in a way “self-censor” so that its narrative is in line with the city's and does “not question the dominant narratives” of the city which provides the museum's funding (ibid: 24). I also argue below that the two local museums with exhibits on Vyborg represent the “institutionalised” history and common narrative of Finland and so, in turn, of Vyborg.

Another staff member is quoted in Puuronen's study (2012:24) as saying that “people look at the exhibition...from the viewpoint of nostalgia.” This is interesting as it appears the staff member

66 In the form of both money to stage new exhibitions and suitable artefacts for display.
in Joensuu places the way the museum is interpreted solely on the visitor whereas in Lahti, there was clearly a nostalgic bias inherent in the way the exhibition was presented (see below). This implies the nostalgia at Lahti was somehow 'calculated' as perhaps curators there felt, as in Joensuu, that visitors would anyway eye the exhibits nostalgically.

Contrasting Finnish museum portrayals of Vyborg with Finnish teens' perceptions of Vyborg and its wider framing themes of Karelia, World War II and Russia and Russians is significant because museums are, argues Puuronen (2012:14), “specific institutions created for the preservation and transfer of historical knowledge and narratives to younger generations” ; the museums' aim is to transfer their version of history to their visitors. Whilst I did not research where my teens got their knowledge (other than the classroom) there is an argument that museum portrayals have influenced their views (ibid.:26). It is highly likely the Finnish teens in my study will have visited museums of Finnish history either with their schools or with their families. Thus the teens have been subjected to the museums' narratives of Finnish history. By contrasting museum narratives and the views of Finnish teens therefore one can gage the degree of influence these narratives have or do not have on the younger generation through whether the teens repeat the narratives presented at the museums.

Weedon and Jordan (2012:144) list the “narratives of history found in...museums” as one source from which groups construct collective memory. And, as with tabloid media, I would argue this relationship between museums and collective memory is symbiotic; collective memory helps create and reinforce museum narratives of history and vice versa. One striking example of this phenomenon could be found at Lahti Historical Museum (see below) where the exhibition curators had collected together evacuees' belongings and stories and grouped them together into a cohesive whole. For example one exhibit featured keys to evacuees' former homes in Karelia. The sets of keys together represented a powerful message about 'what was lost' as well as confirming and validating the shared experiences, and therefore memories, of the group of evacuees.

![Suitcases and keys from evacuees' former homes in ceded Karelia, Lahti Historical Museum. Author's photo.](image)

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5.2 Vyborg in Lappeenranta and Lahti

Lappeenranta in Finnish South Karelia, on the border with Russia, and only 54km from Vyborg as the crow flies has been described as a “a 'daughter town' of Vyborg” (Juvonen, 2001:62). From 1743-1812 it formed part of Russian-ruled Old Finland alongside Vyborg (Katajala, 2007: 80) and from 1812-1939 it was part of Vyborg province. Finnish South Karelia has also adopted the role of preserving the history of ceded Karelia in Finland (Juvonen, 2001:101). These factors help explain why a large part of the South Karelia Museum in the fortress of the town, reached by passing through the Vyborg Gate (Viipurin portti), is dedicated to a permanent exhibit on Vyborg. For the museum 'South Karelia' can clearly incorporate ceded Karelia and the museum's collection includes artefacts taken from the museum collections of Vyborg and Käkisalmi before and during the Finnish wars as well as items from their lives in Vyborg donated by Finnish Vyborgers such as Vyborg phone books and ticket stubs (museum leaflet).

Many Finnish Vyborgers relocated to Lahti after the Second World War and the city has many links with Finnish Vyborg (see Niskanen, 2013; Juvonen, 2001:93). Part of Lahti was even nicknamed 'Little Vyborg' (Niskanen, 2013:5) and it has been seen by some as “virtually another Karelian town” due the influx of Karelian evacuees (Juvonen, 2001:93). Lahti also 're-homed' several Finnish Vyborg institutions such as its music conservatory (Lahti museum leaflet). Thus, though at first it seems incongruous for one city's historical museum to host an exhibition about another (now foreign) town, the hosting in Lahti of an exhibition commemorating Vyborg is appropriate due to Lahti's links to the town and its now dwindling population of Finnish Vyborgers. Between 17.5.2013-30.3.2014 Lahti Historical Museum presented an exhibition called 'Viipuri – mon amour.' Lahti Museum permanently houses the collections salvaged from Vyborg Art Museum (now Hermitage, Vyborg) and Vyborg History Museum before and during the Winter War (museum leaflet) and parts of this collection were combined with exhibits loaned from other Finnish museums or especially curated for this exhibition. The exhibition took up the whole of the museum's three-floor exhibition space.

In the past there has been tension in Lahti about the roles and positions of the Karelian evacuees and the 'natives' in Lahti (see Niskanen, 2013). Thus this exhibition could be seen either as a catharsis for the minority Karelian evacuees and their descendants, they get to present, think and talk about Vyborg and the links they forged between it and Lahti by their presence and actions, or as the asserting of the evacuees' narrative and collective memories as dominant (if only temporarily) in

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67 The exhibition also features the ceded town of Käkisalmi with only a small part of the museum exhibit about Lappeenranta itself.

68 South Karelia Art Museum, Lappeenranta and Hämeenlinna Museum, Hämeenlinna.
Lahti at the expense of the town's own history and the 'natives'' collective memory. This was the source of the tension to begin with as the Karelians were seen as asserting their dominance over the 'natives' (see Niskanen, 2013). The explanation could of course also be more prosaic: “[t]emporary exhibits from around the world are continuously used by museums to attract more visitors,” (Hakiamian, 2010:185) and in this case the temporary exhibition would have been fairly easy and cheap to curate as some of the exhibits could come from the museum's own collection of items from Vyborg. Information about the exhibition was also provided in English, Swedish, Russian and German indicating that the museum hoped to attract international visitors, and perhaps also minority groups in Finland, to the exhibition.

5.3 Representations of Vyborg's built environment

The centre piece of the South Karelia Museum's permanent exhibit On the Border: Three Karelian Towns is a 1:500 (1cm =5m) sprawling scale model of Vyborg as it was on the 2nd September 1939 which confronts the visitor as soon as he or she enters the exhibition space. Vyborg takes centre stage with the other two 'Karelian towns' featured in the exhibition (Käkisalmi and Lappeenranta) to either side. The two glass cases containing the model of Vyborg and its suburb area of Papula take up a combined 24 sq metres of space (museum leaflet).

The model of Vyborg, 1939 clearly promotes the idea of a Vyborg 'frozen in time' and preserved, untouched and untouchable. The museum states that the aim of the model is to “immortalise” Vyborg (see below). The castle on its island is what first catches the eye and other landmarks such as the clock tower and Eliel Saarinen's railway station are also easy to spot. The floor-to-ceiling glass walls around it, however, make it hard to view all angles of the 6.7 metre wide model making Vyborg seem somehow, though it is spread out before the viewer, unreachable.

Stähls-Hindsberg (2004b:66) describes the model as the “experienced space...[the] memories of the [pre WWII] inhabitants of Vyborg...turned into a concrete memory, which can be constantly re-experienced.” The model is the abstract, internal, personal, memory of Vyborg turned into a concrete object, an artefact or product of memory. The model was, however, based on aerial photographs and not personal memories therefore it also represents a collective or homogenised memory of Vyborg – there is no room for personal or varied interpretations of the town. The Vyborg of the model is perfect, pristine, unchanging, everlasting and thus is far removed from the reality of a lived space which is constantly changing.

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69 the model is based on aerial photographs taken on that date. The model was constructed between 1985-1996 (museum leaflet).
70 Destroyed during WWII.
The museum also features a display case entitled *The Castle and the Round Tower – Symbols of Viipuri* featuring souvenirs and items showing pictures of the castle and round tower. This reinforces the idea also expressed in tabloid media (for example *Viipuri-muistot*) that the castle and round tower are the primary symbols of Vyborg. In Lahti the exhibition *Viipuri-mon amour* featured models of the castle and round tower in glass cases, divorced from their geographical context and not mentioned in the exhibition leaflet, but still presumed by the curators to be recognisable to the visitor, again indicating their iconic status in Vyborg's built environment.

South Karelia Museum's gift shop had for sale post card and poster sized reproductions of three different travel posters advertising Vyborg dating from the 1930s (see below for pictures of these) which comprise another representation of its built environment. Two of these were reproduced by the online retailer Come to Finland Publishing Ltd. ([http://www.cometofinland.fi/ctf/](http://www.cometofinland.fi/ctf/)). The third poster was reproduced by South Karelia Museum and is a reproduction of a prize-winning poster created in the 1920s by Yrjö Semari (1908-1979) who studied and worked in Vyborg (Londen et al, 2008:244).

![Fig. 8: The posters/postcards, L to R: Olavi Räisänen, 1932, Aimo Hauhio, 1937, Yrjö Semari's poster. All three postcards feature the castle as the backdrop. Two of the cards (Semari's and Räisänen's) also feature the words 'Suomi – Finland' (or 'Finnland') and all three feature only the](image-url)

53
Finnish spelling of Vyborg (i.e. The Swedish name -Viborg / Wiborg – is not included). This monolingualism is interesting when 1930's Vyborg has often been portrayed since as a multicultural and multilingual place. However, perhaps the cards' intended audience explains this monolingualism – the posters were used to promote tourism within Finland where, by the 1930s, Finnish was the dominant language.

Hauhio's poster presents Vyborg as a bustling transport hub (it features a speeding bus, steam train and steam ship) with the castle in outline looming over them. This card personifies the stereotypical perception of Vyborg in the 1930s as a busy place with many comings and goings. Hauhio (1912-1955) was born in Vyborg and studied and worked there (Londen, 2008:239). It may be he emphasises the 'bustling', busy nature of Vyborg by 1937 as to him it is in contrast to his earlier years in Vyborg. Semari's poster is evidence for 1920s Vyborg being seen as calmer by contrast to the Vyborg of the 1930s. Räisänen's poster shows the prow of a steam ship in the foreground with a sailing ship behind and the castle in the background. It is a more tranquil scene than that illustrated by Hauhio but – like his poster- still focuses on transportation and trade (symbolised by the ships) with the 'background' - both literally and figuratively – of the castle as an historic and enduring settlement.

Semari's poster -published sometime in the thirties but apparently drawn in the 1920s (Londen et al, 2008:244) - differs from the other two as it makes no reference to Vyborg as transport hub. Semari's poster was drawn for a competition to create a poster of one's home town district (which Semari's poster won) (ibid.) so it has a different motivation and intended audience than Hauhio's and Räisänen's posters which perhaps explains the different motifs used.71

Two of the three posters (Räisönens and Haukio's) reinforce the view that 1930s Vyborg was a transport hub and all three reinforce the view that the castle was a primary symbol of Vyborg at that time. Semari's poster gives prominence to another Vyborg landmark (the clock tower) but it is interesting that he also includes the castle in the background – as if one could not at that time represent or advertise Vyborg without reference to its castle. I would argue that very little has changed in the common or popular representation of Vyborg since the publication of these posters. Indeed, the fact reproductions of the posters are still available to buy today proves the ongoing relevancy of the view of Vyborg they symbolise.72 The posters somehow 'chime' with modern day views of Vyborg.

71 Though it is interesting to note the castle is still present in the background and that Semari's primary image is another of Vyborg's oldest buildings – the clock tower.

72 After all, a shopper is unlikely to buy a poster which does not somehow fit with their own views or 'memories' of Vyborg.
The museum's shop had Semari's poster on display in a frame behind the till, and it also formed part of the exhibition on Vyborg. The other postcard reproductions of the Vyborg posters were mixed in with the museum's other postcards.\(^{73}\) The South Karelia museum is not the only place to stock postcards of the vintage Vyborg posters. Kiasma museum of modern art in Helsinki also stocks at least postcards of Hauhio's poster\(^{74}\) showing that these postcards have wide appeal.

5.4 Vyborg's history and collective memory

Aside from the miniature model of Vyborg the South Karelia Museum’s exhibition also presents numerous glass cases displaying artefacts from Vyborg from its earliest recorded history to the present day. The events of the Finnish Civil War of 1918\(^{75}\) are not represented or mentioned but this is not unusual in Finnish historiography. The museum appears to have a store of photos from the Civil War in the Vyborg area (see Kaukiainen et al., 2010 e.g. p.13), as well as presumably having access to those photos of the Civil War held by the Finnish Board of Antiquities (Museovirasto) so the museum has made a deliberate choice to exclude or 'cut' these photos from the history of Vyborg exhibit. This supports Puuronen (2012:25)'s assertion that Finnish local history museums try to steer clear of controversial aspects of history. The Finnish Vyborg of 1918 does not fit with the collective memory of Finnish Vyborg as a 'happy' and 'perfect' place and so it is disregarded in the museum's telling of Vyborg's history. Lahti Historical Museum also excludes the Civil War from its exhibition (see below).

One case in a prominent position recreates a room of a Vyborgian residence of the 1930s. It is clearly the home of a wealthy family and reinforces the image of ’30's Vyborg as a prospering place. By ignoring one chapter of Vyborg's Finnish history\(^{76}\) and focusing on the seemingly genteel and prospering Finnish Vyborg of the 1930s the exhibit echoes an 'accepted', 'unproblematic' version of Finnish history and also the popular collective memory of Finnish Vyborg as a “happy and carefree” place to grow up and live created and perpetuated by Finnish Vyborgian evacuees (Ståhls-Hindsberg, 2004a:80). Lahti museum also recreates “bourgeois Vyborg and its merchant families” by displaying objects and furniture belonging to the Weckroth and Hackman merchant families which were evacuated from Finnish Vyborg (museum leaflet). Thus, at both museums, Vyborg is remembered as a town of bourgeois, wealthy merchants. This supports the collective

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\(^{73}\) Which included photos of its scale model of Vyborg, reproductions of black and white photos of Finland and a reproduction of a vintage travel poster for Lappeenranta.

\(^{74}\) The author bought such a card there a few years ago.

\(^{75}\) Vyborg was a Red stronghold until the end of the war when the Whites took the town and put to death many Reds and suspected Reds such as Russian residents. See Fingerroos 2008 for an account of this which includes personal memories of Finnish Vyborgers, these memories do not seem to have a place elsewhere.

\(^{76}\) the events of the bloody, divisive Finnish Civil War which were played out in the town and which caused the Vyborgers to live “their everyday life anxious and frightened” (Fingerroos, 2008:13).
memory of Vyborg in Finland represented in tabloid media which also largely ignores Vyborg's 1930s working class and poor.

One English-language caption at South Karelia Museum reads:

In the 1930s Viipuri was the second largest town in Finland. It had over 80,000 inhabitants who spoke Finnish, German, Russian and Swedish. Viipuri was in fact the most multicultural town in Finland. In the Treaty of Paris this 'Town of Memories' was ceded to the Soviet Union. In the model on display in this museum it is immortalized as it was in [sic] the morning of 2 September 1939. Today Viipuri is a Russian town inhabited by a third generation of Russian-born residents.

This caption repeats almost all the most oft stated things about Vyborg, reinforcing the commonly-held history and image of the town. The museum dubs Vyborg the 'Town of Memories' reflecting the Finnish view of Vyborg as only experienced through memories. The caption also uses the town's Finnish name, which is used throughout the exhibition's English language material. This also serves to take Vyborg 'back in time' to its Finnish era. Indeed the museum's stated aim with the exhibition is to take the visitor “on a journey back in time” (museum information screen).

Despite mentioning Vyborg's multilingual and multicultural milieu (see above) the museum exhibit also claims (on one sign in English):

The culture of Viipuri in the 1930s was symbolised by three white buildings. The Art Museum and Drawing School (1930) and the Provincial Archives (1933) were designed by the local [Finnish Vyborger] architect Uno Ullberg. The Library by [Finnish architect and designer] Alvar Aalto was completed in 1935.

This caption promotes the view of 1930's Vyborg as a solidly Finnish town, with a dominating Finnish culture. By1930 Finns made up up to 94% of Vyborg's population, compared to only 74% in 1910 (Juvonen, 2001: 85) and these new buildings helped put a stamp of Finnishness on a town whose built heritage was decidedly Swedish and / or Russian. The 'white buildings' made Vyborg look more Finnish and this is perhaps what the buildings symbolise: the 'making Finnish' of Vyborg rather than summing up Vyborgian culture which was instead characterised by Vyborg's long history as a frontier and garrison town and its multicultural and commercial nature. The Art Museum and Drawing School was known to Vyborgers as “Vyborg's Acropolis” and is also commemorated in

77 indeed the museum exhibition even prompts the visitor to use “your memories and recollections” when viewing the exhibition (museum information screen).
the exhibition at Lahti (see below) and by one story in Viipuri-muistot (p.38-39).

Vyborg's history during World War II is also told via the museum's exhibition. The Finnish polka which was broadcast non-stop when the Finnish Army retook Vyborg in 1941 (to prevent the detonation of Russian radio land-mines) plays non-stop in the exhibition space, taking the visitor back to that time. This part of the exhibition also links with tabloid media portrayals of Vyborg which also tell this story about Vyborg's recapture (Jatkosota p.68-69). There is also a photo of the Finnish Army's victory parade in Vyborg showing troops lined up in Torkelli square, very similar to the photos used in the Ilta-Sanomat article, and a photo of Finnish troops evacuating Vyborg in 1944 which also appears in Viipuri-muistot (p.52), further linking tabloid media and museum portrayals of the town and reinforcing the idea that the same or very similar images of Vyborg are used again and again in representations of the town. In briefly describing Vyborg's post war years the museum sees these only from the point of view of the Finnish visitor, and the increasing ease of crossing the border to visit Vyborg, there is nothing about the post war town itself or its Russian inhabitants. The exhibition sees Vyborg only from the Finnish side of the border.

The first room of the Viipuri – mon amour exhibition in Lahti immediately linked Vyborg to World War II - it housed the Finnish flag which was lowered at Vyborg castle on 20.6.1944 when the town fell to the Red Army. Videos and photo montages showing Vyborg's Finnish past, wartime, Soviet past, and the modern-day town were projected onto the walls surrounding the flag. Traditional Finnish music - including a short excerpt from Sibelius' Finlandia - and vintage and modern Russian pop were playing in the room. There was an attempt right from the start of the exhibit to engage the visitor through film reels and music, to make the history of Vyborg 'come alive.' The museum's English language leaflet for the exhibition states that the room “guides the visitor to the colourful events in the history of this city of joy and sorrow.” The museum leaflet makes the exhibition's aims quite explicit: it was designed to provoke reactions and emotions. Vyborg was also positioned as both a Finnish and Russian place although the dominance of the room by the huge Finnish flag suggested more Finnish than Russian and immediately focused the exhibition upon Vyborg's wartime history and its loss to Russia.

Rooms 4 and 5 of the exhibition displayed works “rescued” (the words of the museum's leaflet) from Vyborg Art Museum. The works belong to the collections of Lahti, Lappeenranta and Hämeenlinna art museums and so presumably had been gathered together in Lahti just for this exhibition. The room also displayed a slide show projection of photos of Vyborg Art Museum and the curators of the Lahti exhibition had hung the paintings in “the same way as they were” in

78 The flag is normally on display at the War Museum in Helsinki (Viipuri-muistot:60)
Vyborg Art Museum (leaflet). The rooms were titled *Vyborg's Acropolis* which refers to the fact that Vyborg's purpose-built Art Museum\(^79\)(one of the three 'white buildings' cited as summing up 1930s Vyborg culture by South Karelia Museum), resembled a Greek acropolis in its location atop Vyborg's Panzerlax Battalion facing both the sea and Torkelli Park and in its white-pillared appearance (museum leaflet). This title needs 'insider knowledge' of Vyborg's history in order to be understood and is one way in which the exhibition was aimed at the 'we' of those with knowledge about Finnish Vyborg. One author of a story in *Viipuri-muistot* states that “ Vyborg's most beautiful site, the art hall...was for me Vyborg's Acropolis” (p.39) tying the museum exhibit to personal memories of Vyborg and to tabloid media portrayals.

The next room was entitled *Magical parks of song and legends* and the exhibit here aimed to reproduce “the ambience of Torkkeli Park and Monrepos Park through pictures and music” (museum leaflet). The room featured a re-creation of the famous white wooden Kaarisilta bridge from Monrepos Park.\(^80\) Old black and white photos of the parks were projected onto one wall whilst the other walls featured drawings, paintings and photographs depicting the parks in the past. The ballad *Muistatko Monrepos’n?* ('Do you remember Monrepos?') performed by Finnish singer Annikki Tähti (b. 1929) played on a loop. This part of the exhibition was the most explicitly nostalgic, from the song which was playing to the black and white photos, the aim was clearly to let visitors 'remember' and 'reminisce' about the parks as they were in the past.\(^81\) The ballad *Muistatko Monrepos’n?’* was released in 1955 and was a huge hit at the time (*YLE*, 2009b) it would therefore have been a familiar song to many and the song's style and lyrics are heavily nostalgic. Listening to the song may have prompted nostalgic feelings even in those with no personal memories of Finnish Vyborg.

![Fig. 9. 'Monrepos Park', *Viipuri -mon amour* exhibition, Lahti. Photo: Tiina Rekola.](image)

\(^79\) designed by Finnish Vyborger Uno Ullberg and completed in 1930.
\(^80\) Although, as one visitor noted, the bridge should form a steep hump and the re-creation was flat.
\(^81\) I have put the words remember and reminisce in quotation marks as the exhibition was designed to provoke these feelings even if the visitor had no first-hand memories of the parks as they were during Vyborg's Finnish era - as most visitors would not have.
On the second floor, showing on a loop, was a short film 'Vanha Viipurimme' ('Our old Vyborg') from 1940\textsuperscript{82} which showed pre-WWII footage of Vyborg with narration in Finnish. The castle featured prominently as did the round tower and its market square. The town was described by the narrator as “our dear Vyborg.” The use of the phrase 'our Vyborg' echos the title of newsreel footage of Vyborg's recapture shown elsewhere in the museum (see below) as well as the headline in the \textit{Ilta-Sanomat} on the 70\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of Vyborg's recapture (see above) and the titles and contents of some stories in \textit{Viipuri-muistot}. The idea that Vyborg is ours, i.e. Finnish, is fairly constantly repeated in different portrayals (museums, tabloid media, personal stories) of Vyborg.

The third floor of the exhibition featured three sections – \textit{Ruins of Vyborg and Red [Soviet] Vyborg}, \textit{From Vyborg, with love!}, and \textit{Farewell, Vyborg!} The section which showcased “the ravages that the war wrought on the city” featured “a model of the ruins” based on photographs (museum leaflet) and a projection of newsreel footage of the war in Vyborg accompanied by a soundtrack of bombs exploding and machine gun fire. The room also featured paintings of Vyborg made during the war years\textsuperscript{83} and a glass display case on the theme of \textit{Red Vyborg} showing Soviet-era objects. The \textit{From Vyborg, with Love} section in the same room was comprised of a glass display case containing souvenirs from Vyborg from the 1980s-2010s as well as a TV showing Soviet-era Russian newsreels. The final room of the exhibition – titled \textit{Farewell, Vyborg!} - “commemorate[d] those Finns who had to leave their homes to escape the war” and featured “objects from Vyborg that survived the long journey, and the stories related to them – some of which can be listened to through the headphones beside [the display of objects]” (museum leaflet). This part of the collection was made up from donated items from the Lahti region (ibid.). The collection featured keys to Finns' former homes in ceded Karelia. “For many” the museum leaflet points out “a key to a locked home has come to symbolise lost Karelia” (see above for a photo of this exhibit).

The positioning of these parts of the exhibition and the titles given to them (\textit{Ruins of Vyborg} and \textit{Red Vyborg}) represent how Vyborg's wartime history is linked in the museum exhibits to what came after (Russian Vyborg). In Lappeenranta the subject \textit{War years and Russian Viipuri} also formed one part of the exhibition. Here the museum exhibits differ from tabloid media portrayals and personal memories which often use the war as the 'end point' of Vyborg's history. With the museums there is more of an attempt to reconcile the 'two Vyborgs' (the Finnish and Russian) although it should be noted that only a very small part of each museum's exhibition was given over to the last 70 years of Vyborg's history, and this history is told from the point of view of Finnish

\textsuperscript{82} made in the immediate aftermath of Vyborg's loss to the Soviet Union.

\textsuperscript{83} On loan from South Karelia Art Museum, Lappeenranta.
visitors not Russian residents. Further a disproportionate amount of space is used to represent 1930s Finnish Vyborg. In this way the museums' cater to the collective memory of Vyborg still dominant in Finland which wants to remember the Finnish Vyborg of the 1930s and to largely ignore or forget Russian Vyborg.

Viipuri-mon amour could be read as deliberately inspiring feelings of nostalgia for Vyborg by, for example, having an exhibit on the beautiful parks of Finnish Vyborg. There was also, however, a heavy focus on war time Vyborg which would provoke a slightly different, fiercer, type of nostalgia at least as regards the 'winning back' of Vyborg in 1941. There were also more 'neutral' exhibits such as the art works previously displayed at Vyborg Art Museum although these were also tinged with nostalgia as they were linked to remembering the 'Vyborg Acropolis' or the Art Museum of Finnish Vyborg. There was the usual omission from the Finnish history of Vyborg of its part in the Finnish Civil War of 1918, therefore excluding the most discomforting era of Finnish Vyborg's history, and in fact, this exhibition looked very little at Vyborg's more distant past.\textsuperscript{85} The focus of the exhibition was clearly the Vyborg of "living memory,"\textsuperscript{86} the Vyborg of the 1920s-1930s, wartime and, to a much lesser extent, Russian Vyborg.

The English-language leaflet to accompany the exhibition subtitles it "emotions and stories" clearly stating the exhibition's aim to arose emotions in the visitor. The Finnish-language leaflet begins "Vyborg is loved by Finns in many ways." ("Viipuri on suomalaisille rakas monelle tavalla") thus including all Finns in the exhibition, not just those from, or with family from, Vyborg. The exhibition was explicitly designed to provoke nostalgia for, and fond feelings towards, Finnish Vyborg. In this way it differs from the permanent exhibition in Lappeenranta which appears, by contrast, more neutral.

Fig. 10. The logo for the Viipuri – mon amour exhibition, Lahti featured Vyborg pretzel bread and the traditional Karelian colours of red and black.

\textsuperscript{84} both museums exhibited souvenirs brought back from Vyborg by Finnish visitors.
\textsuperscript{85} Aside from indirectly by showing items from Vyborg History Museum which dated to Vyborg's more distant past.
\textsuperscript{86} Here it differed from the exhibition in Lappeenranta which took the long-view of Vyborg's history.
5.5 Conclusions

Both the permanent exhibition *On the Border: Three Karelian Towns* at South Karelia Museum, Lappeenranta and the temporary exhibition *Viipuri-mon amour* at Lahti Historical Museum present almost identical stories about Vyborg's history and their narratives are “ready made and perfect” (Glover Frykman, 2009:302) in terms of how they fit with other other manifestations of the collective memory of Vyborg. These museum portrayals, however, differ markedly from what Vyborg seems to mean to Finnish teens (see Chapter 6 below). Both museums adhere to mainstream narratives of Finnish history when they address Vyborg. Both focus upon a prospering Finnish Vyborg of the 1930s which is the version of Vyborg the former Finnish Vyborger evacuees who have shaped the collective memory of the town want to be remembered and commemorated.

Examining museum portrayals of Vyborg shows that in Finland today Vyborg is still represented in Finland as a 'lost town' of the past. Its Finnish history is looked back upon nostalgically (especially in the *Viipuri- mon amour* exhibition) and selectively. Both exhibitions aimed to take the visitor 'back in time' to Finnish Vyborg: South Karelia Museum through the scale model of Vyborg, 1939, Lahti Historical Museum through newsreel footage, music and a recreation of Monrepos Park, both museum through displaying items belonging to Finnish Vyborger evacuees. Both exhibitions paid scant attention to the last 70 years of Vyborg's history and both viewed the town from the Finnish side of the border in that the only representations of Vyborg 'now' were in the form of souvenirs brought back across the border by Finnish tourists. Both exhibitions gave the impression that Finns are cut off from the lived town.

The museum exhibitions both adhere to the popular version of Vyborg's history in Finland and view it as a Finnish place for example by repeated use of the idea that 'Vyborg is ours.' However the town is framed in the exhibitions as a place which provokes nostalgic longing, and there is no overt message that Finland could or should 'get Vyborg back' from Russia. Thus the idea that 'Vyborg is ours' applies to the Finnish collective memory and postmemory of Finnish Vyborg rather than being a political viewpoint – it is the memory of Finnish Vyborg which is 'ours' rather than the town as it is today. The following chapter explores whether Finns teens today have inherited this collective memory of Vyborg presented to them in their surrounding culture through media and museums or whether they have different conception of Vyborg and its wider framing themes of Karelia, WWII and Russia and Russians.

87 For example tabloid media portrayals.
88 with a focus on the 1930s and earlier Finnish history, e.g. the 1918 Civil War, ignored.
6. FINNISH TEENS AND VYBOR: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The final chapter of this thesis will present an analysis of data gathered from 87 North Karelia Finnish teenagers aged 14-16 in an attempt to show what Vyborg and its wider framing themes of Karelia, World War II and Russia and Russians mean and represent for them. Combined with the previous analysis of media and museums portrayals of Vyborg these results should present a fuller picture of what Vyborg means and represents in Finland today, not just for the Finnish Vyborger evacuees whose collective memory dominates current media and museum portrayals of Vyborg, but to the next generation of Finns who will soon have their turn to shape the collective memory of the town in Finland. These results should also help to answer this thesis' sub research question: whether the image of Vyborg in Finland is fixed and enduring, or likely to change? as the results show some marked differences from the dominant collective memory of Vyborg.

6.1 Finnish teens and the eastern border: previous research by others

In 2000 Pirjo Jukarainen published a study into Finnish and Russian borderland youths' "spatial consciousness" and their attitudes towards their neighbours (ibid.217). This study appears only in Finnish but Jukarainen discusses it in a 2002 English article 'the Boundaries of Finland in Transition' (Jukarainen, 2002). Jukarainen concluded from her study that the borderland youth were "caught in a 'territorial trap' – fixat[ed] on state-centred thinking" and showed “rather nationalistic attitudes” (ibid:86). The Finnish youth in the borderlands “showed highly prejudice and reserved attitudes towards the Russians” (ibid). Jukarainen's findings are echoed in my own which also found Finnish borderland teens still, 14 years later, have negative associations towards Russia and Russians (see below).

A report published in 2013 as part of an EU-funded project entitled Memory, Youth, Political Legacy And Civil Engagement (hereafter MYPLACE) covers some of the same themes as this thesis addressing as it does the transmission of memories from one generation to the next and Finnish youths' views on World War II and Russians. The study also used as participants Finnish youth from Finnish North Karelia as well as from its neighbouring region North Savo although the 59 participants in this study are older (age 16-25) than my 87-strong group (aged 14-16).

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89 Jukarainen also found this was true of Russian borderland youth towards Finns.
90 or, as the MYPLACE project website puts it: “[t]he process of the (re-)production, transmission and (re)interpretation of local, national and pan-European political heritage and experience.”
91 The report's main focus, however, was political views, and the main concept of the MYPLACE project is to study “how young people's social participation is shaped by the shadows (past, present and future) of totalitarianism and populism in Europe” (MYPLACE website)
92 The youth came from the municipalities of Lieksa and Nurmes, North Karelia and Kuopio, North Savo.
The MYPLACE study found that “the majority” of their interviewees viewed World War II as “the most important and crucial turning point in Finnish history” (MYPLACE, 2013:20) and as “an important part of Finnish national identity” (ibid.:22). In this the youth in the MYPLACE study echoed messages from their surrounding culture: Finnish media and museums certainly present WWII in this way. These ideas about the importance of WWII for Finland were not really reflected in my research findings, however, as the teens in my study viewed the war in a more global context. They did mention specifically Finnish aspects but there was little expressed cognition of the significance and consequences of the war for Finland. The MYPLACE study's participants, by contrast, “perceived [World War II] mainly from the national point of view without connecting it to the wider international political context. The majority of the interviewees framed the war as a battle between Finland and the Soviet Union” (ibid.:21). For the MYPLACE youth World War II meant the Finnish Wars. For my participants however 'World War II' conjured up many different, global connotations (see below).

The MYPLACE study reported that the fact some of their participants lived “near to the Russian border seem[ed] to make past experiences more important” for them (ibid.:20). The MYPLACE study used participants from Lieksa and Nurmes, North Karelia and Kuopio, North Savo which are located between (approximately) 45km, 60km and 150km from the borderline respectively and between (approximately) 150km and 200km by car from the nearest road border-crossing point at Värtsilä, North Karelia. This idea that the nearness of the border has an impact on the importance of the past is not something my research was able to properly test as I worked only with borderland teens and so could not compare them with those further inside Finland. The participants in my study attend schools and / or live at locations in the Finnish province of North Karelia which are within 100km of both the borderline as the crow flies and the nearest road crossing-point by car. The schools I visited are located between (approximately) 16km and 75km from the borderline and between (approximately) 70km and 95km from the nearest road border-crossing point at Värtsilä, North Karelia. Some of my participants, I was told by their teacher, can “see Russia from their back yards.”

The MYPLACE study found negative views about Russians to be fairly prevalent amongst the participants, a finding backed up by my study which also found negative views expressed both verbally and in the written group exercises at all three schools. The negative views 'spiked' at the school which I visited after Russia's annexation of the Crimea showing that current events swiftly

93 For example there was no mention of the border change between Finland and Russia which was a result of the war or that the war somehow 'united' Finns by being a focal point for national identity (see below for further analyse of my research findings).
enflame prejudices and negate work done through, for example, cross border co-operation programmes, to counter the 'othering' of Russia and Russians in Finland. In the MYPLACE study Russians (particularly Russian visitors) were typically described by participants as “behaving badly or differently,” as being “dishonest” and as buying up “all” the Finnish land (ibid:49). These comments match closely the the type of comments made by the pupils I worked with (see below).

The MYPLACE report noted that Russians were seen as “enemies or a threat” and that some participants thought the Finnish-Russian border “could be closed” (ibid.). My study did not find any references to the border. The MYPLACE study did not note whether their were any fluctuations in the descriptions over time, whereas the current study does. Comparing my results with those of the MYPLACE study shows that anti-Russian sentiments do not seem to change with age; combing the two studies shows that negative stereotypes and comments about Russian can be found in Finns aged from 14 up to 25. If one factors in Jukarainen's earlier study the age range can be extended to aged 10-25 (Jukarainen, 2000:217).

The research included in this thesis did not really delve into where else apart from school the Finnish teens got their knowledge and opinions about society and here the MYPLACE study is useful as it found that teens of a similar age and from similar places self-reported that they got their information on Finnish society from the internet, newspapers, TV and radio news, TV documentaries and individual reading of literature (MYPLACE, 2013:13). Further Puuronen (2012) found that North Karelian teens visit museums in their school groups and also discuss the Second World War with their grandparents so these are additional source of information. Thus it could reasonably be proposed that the teens in my study also got their information from similar sources (as these also seem fairly obvious or generic sources of information about society and history). And indeed I do have one finding that some of my teens, like those in Puuronen's study, had spoken with their families about Finnish history (see below). However, I also conclude (like Frisch, 1994) that there is also some other, holistic process at work, something which could be likened to cultural memory, whereby the teens also draw on deeply-rooted associations and stereotypes which they have picked up from implicit messages in the surrounding culture.

The MYPLACE study concluded that Finnish youth are not apathetic when it comes to Finnish society and are, in fact “interested in following debates concerning...society in Finland” (MYPLACE, 2013:13). This conclusion was also reflected in the ideas and opinions expressed by the younger teens in my study: there were instances where they were clearly repeating arguments.

94 perhaps a surprising finding given that my participants were borderland dwellers.
95 For example changes in opinions influenced by global or national events.
from debates about Finnish society (for example the 'Karelian Question') which they had picked up on. A recent study of youth and media by the Finnish Youth Research Society found that “the idea that young people [in Finland] aren’t interested in news and current affairs is a myth” (YLE, 2014c). Further it is not just national issues which interest Finnish youth; researcher Annikka Suoninen was quoted in an interview with Finnish national broadcaster YLE (2014c) as commenting that:

In small countries like all the Nordic countries people know that there are things going on outside our own national borders and those things that are happening outside, they also have a meaning for us, than we cannot ignore what’s going on in the wider world.

This awareness was reflecting in my research findings in the teens' reactions to events in the Ukraine and their views in general about Russia and Russians.

6.2 Analysis of quiz results

The results from the picture quiz show that Vyborg was by far the least recognized (or least often correctly identified) place of the ten places. Of the 87 students quizzed only 7 of them (or 8%) correctly identified Vyborg castle, 33 gave incorrect answers and the other 47 left the question blank showing they were not even able to make a guess as to where the castle in the photo might be. These results are contextualised and analysed in the following paragraphs.

The results as regards identifying Vyborg can be contextualised by comparing them with the results for the rest of the quiz. Of the 22 9th grade students quizzed 21 (or 95%) of them correctly identified London, 21 correctly identified Paris and 21 correctly identified New York from the photos provided (see Appendix 1). Fourteen (or just over 60%) of them 22 correctly identified Helsinki and the same number correctly identified Moscow. Nine (or 40%) correctly identified Tampere, 8 Berlin, 6 Joensuu, 5 Tallinn and only 2 Vyborg. This pattern was repeated with the 65 8th grade students. Of those 61 (or 94%) correctly identified Paris 60 (92%) London but only 50 (or 77%) New York. In contrast to the 9th graders the next most often correctly identified city for the 8th graders was Joensuu (41/65 or 63% correctly identified it). Thirty six of the 8th graders (55%) correctly identified Moscow as opposed to 63% of 9th graders and 34 (52%) Helsinki. Twenty three (35%) correctly identified Tampere. After this the numbers drop sharply with only 12/65 (17%) correctly identifying Berlin, 10 (15%) Tallinn and 5 (8%) Vyborg (these results can be found in tabular form in Appendix 1).

96 Of London, Paris and New York being the most often correctly identified and Vyborg the least.
97 this may be explained by the fact that one school where I worked with 8th graders was located in Joensuu whereas the school where I worked with the 9th graders was quite a distance from Joensuu.
98 as opposed to 63% of 9th graders
These results show that, whilst there were differences between grades as to how often a city was correctly identified, there was a trend for certain cities to be more often correctly identified. The results, for both grades, also show a marked distinction in the number of correct answers between the first 9 cities and Vyborg. Vyborg is, therefore, the 'least known' or recognised of the 10 places in the quiz by a large margin. This is interesting considering the relative prevalence of images of Vyborg in 'the background' in Finland on newsstands, in magazines and newspapers and at museums as compared to say images of Tallinn or Berlin.  

In the 8th grade group there is a difference of 7% between the percent who could correctly identify Vyborg and the next 'hardest' or least correctly identified city – Tallinn. In the 9th grade group this difference jumps to 14% between those who correctly identified Tallinn (23%) and Vyborg (only 9%). Looking at the 'grand total' scores and percentages (out of 87) there is a difference of 9% between the percent who correctly identified Tallinn (the second least often correctly identified city after Vyborg) and the percent who correctly identified Vyborg. And a huge gap of 86% between the % who could correctly identified the most commonly correctly identified answer – Paris (94%) - and Vyborg (8%).

The quiz scores show that the teens' ability of identify cities from photos of their famous built landmarks is fairly good. Just over half scored 'in the middle' on the quiz. No student got 10/10 and only 6/87 or 7% got 9/10 but only one student got 0/10. The lowest score which also included correct identification of Vyborg was 5/10 with two students (one each from the 8th and 9th grade) getting 5/10 including Vyborg correct. This indicates that the students' knowledge of city landmarks does not have to be that good for them to be able to identify Vyborg. This points to some other factor, other than knowledge of cities' landmarks, in being key as to whether they recognise Vyborg.

There were a total of 33 incorrect answers given for the photo of Vyborg castle (these are listed in Appendix 1). Of these answers 76% (25/33) of them guessed that Vyborg castle was somewhere in Finland. By grade this result breaks down as follows: of the 22 other (incorrect) answers given for the picture of Vyborg castle by the 65 8th grade students quizzed 17 (of the 22) or 77% answered that the castle was somewhere in Finland. Of the 9th grade students' other (incorrect) answers 8 of the 11 or 73% of incorrect guesses thought the castle was somewhere in Finland. One 8th grade student mistook the picture of Helsinki Lutheran cathedral (question 4) as being Vyborg.

99 I base this only on my own observation, a further study is needed to see how 'present' or 'seen' each of the 10 cities is in the students' lives.
100 45/87 (52%) got between 4/10 and 6/10.
101 interestingly having visited Vyborg did not seem to be this 'other factor' – see 'Class Discussions' section below.
Russia.

As regards specific incorrect guesses given in response to the photo of Vyborg castle many of these were intelligent guesses. The cities or towns of Savonlinna, Turku, Helsinki, Hämeenlinna Finland and Mariehamn, Åland were all given as guesses and all have castles dating from similar time periods to Vyborg castle and in some cases in a similar setting (see photos of Kastelholm castle, Åland, and Olavinlinna Castle, Savonlinna, Finland below). Giving the answer that the castle is somewhere in Finland shows that the castle did not seem foreign or alien to these students, it looked familiar, as if it could be somewhere in their home country.

Fig. 11. The picture of Vyborg castle used in the quiz. Author's photo.

Fig. 12. Kastelholm Castle, Åland. Photo: Photo: Augusto Mendes. Two students mistook Vyborg castle for Kastelholm Castle.
Fig. 13. Olavinlinna Castle, Savonlinna, Finland. Photo: Wikitravel. Five students mistook Vyborg Castle for Olavinlinna Castle.

6.3 Class Discussions

After the answers to the quiz had been given the photo of Vyborg castle (see above) was left up on the projector and I told each class very briefly that the castle is in Vyborg, which is a town in Russia which used to be part of Finland. I then went on to talk very briefly about ceded Karelia and then asked the students a series of questions related to the three themes of Karelia, World War II and Russia and Russians. The class discussions (like the group work, see below) were based on free association: I asked the students to call out “whatever came to mind” when they thought of the below topics. Transcribed notes from the class discussions can be found in Appendix 2. I have assigned each class a code by which it can be identified.  

Theme 1: Karelia

Thirteen of the 87 students (15%) said they had relatives who came from ceded Karelia and one student (from class K8B) elaborated on this to say that one of their grandparents was a Karelian evacuee. There were two classes (out of the 7) where none of the students said they had relatives from ceded Karelia (K9A and N8A). In two of the classes, E8A and K9B, almost half the students said they had relatives from ceded Karelia. Despite this none of the students in class K9B said that they had discussed the evacuation of Karelia with their families and the student who knew they had a Karelian evacuee grandparent said they had not discussed this topic with their family. This shows that not all the students have yet been exposed to their relatives' postmemories of ceded Karelia. Thus their views on this topic will not be based on personal postmemories handed down to

102 For example K8B is class 8B from School K.
103 5/11 and 5/12 respectively.
them but on some other source such as messages from the surrounding culture.  

When asked what words or phrases they associated with the word Karelia at least one student in each of the seven classes associated the word Karelia with pie (piirakka in Finnish) and at least one student in four of the seven classes with stew (paisti). In two of the classes Karelia was associated with beer and in one class with food. These answers mirror the answers given in the written group work (see below). Other associations volunteered for the word Karelia were geographic in nature or related to the history of the area or its culture. The fact that two classes mentioned Karelia as associated for them with a ceded or lost area shows that this association with Karelia is still present, but not strong.

Most of these answers were also found in the written work (see below). One student (class K8B) volunteered the opinion that ceded Karelia should not be returned to Finland because the Russians “have destroyed it.” The student gave the disrepair of Sortavala's old buildings as an example of this destruction. This was the strongest opinion on ceded Karelia given by any student. In the written work (see below) one group (2E8B) gave the opposite opinion, stating that “[Karelia] should be part of Finland.” These were the only two direct comments on the Karelian Question indicating that the teens have an awareness of it but also that it is not an important association for them when thinking about Karelia.

Theme 2: World War Two

Twenty of the 75 students I asked or 27% said they had spoken with their families about World War Two and the Finnish Wars. This supports the idea that family can be important source of information for Finnish teens but it also suggests a high percentage do not turn to their families for information or discussion. This means they either get their information elsewhere or are not interested in the topic. I asked one class (K9A) precisely when they had discussed the topic with their families and some students answered it had been on Finland's Independence Day. On Finnish Independence Day the Continuation War is commemorated by the screening of the Finnish film Tuntematon Sotilas (The Unknown Soldier) about that war so it was perhaps this which prompted the family discussions.

104 For example from media and museums.
106 “World War Two” (K9A), “ceded area” (E8B), “lost area” (E8A), “[former Finnish president Urho] Kekkonen” (who was from Vyborg) (E8B).
107 “Karelia” newspaper” (N8B), “national dress” (K9B, N8B).
108 bar “Kekkonen” and “Karelia newspaper.”
109 I did not pose the question to one class, K9B.
Again, as with Karelia, in two class (E8B, E8A) where 8 students said they had war veterans in their families only one (E8B) or two (E8A) of the students said they had discussed WWII with their family. This was contrasted with another class (N8B) where 7/15 students said they had spoken to their families about WWII. Thus again the teens have not always experienced personalised postmemories from their relatives but may well have picked up the prevailing collective memory of WWII, shaped by the same generation of relatives, from the surrounding culture.

Of the six classes I asked the question all contained students who said they knew of relatives of theirs who had fought in the Finnish wars. In three classes (K9B, E8B, E8A) the percentage of students who said they knew of relatives of theirs who had fought in the Finnish wars was between 73% and 92%. These are very high figures reflecting the fact that a high portion of Finland's adult male population was mobilised during World War II. It also means that many students had a personal, familial, link to WWII.

The primary association when I asked the students to call out what came to mind when they heard the words “World War Two” was Hitler mentioned in 5 of the 7 classes. Russia was mentioned by three classes, and one other class mentioned USSR; and Nazis, Stalin, and weapons were associations in two different classes. Otherwise there were many different associations made by the students: another 20 different answers were volunteered by the 7 classes asides from those highlighted above as the most common.

As regards Finland in the Second World War the phrase “World War Two” reminded the students that “[Finland was] allied with Germany” (answer given by student in class K9A) and was “versus Stalin” (K9B) and that “Finland lost” (K9A) and had “war debts to Russia” (K9A). The students also associated World War Two with the “Winter War” (K9B) and the “Lapland War” (E8B) and with “Molotov cocktail” and “Suomi machine gun” (both N8B) and “Lotta Svärd” (N8B). With classes K9A and K8B I also asked them what they associated with the term “Winter War” (talvisota in Finnish) They came up with 10 different associations two of which - Molotov cocktail and Suomi machine gun – had been brought up by class N8B as associations with World War Two (see above). (see Appendix 2 for a full list of these associations).

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110 I did not ask class K9A.
111 11/12, 8/11, 8/11 respectively.
112 one of which -N8B- also gave the pejorative Finnish term for Russians “ryssät”
113 1944-1945, when Finnish troops had to drive Nazi forces out of Finish Lapland and into Norway.
114 weapons used by the Finns.
115 who did not do the group work.
116 who I did not ask about WWII.
The students' had a global focus when they thought of WWII; they did not think of Finland that often. Of the 26 different answers for WWII only 6 referred directly to the Finnish wars and 3 other answers to Finnish 'things.' This is in contrast to what the MYPLACE study found when asking Finnish teens about World War II (see above). Of the globally-focused answers which were only given once, of which there were 10, 2 referred to other war leaders (Molotov and Mussolini), 3 to weapons\textsuperscript{117} and one to a global event (Normandy landings). The range of answers shows the students' breadth of knowledge on the topic and that World War Two does not conjure up such homogenised associations as does Karelia.

Theme 3: Russia and Russians

Of the 87 students 21 (or 24\%) said they had visited Russia. Of those 21 five said they had visited Sortavala,\textsuperscript{118} 4 St. Petersburg, 1 Svetogorsk,\textsuperscript{119} 1 Vyborg, Sortavala, St. Petersburg, and Moscow,\textsuperscript{120} 1 “everywhere in Russian Karelia,” 2 said they could not remember where they had visited and 7 students did not say where they had visited. In one class (N8B) 9 of the 15 students (or 60\%) had visited Russia. On average (from the other 6 classes) 2 students per class had visited Russia. The student who said they had visited Vyborg said they 'didn't remember' seeing the castle on their visit and they did not correctly identify it in the quiz.\textsuperscript{121} This shows that familiarity with Russia does not increase the likelihood of recognising Vyborg from a picture of its castle and implies that the minority of students who did correctly identify Vyborg may get their knowledge of it elsewhere, for example from the media or museums.

The seven classes came up with a total of 49 different associations for 'Russia and Russians,' far more than for either of the other two topics,\textsuperscript{122} showing that this was the topic which perhaps most interested the students and certainly the one which they felt most confident about voicing their associations. Although it should be noted that this was not true of every class but rather for the group of students as a whole. One class (K9B) only volunteered one association for this topic and another (K8B) only 3 associations. Overall the total number of associations is far higher than for the other two topics but this is down to classes N8A and K9A giving 21 and 11 different associations respectively.

\textsuperscript{117} atomic bomb, bombs, machine guns.
\textsuperscript{118} a formerly Finnish town 70km from the Finnish-Russian border crossing at Värtsilä.
\textsuperscript{119} Svetogorsk is on formerly Finnish territory (it was previously Enso, Finland), is on the Finnish-Russian border and host to a border crossing point and is twinned with Imatra, Finland.
\textsuperscript{120} this student said they had visited Russia “5 or 6 times.”
\textsuperscript{121} no one from that class – N8B, the class where 60\% had visited Russia – did.
\textsuperscript{122} there were 18 different associations for 'Karelia' and 26 different associations for 'WWII.'
Five of the seven classes gave “vodka” as an association with Russia and Russians and three classes gave “Putin.” There were 19 overtly negative associations. There were overtly negative comments against Russians as people. Russians were described as not respecting others (K9A), being “rude” (E8A), “arrogant” (N8A), “bullies” (N8A), “pigs” (E8B), “stupid” (N8A), “idiots” (N8B) and as bad (E8B) and reckless (N8A) drivers who have “road rage” (N8A). Russians' language and clothing was also described as “weird” (N8A). These negative comments against Russians were found in all three schools, both grades, and came from 5 of the 7 different classes. The only 'negativity free group' regarding comments on Russians were two classes from school K. This indicates prejudice against Russians is fairly widespread amongst Finnish teens and backs up the earlier findings of the MYPLACE project (2012) and Jukarainen (2000; 2002). In the two classes where Karelia was associated with a lost or ceded area (E8B, E8A) there were negative associations made as regards Russia and Russians. This phenomenon was repeated in the group work and is analysed in the group work section below.

It should also be noted that just over half of the negative associations about Russians (10/19) came from two 8th grade classes (N8A, 8NB) in Joensuu who likely live their daily lives in close proximity to Russian immigrants and visitors. This shows that contact with Russians does not seem to help defeat prejudices. Also, a large number of comments from one class could be attributed to a 'snowball' effect whereby one student speaks out with a negative association, spurring on other students to do so. The written group work (see below) had more negative comments showing that, in some cases students came up with negative associations but did not want to voice them in front of the class (or myself and their teacher). For example the two classes who did not make any negative associations in the class discussions (K8B and K9B) did make some negative associations with Russia and Russians in the group written work (see below). There were no overtly positive associations voiced. In the group work however positive comments were made, again indicating that students may have been too shy to voice a positive view of Russia and Russians, perhaps due to the voicing of negative and stereotypical comments by their classmates.

Of the associations made with Russia and Russians two classes at two different schools mentioned corruption and a theme which can be highlighted is that of bad roads and drivers which was mentioned as an association with Russia and Russians in all three schools. The students

123 For a complete list of all negative associations given during the class discussions see Appendix 2.
124 One class from school K, both classes from school E and both classes from school N.
125 one 8th grade, one 9th grade class.
126 3 negative associations by class E8A, 1 by class E8A.
127 although another type of study is needed to properly measure this as I did not ask the students in my study if they meet regularly or know any Russians.
128 for example that Russian is a “beautiful language” (group 2E8A).
129 “corruption” (K9A), “corrupt police” (N8A).
associated Russia with “bad roads” (K9A) and “cars without brakes” (E8B). “Dash cams” were also mentioned (N8A). These associations may come from popular You Tube video compilations of dashboard mounted camera and mobile phone footage from Russia showing reckless driving, road rage, bizarre incidents, and spectacular crashes.\textsuperscript{130} This may also partly explain why “Lada” was such a popular association in the written work (see below) as these cars often feature in the compilations.

As regards Russia, it was described as a “big country” (K9A) with both “rich [people]” (E8B) and “poverty” (N8B). The students also made associations to do with Russia's history\textsuperscript{131} and culture\textsuperscript{132} showing they do have an interest in and knowledge of Russia. Further, not all the associations with Russians were negative. Russians were also associated with skiing tourists (N8A) and shopping tourism (E8B). Russian shopping tourists were described as looking for low prices (E8B) and as “buying a lot” (E8A). Class N8B (in Joensuu) associated the Finnish supermarket Prisma and the supermarket Lidl with Russians. At Prisma signs are in Finnish and Russian and both supermarkets have desks where Russian's can claim tax refunds on their shopping. It is also very common to see Russian registered cars in the car parks of these supermarkets and to hear customers speaking Russian. This shows that the teens in Joensuu have noted that these stores have Russian customers and cater to Russian shopping tourists. The only school where Russian shopping tourists were not mentioned was School K. This school was 70km from the nearest border crossing point and was in a small town so the students there perhaps had less experience of or had not experienced Russian shopping tourists. School E was furthest from the border but not as far from Joensuu (the nearest big town to school E) which (as mentioned above) caters for Russian shopping tourists. There was also an indication that the students were aware the cross-border shopping tourism went both ways: “cheap petrol” (K9A) and “imported tobacco” (N8A) were also given as association with Russia.

The idea from class 8B at School E that Russians drove badly when in Finland and caused traffic problems may have also have been influenced by a widely reported road accident in Russia on 15\textsuperscript{th} February\textsuperscript{133}, in which 10 Russians died, on the Saimaa Canal maintenance road between Vyborg and the Nuijamaa-Lappeenranta border crossing into Finland. (YLE, 2014a, 2014b). The visit to School E also coincided with the Winter Olympic Games in Sochi, Russia which explains why Sochi was mentioned in the class discussions.

\textsuperscript{130} one such video has, as at 11.9.2014, over 16.7 million views (see: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E-l4w-DliXk)
\textsuperscript{131} “Soviet Union” (K8B), “Communism” (N8A).
\textsuperscript{133} I visited the school on 18.2.2014.
\textsuperscript{134} Which is leased by Finland from Russia.
The visit to School N occurred in late March 2014 after Russia's annexation of the Crimea (the other two school visits having occurred before) and this has clearly influenced what the students associate with Russia and Russians. The students at School N class 8A also said the most on the topic of 'Russia and Russians' of any of the class groups from any of the schools and also said the most negative things. This shows the teens' awareness of global events as propounded by Suoninen (YLE, 2014c) and how current events can overshadow over 20 years' worth of Finnish-Russian cross border co-operation in North Karelia which had aimed to reduce the 'othering' of Russia and Russians in the borderlands. There was little evidence at School N that this has had an enduring effect on the teens who have lived their whole lives (up until now) with an open border and increasing links and cooperation with Russia.

In contrast to Anderson and Jones (2009), who used an in-classroom setting to gather data from pupils aged 14-16 in North Wales, UK, I did not find the classroom setting restricted the answers the pupils gave or caused the pupils to "watch what they were saying in front of others" (ibid.:297). The pupils were willing to make negative comments about Russia and Russians within the classroom environment and in front of their peers and teacher and the researcher, who was a foreigner and stranger. This implies that these negative comments are socially acceptable, although the use of the pejorative term Ryssät (Ruskies) in class N8B did prompt laughter from the group implying it might have been a somewhat shocking thing to say in public. And the researcher acknowledges that some of the negative comments may have been in order to try and shock the researcher or to test what the pupil could 'get away with' saying. The other negative comments were, however, delivered and accepted by the class in a casual, deadpan manner as if to say such things was nothing unusual. The pupils also made 'funny' comments such as "vodka" which prompted laughter from their fellow pupils. Some pupils in each class were shy and reticent indicating that the in-classroom setting and / or being required to speak in front of the class was uncomfortable for them but the group work activity (see below) allowed them to also express their associations and opinions.

Different answers were given in class discussion to those given in group work (see below) for example negative comments about Russian president Vladimir Putin were confined to the

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135 Class 8B answered "Ukraine" and "Crimea" during the class discussions when asked what first came to mind when they thought about Russia and Russians. None of the students at Schools E or K mentioned these places in association with Russia.
136 6 overtly negative comments about Russia and Russians, plus the language and clothing of Russians described as "weird."
137 My school visits took place before the EU-Russian sanctions were being discussed or put into effect but it is worth noting that the teens are now witnessing for the first time in their lives the Finnish-Russian border as barrier.
138 I observed that even those unwilling to volunteer answers in the class discussions were active participants in the in-classroom group work, talking over ideas with their small group of peers.
written work. These differences, in terms of stronger and more numerous negative comments in the group work as opposed to the class discussions perhaps indicate that the pupils felt 'freer' writing down their associations and comments in small, anonymous groups rather than in personally volunteering them in front of the class, their teacher and the researcher. This points to the importance of the group in prompting, sanctioning and producing associations. Alone an individual pupil was unsure whether to express an association publicly but, validated by a small group of peers, they would work with them to create lists of associations and comments which were acceptable to that peer group.

6.4 Group Work analysis

The group work papers handed in by the students are transcribed in their entirety in the appendix section (Appendix 3) along with tables of compiled results. The groups in each class were not numbered at the time of the visits but I have arbitrarily numbered them for clarity as well as assigning a code to identify each group. In the transcribed lists in the Appendix, which were naturally almost entirely in Finnish, I have provided corrected Finnish spellings, English translations, and explanations of more obscure terms in brackets. In this discussion section I will use my English translations of the contents of the lists.

Topic 1: Karjala (Karelia)

The Karjala lists varied in length from 1 answer (list 4K8B) to 11 answers (list 1N8A). The group work produced a wide variety of answers, there were 113 answers in total, but there were also some trends discernible. For example the answer “Karelian pie” appeared under the heading Karelia in 17 of the 24 group lists. “Karelian stew” was the second most common answer under the heading Karelia appearing in 10 group lists. “Karelian pie” was the first answer written, implying the first thing thought of in association with the word Karelia, in 9 of the 17 lists in which it appears. “Karelian stew” is given as the second answer in 5 of the ten lists in which it appears again indicating that it was often one of the first associations the groups came up with for Karelia. “Karelian stew” is grouped with

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139 i.e. no one volunteered these comments out loud in the class discussions.
140 there were 19 negative comments during the class discussions as opposed to 48 negative written comments.
141 The code is made up of (arbitrary) group number, school and class e.g. 1K8B is group 1, School K, Class 8B.
142 Translations and explanations are only given the first time the word or phrase occurs.
143 or some close variation such as “pie” or “pies”
144 it is the 2nd answer in three other lists, appears the middle of three other lists and is the last answer in two lists.
145 in all 5 cases where it comes 2nd in the list it is following the answer “Karelian pie”

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“Karelian pie” three times in which case they share a position in those lists.

“Karelian foods” also appeared as an answer in two Karelia lists (1N8A and 2E8A) and “food” was the first answer in one list (5N8B) and the second answer in another (3K9B) further strengthening the position of food or certain foods, as the primary association the students had with the word “Karelia.” One list (1N8A) made a sub-list of Karelian foods listing “stew, pies, porridge, milk” under the sub-heading “Karelian foods.” Another list (3E8A) listed Karelian pies and Karelian stew under the subheading “traditional foods.”

The prevalence of food, or certain foods in the Karelia lists is perhaps one of the most interesting trends picked up by this free-association group exercise and highlights the different meaning Karelia has today for Finnish youth. For many of those asked Karelia makes them think of certain, common foods which are part of their everyday lives. Karelia as meaning a place or territory comes later as a secondary association (see below) or sometimes not all. Two lists (3N8A and 3K8B), for example, featured only the answers “Karelian pie, Karelian stew” and another list (1E8A) featured only “Karelian pie, Karelian stew, beer” (see below for an explanation of why beer was given as an answer). For the students in these groups the term Karelia did not conjure up any other associations. This is a complete reversal of what would have been the case before World War Two when Karelian food was almost unknown in other parts of Finland (Karelian Association, 1996:21) – if students then had been asked what they associated with the term Karelia their answers would have been very different as Karelian foods were not part of their everyday lives.

Another interesting point to note is that, whilst Karelian pies are popular throughout Finland, Karelian stew has largely fallen out of fashion outside Eastern Finland as it is seen as an unhealthy dish. Therefore, had I quizzed students in other parts of Finland it is likely they would not have included Karelian stew in their lists.

Beer was also associated with the word Karelia appearing in 6 of the 24 Karelia lists. The possibly associated terms “booze” appeared in 1 list (2K9B) and “near beer” appeared in 2 lists. The probable explanation for this strong association of alcohol with the term Karelia is that there is

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147 in the first example 2nd place, in the second example last place, the the third example 3rd place.
148 several different types and brands of Karelian pies, fresh, chilled or frozen are available in any Finnish supermarket.
149 My thanks to Prof. Laura Assmuth for this information.
150 in Finnish kalja or olut – I count either term as one meaning.
151 where olut / kalja did not
152 one of the lists -2K9B - also featured viina (booze) the other – 4K9B- also featured both kalja and olut
a popular Finnish beer called *Karjala* and that the teens are thinking of this brand. Alternate explanations are that they are thinking about alcohol brought back from Russian Karelia. Or that they are stereotyping Russians as associated with alcohol.\(^{153}\)

Even the shortest Karelia lists (between 1-4 answers) more often than not featured answers to do with food or beer. Of the four lists which gave only three answers all of them featured at least one answer to do with food. This implies that, even if the groups cannot think of many associations for the word Karelia they do normally make an association with food, a certain food, or beer.

The primary associations the students made with Karelia were with foods and with alcohol but they also associated the term with certain geographical characteristics\(^{154}\) and with geographical places or areas.\(^{155}\) Certain towns, including Vyborg, were also listed.\(^{156}\) The inclusion of Vyborg in the lists can be ascribed to my earlier conversation with the class (leading from the quiz to the discussion) that Vyborg was a part of ceded Karelia. Karelia was also conceptualised as being both familiar as “home” and as being other.\(^{157}\) In total there were 22 answers which described Karelia in terms of geographical locations or features, fewer than the number of answers (27) which associated it with food.

The association of the term Karelia with historical events centred upon the ceding of parts of Finnish Karelia to Soviet Russia after World War Two.\(^{158}\) The idea that Karelia meant an area taken or stolen from Finland by Russia is also reflected in some associations listed.\(^{159}\) One list (2E8B) also included an opinion about Karelia: “Should be part of Finland!” In all the lists where Karelia was associated with a lost area there followed negative associations with Russia and Russians in the Russia and Russians lists (see below).

In total 10 answers\(^{160}\) made some reference to ceded Karelia. This focus on Karelia as ceded territory can again be partly attributed to my 'prompt' of talking earlier to the class very briefly about ceded Karelia\(^{161}\) and also to the fact the students have recently studied this period of Finnish

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\(^{153}\) My thanks to Dr. Paul Fryer for this suggestion.


\(^{157}\) “We live in a part of Karelia” (2E8B) “home” (4K8B) (the only answer this group gave for the topic Karelia), “Russia” (1E8B).

\(^{158}\) “lost area” (2E8A and 3E8A) “Lost parts of Finland (WWII)” (3N8B), “former Finnish area” (1E8B and 3E8B), “Evacuation” (1K8B).

\(^{159}\) “Area from Finland” (2E8A) (the same list also featured the answer “lost area”) “First Finland's then Russia's” (2E8B). “The Russians took part of Finnish Karelia” (5N8A), “Russia stole it” (1N8B).

\(^{160}\) from an overall total of 113 answers from all 24 groups on the topic 'Karjala.'

\(^{161}\) When leading from the picture of Vyborg to the discussion topics.
history. One group (2N8B) answered “war” under the heading Karelia and another (1E8B) “The Second World War” further strengthening the focus on this period of Karelia's history. However the association of Karelia with a lost or ceded area may also be a result of influence by the teens' surrounding culture and a result of postmemory (see below).

A perception of Karelians as a separate group with their own distinct culture was also shown. References to “national dress” appeared in 7 of the 24 Karelia lists, one list (2E8A) talked about “Karelian grannies in Russia” and another described Karelians as “tight minded people” (4N8A). This indicates that Häyrynen's argument (2004: 23) that Karelia and Karelians are seen as both a part of Finnish identity and somewhat 'other' in Finland is still valid. The teens saw Karelians as having a specific culture but there was nothing overtly negative said about this (unlike about Russian culture).

There was no awareness demonstrated in the lists that Karelia could encompass a transnational area or that parts of Karelia such as White Sea Karelia or Olonets Karelia have always been a part of Russia. The focus on Karelia in a geographical context was on the areas of Karelia 'lost' by Finland to Russia. This demonstrates the endurance of the idea of 'lost Karelia' even amongst those born after the fall of the Soviet Union for whom the Finnish-Russian border has always been (relatively) open. The students did not show any awareness of the EU-facilitated cross border co-operation between Finnish and Russian Karelia. This is interesting and indicates that perceptions of Karelia (including Vyborg) in Finland are likely to change only very slowly if even those born into a world of cross border co-operation still perceive Karelia as a 'lost' area.

Topic 2: The Second World War.

The lists made by the groups for this topic varied in length from 2 to 14 answers long. The group work produced a total of 169 answers on this topic, an average of 7 answers per list. Answers to this topic were again varied. Some groups had a very 'Finnish' focus to their answers and some were more global.

The most common answer / association with the Second World War (hereafter abbreviated to

162 with answers such as “way of speaking”(1K9B), “Karelian language” (3K9B), “culture” (3K9B), “the song of the Karelians” (1K9B) and “Karelia songs” (1N8A).
163 And one group (1N8A) even drew a picture of a “Karelian wench” to illustrate the national dress (see Appendix 3 for a copy of this drawing).
164 such as that exemplified by the EURegio Karelia (see: http://www.euregiokarelia.com/en)
165 e.g. the ENPI CBC Karelia (see: http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/neighbourhood/regional-cooperation/enpi-cross-border/documents/enpi_cbc_karelia_fact_sheet_en.pdf).
WWII) was Hitler which appeared in 14 of the 24 lists and was the first answer (implying first thing thought of) in 8 of those 14. Of other 'famous figures' of WWII Stalin appeared in 9 lists (and also appears on lists about Russia, see below), Finland's Commander-in-Chief Marshall Mannerheim in 3 lists, Mussolini in 2 lists, and Molotov in 1 list. Interestingly neither the British leaders Churchill and Chamberlain, nor the American president Franklin Roosevelt appeared in any of the lists. Two lists (1E8B, 3N8B) also answered “Hitler vs Stalin” under the WWII heading. Of other individual figures one group (2K8B) listed Simo Häyhä a famous Finnish sniper and Väinö Linna a Finnish author and war veteran who wrote a famous novel, *The Unknown Soldier*, about the Finno-Russian Continuation War.

“Weapons” was a reoccurring answer, appearing in 6 of the 24 lists. Two lists (2K8B and 5N8B) also mentioned specific types of (Finnish) gun by name, and another list (3N8A) another type of gun. “Bombbs” featured in three lists and “bombings” in another (4K8B). These repeated answers back up Frisch's earlier study (see above) which found that, when using free association, individuals often spontaneous come up with the same answers indicating that they all draw on some common, shared store of knowledge.

Of the 'Finland-focused' answers the Finnish Wars were mentioned in 4 lists. The “spirit of the Winter War” was an answer in another list (1K8B) as was the comment “we lost the Winter and Continuation Wars” (list 4K8B). “Molotov cocktail” was given in 3 lists. “Lotta Svärd” appeared in 3 lists, “Mannerheim Line” in 2 lists and “Motti tactics” appeared in 2 lists,”trench warfare” in 3 lists. These common answers again support the idea that the students are drawing on a common store of knowledge. There were also, however, many answers which appeared in only one list: from specific incidents during the Finnish wars to symbols of the Finnish wars.

Of the globally-focused answers “Nazis” appeared in 6 lists, “concentration camps” appeared in 5 lists, “atomic bomb” was an answer in 4 lists, “Germany” appeared in three. Of the most common answers all had also been given in the class discussions (see above) except concentration camps. Aside from these answers there were a great variety of globally-focused answers from all three schools, some giving foreign place names for example: Hiroshima (2E8A, 5N8A), Pearl Harbour (2E8A), England (5N8A), and “Stalingrad” (1K9B).

166 Commander of the Russian Red Army during the Finno-Russian Winter War.
167 Talvisota / Winter War, Jatkosota / Continuation War, Lapinsota / Lapland War.
168 a famed Finnish anti-tank incendiary device – essentially a glass bottle containing flammable liquid.
169 the main Finnish defence line on the Karelian Isthmus.
170 a Finnish style of warfare used during the Winter War.
171 such as the Mainila shots (which sparked off the Winter War) (list 4K8B).
172 for example the Finnish swastika or hakaristi and the Mannerheim Cross medal (2K9B and 2K8B).
173 for example: Hiroshima (2E8A, 5N8A) Pearl Harbour (2E8A), England (5N8A), and “Stalingrad” (1K9B).
These answers show the teens' breadth of knowledge about WWII: for them it is not just about Finland's wars against Russia and the consequences. This is in contrast to what was found by the MYPLACE project (see above) and suggests that the free association method may prompt different answers to the one-to-one interview which was MYPLACE's method.

Perhaps the most interesting list was from group 2K8B whose 14 associations were all Finland-focused. This group did not mention Hitler, Stain, or Russia and showed some more advanced or specialised knowledge than the other groups. As all the students should have studied the same aspects of WWII at school this extra knowledge should be attributed instead to some outside factor: a personal interest in the topic (and Finnish war fighting and history) by one member of the group for example.

Some groups gave more personal responses to the topic. Some groups also focused on the personal cost of the war with one (2N8A) writing “widows and orphans” and another (1K8B) “war orphans.” Two groups (3E8A and 1N8A) gave the answer “dead people”, one other (2N8B) “the dead victims” and two groups (4K9B and 5N8A) “death.” One group (1K9B) commented “a terrible war.” This shows that the students can relate to the topic in a personal way and that they do not just associate famous names with WWII but can see the human aspects of the war.

Collectively the 24 groups showed a wide breadth of knowledge about WWII. Answers pertaining to some aspect of the Finnish wars were common but other answers showed an awareness of the war as a global event. Only one of these 24 lists (5N8B) mentioned anything to do with borders, invasions or occupied, conquered or ceded territories. These things are not the primary associations which spring to the students mind in association with WWII even though it was this war which caused Finland's border to change. In the magazine and museum portrayals looked at above WWII is almost always primarily associated with its effects on Finland's borders (i.e. the ceding of territory). This indicates the teens may be getting their information about WWII from elsewhere as they have a wider, more global knowledge of the war. A teacher at one school (School E) informed the researcher that she teaches the global aspects of the war, not just the Finnish Wars when covering WWII. Thus the classroom may well be one source of information the students use to get their global knowledge about the war.

174 for example: “Kristalnacht” (4N8B), “the conquest of Paris” (1K9B), “the siege of Leningrad” (2E8B), “the division of Poland” (3E8A), “Normandy Landings” (1N8B), and the “Battle of Britain” (4N8A).

175 the longest list, the second longest WWII list (5N8A) had 13 associations.

176 for instance listing the Finnish name given to Petrozavodsk in Russian Karelia during the time it was occupied by the Finns.

177 “relatives in the war” and “grannies and granddads” (4K9B and 2N8B).

178 The group listed “lost areas” under the WWII heading.
Topic 3: Russia and Russians

These lists varied in length from 2 to 35 answers. Five of the lists were longer than the longest WWII list (which was 14 answers) and 7 were as long or longer than the longest Karelia list (11 answers). Clearly this third topic was the one for which the students could come up with the most associations and, as will be seen from an analysis of their answers, here was where they expressed the most opinions and stereotypes.

The most common answer or association with Russia and Russians was, as with the class discussions, “vodka” which appeared on 11 of the 24 lists. Putin was the second most common answer appearing in 10 of the 24 lists. References to cheap goods appeared in 7 lists showing an awareness of cross border shopping. Stalin featured in 6 lists. Lada appeared in 5 lists being the first answer (first association) in 3 of those 5. Siberia was an answer in 5 lists, and references to Russia being a big country featured in 5 lists (see Appendix 3 for a full list of the most common associations with Russia and Russians given in the group work).

One list (1N8B) called Putin a “psychopath”, one list (5N8A) named him “Dictator Mr. Putin,” in one other list (3N8B) he was called a “crazy man” and in another (4N8A) “crazy leader.” All of these lists are from School N which I visited after Russia's annexation of Crimea. Three lists from School N (3N8B, 4N8B, 5N8A) mentioned Ukraine and Crimea under the 'Russia and Russians' and another (4N8A) listed the “Ukraine crisis.” In the class discussions no student called out a negative association regarding Putin, showing again that the students perhaps felt freer during the written group work to make negative comments. These results also show the teens' awareness of current events beyond Finland's borders, a finding backed up by other research (see YLE, 2014c) and that they have a clear conception of who they believe is responsible (Putin).

There were all together 48 overtly negative comments out of a total of 236 answers. The percentage of negative comments in total comments was 20%. In counting the 'negative comments' I have included only those with a negative adjective such as “huono” (bad) or “outo” (weird) or an obviously negative connotation. With some answers it was hard to tell if the list writers meant them as negative comments or more neutral observations. I have therefore tried to be objective when counting the negative comments.

179 references to cheap petrol appeared in 5 lists, references to other cheap goods in 2 lists. 
180 so overall in the group work he received 15 mentions if one includes the 9 mentions in WWII lists.
181 combined total from all groups on this topic. 
182 lower than the % of negative comments voiced during the class discussions (34%).
183 for example I have not included “funny language” (group 1N8A) as a negative comment.
The words *Ryssä* or *Ryssät* featured in four lists, and was the first answer in 2 lists. Other negative comments included “scary” (list 1N8B), “weirdos” (2N8A), and that certain things about Russia and Russians were “weird.” (2N8A). The strongest negative comment was “assholes” (the first answer given, implying the first thing coming to mind, in list 5N8A). One list (1N8A, the longest 'Russia and Russians list) also referred to Russians' appearance listing: “big noses”, “not good looking people,” “scruffy clothes” and “clothes that stink of cigarettes”. However the same list also mentioned “colourful clothes.” Russians were described as “arrogant” in 3 lists (5N8A, 1K9B, 3E8B).

There were four overtly positive comment (two from the same list): “beautiful language” (2E8A), “good education,” “the best armies” (both 1E8B) and “good at languages” (list 4N8A). 8/24 groups did not list any negative comments. This shows that the negative comments, whilst perhaps the most interesting phenomenon found from the work with teens, need to be kept in context: not every group saw Russia and Russians in a negative way and 3 groups had overtly positive things to say (albeit they would only list these in the group work and would not voice them out loud in the class discussions).

Eight groups who made negatives comments about Russia and Russians also associated Karelia with ceded or lost areas or, to put it another way, there were no incidences in the group work (nor the class discussions, see above) where associating Karelia with lost or ceded areas was not followed by some negative association with Russia and Russians. This gives some indication that the two associations are linked: if a group conceptualises 'Karelia' as a lost or ceded area the same group will have negative associations with Russia and Russians – this phenomenon also occurred in the class discussions (see above). This is a very interesting finding and one that could be explored in further research with a wider sample of teens. This finding indicates a more complete handing down of postmemory.

As has been shown above negative stereotypes about Russia and Russians were common in both the class discussions and group work. The teens themselves have no reason to have these associations other than having picked them up from the surrounding culture as postmemories of 'Russia the enemy' passed on by older generations – the teens themselves have not (yet) lived during a time where Russia was an overt enemy of Finland. In fact, throughout their lifetimes, the Finnish-Russian has been open and there has been a constant efforts to foster cross border co-operation and ties with Russia in Finland. The fact that these inherited negative associations are often paired

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184 pejorative term for Russians.
185 I visited the schools before Finnish/EU sanctions against Russia and Russian sanctions against Finland in response
with the idea of 'lost Karelia' shows that a 'reason' for negative conceptions of Russians has also been handed down to the teens in some cases.

6.5 Conclusions

Like Frisch in his earlier study of American university students' historical knowledge (see above) my results, like his, suggest that: “students' historical memory may not, in fact be shaped so much by their education or lack of it as by collective cultural mechanisms and structures [which] we need to better understand” (Frisch 1994:35). Frisch noted a “dramatic uniformity” in the answers given by his students (ibid.: 42) and, whilst my results showed a wide range of answers, there were also common answers or trends which also suggests, like Frisch's results, “an unexpected level of indoctrination or a deeper set of cultural structures at work” (ibid.: 42-43) – some factor or factors which makes individuals give the same or similar answers in free recall on fairly wide topics.

Like Frisch I also found the contents of some lists, especially those pertaining to Russia and Russians, as being “the stuff of popular culture rather than school curricula” (ibid:43). For example the students' use of the derogatory terms Ryssä and Ryssät was certainly not something taught to them by their teachers but must have been picked up elsewhere from peers, family or media i.e. from the surrounding culture. As Frisch (ibid.:45-48) puts it:

[The contents of the lists] stem from something outside the...classroom. They suggest... [that] the free association producing the lists is tapping into a very particular kind of cultural memory...Whatever students may or may not have learned [in school] seems to have very little to do with the images drawn forth by this exercise.

In other words, the free association exercise prompted the students to use a store of knowledge and in some cases opinion which they had not gained from their formal education but from their cultural surroundings – from being Finns in Finland. There is also evidence they used their classroom knowledge, for example in the WWII lists, but this is not an unusual finding: the use of cultural memory is the interesting finding here.

Faced with a blank sheet of paper and a reasonable time constraint the students used their collective cultural memories - the historic knowledge they had absorbed and inherited from peers,

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186 e.g. Karelian foods, the Finnish wars, negative comments about Russians.
187 it is used in Viipuri-muistot, p.35.
family, media and museums – to construct lists containing stereotypes and cliches as well as original and sometimes startlingly knowledgeable answers. Being made to work in groups further regulated their collective memories as any suggestion had to be discussed and 'OK-ed' or accepted by their peers in the group before making it on to the list. They also, of course, included names, facts and ideas received in the classroom but the fact that these lists did not just present a regurgitation of what they have learnt at school (even though they were producing them during a school lesson) shows the power of collective memory at work: the students allowed themselves to use their collective and cultural memories, sometimes seeming to prefer drawing on these rather than standard classroom facts.

Unlike Frisch my intention was not to take a measure of the effectiveness of national history education in high schools but instead to find out what Finnish teens associate with three terms which, for their grandparents or great grandparents and, I would argue, for Finland as a whole were, and are, charged with complex and painful meanings. My results indicate that, for Finnish teens today, the terms 'Karelia' and 'the Second World War' seem not (with some exceptions) to prompt the associations one would expect from older generations – that of a lost and golden Karelia and of wars which unfairly cost Finland territory, the associations also prevalent in the Finnish media and museums. Only 8 of the 24 lists made reference to 'lost' or ceded Karelia, and none of these viewed this lost territory in a nostalgic way, and only one list was of the opinion that ceded Karelia “should be a part of Finland.”

The topic 'Russia and Russians' elicited many seemingly 'old fashioned' or stereotypical responses (again with some exceptions) which must have been drawn from the teens' cultural postmemories. This shows that they do take note of, and sometimes rely on, their surrounding cultural influences for information. It is therefore most interesting that whilst they have embraced some aspects of the prevailing Finnish collective memory and culture (as regards Russia and Russians) they seem to have all but rejected the same cultures' collective memories of Karelia.

Finnish teens and mental and cultural boundaries

The data from Finnish teens gives us an insight into their spatial socialization. The 'othering' of Russia and Russians through negative associations and even more neutral associations which were to do with how Russia and Russians are different show that, like the youth in Jukarainen's earlier study (2000:217-8):
[the teens'] spatial identities...[are] constructed in relation to the different, 'other' nation or state on the other side of the border...[the teens] wanted to sustain the national-cultural boundaries [and so have] constructed cultural boundaries separating them from the 'other' side of the state boundary...

The associations with Russia and Russians emphasised differences; there were no associations to do with a shared identity or similarities. Vyborg will likely be included by the teens in this pervasive 'othering' and will not be conceived of as part of the teens spatial identity.

Ideally, 70 years on from World War II, “[y]ounger generations of Europeans should inherit a past that is professionally discussed, evaluated and cleared and a memory space that is no longer dominated by a heritage of enmity and hatred of the 'other’” (Hurd, 2006, quoted in Frank and Hadler, 2011:13) however, with Finnish teens this does not seem to be the case. They have accepted inherited negative views of Russia and Russian as 'other' from their surrounding culture and / or from direct, familial postmemories and the mental borders they have constructed as a result seem to be high and strong.

Finnish teens and the physical border

My study used data from Finnish borderland teens. Of these the teens from North Karelia's provincial capital, Joensuu, perhaps 'experience' the border more than the rural North Karelian teens who live closer to, on actually on, the borderline. Joensuu is a fairly popular destination for Russian tourists and visitors -as well as having, as of 2012, over 1000 Russian speaking immigrants resident (Puuronen, 2012:18) - and there are visual reminders of the border in Joensuu such as signs and notices in shops in Russian and Russian speaking shop assistants. Being close to the borderline does not mean the teens encounter or experience the border in the form of cross-border traffic or persons as the borderline is situated in an almost-wilderness zone with no crossing points, or in the case of one school's location, the borderline runs across a lake system. The borderline may however be a presence and a 'reminder' for them of their location. Further research is needed to see if these teens perceive themselves as being 'borderlanders' – this was not something my study covered.
7. **CONCLUSIONS**

This thesis sought to examine the meanings of the Russian town of Vyborg in Finland today. An examination of the portrayal of Vyborg in the Finnish tabloid media and museum exhibits gave a valuable perspective as regards the phenomena of mental bordering and collective memory. Vyborg is represented, quite explicitly in the case of South Karelia Museum, as “a town of memories.” More subtle aspects of the collective memory of Vyborg in Finland are played out in Finnish tabloid media with its focus on Vyborg in the 1920s-1940s, the years of its history as a 'Finnish place' which are remembered and preserved in Finland with its earlier and later history largely ignored. Currently in Finland Vyborg is still mentally walled off as a 'lost town.'

As well as Vyborg being bordered as a Finnish town of the past, the data gathered from Finnish teens shows that a more general mental bordering of 'us' (Finns) and 'them' (Russians) is still strongly present in the next generation. Whilst the idea of Karelia as a 'lost land' is not so strong amongst the teens (Karelia, for them, meant first and foremost certain foods) and they primarily associate WWII with its key global figures and events rather than with Finland losing territory, 'Russia and Russians' still seem to carry the old, stereotypical associations inherited by the teens as postmemories from the surrounding culture. Whilst this mental bordering of 'us' and 'them' continues Russian Vyborg will continue to be seen as an 'other' or 'alien' place and thus its image as a 'lost town' of the past seems likely to endure. In this concluding section I will present the answers to the research questions within the framework of how Vyborg is remembered and forgotten and whether or not these conceptions are likely to change or endure.

7.1 Vyborg remembered and forgotten

In answer to the research question *What does Vyborg mean and represent in Finland today?* Vyborg is still represented in Finland as a symbolic place and as a mythic place, as it has been even since before it was ceded to Russia. The town symbolises what Finland is perceived to have irretrievably lost as a result of World War Two and the 'keeping alive' of images and memories from a 'perfect' 1930s Vyborg which exists only in the minds of its former Finnish residents grants Vyborg a mythic and nostalgic aura. Vyborg appears in media and museum portrayals as a “town of memories” validating the memories of its former Finnish residents over and above those of current Vyborg residents and crystallizing an homogenized, 'black and white' (in both senses of the term) collective memory of Finnish Vyborg which rejects any other representations of the town. This collective memory is so powerful it can be passed on as a postmemory to those with no first

188 See, for example, South Karelia Museum, *Viipuri-muistot*
hand memories of the town as a Finnish place (see the mini-story My dear, damaged Vyborg in Chapter 4 above). These memories and postmemories of Vyborg by turn help shape and define Finnish culture and national identity.

As to why this image of Vyborg as a 'lost town of the past' persists despite the physically open border allowing Finns to visit 'their' town once more Armstrong explains (regarding the ceded territories as a whole) that “[m]aintaining Karelia, walling off Karelia, protects and holds Karelia as Finnish despite historical developments.” (Armstrong, 2004:134). By utilising a Vyborg of the past as the Finnish collective memory of Vyborg the town can be preserved as a 'Finnish place' as 'the Karelians' town' despite the realities of an enduring political-territorial border placing it within the territory of Russia.

The memory of Vyborg can be used to symbolise 'lost Karelia' and as part of Finnish national identity but this comes at a price. Certain things about Vyborg must be overlooked, must be forgotten, in order to view the town as Finnish. As Assman (2011:19) has pointed out:

...memory involves forgetting. It is only by forgetting what lies outside the horizon of the relevant [in this case that Vyborg has been a Soviet/Russian town for 70 years, almost as long as living memory] that [memory] supports identity.

Those remembering Vyborg and presenting it as Finnish, and thereby preserving their own identities as Vyborgers, Karelians and / or Finns, have to ignore the harsh reality that Vyborg has been a Russian town almost as long as living memory and is likely to stay that way. Thus they retreat to an imagined Vyborg of the past and by doing so reclaim the town as 'theirs.' This forgetting is crucial in order that the collective memory of the former Finnish Vyborgers survive. They may acknowledge on a superficial level that Vyborg is now a Russian town, they and their descendants may even visit, but it is almost always with the caveat that the 'othered' Russian 'now' must be compared with a mythic, preferred, even perfect Finnish 'then.' Vyborg cannot be seen from Finland only as it currently is, it cannot be taken at face value, it must always be (after Böök, 2004) gazed upon with a rose tinted, nostalgic view.

As Middleton and Brown (2011:45) put it (after Halbwachs):

...when Halbwachs (1980 p.130) describes how groups survive literal displacement, he argues that so long as the image [my emphasis] of some place previously occupied by the
group remains, then the group itself is able to remain united. Now this projection of the group onto the past requires a simultaneous disposal of the present. The group must effectively disembed or forget current circumstances [in this case that Vyborg is a Russian town] in order to shore up the reality of the past. This necessity suggests...that the place being remembered may take on a mythical status...

The image of Vyborg, typicalised in black and white photos of its castle and round tower, remains within Finnish culture circulating within both tabloid media and museum exhibitions. This allows the surviving Finnish Vyborgers and their descendants to remain united by a shared identity centred around the memory of Vyborg and to 'shore up' their reality/myth of the past. The past for them is simultaneously both real and mythic and this is what Vyborg represents and means to them: a real/mythic place of the past.

7.2 Remembering Vyborg in the future: change and continuity

A sub research question for this thesis to answer was whether the image of Vyborg in Finland is fixed and enduring, or likely to change? Without a crystal ball one cannot definitively answer this question but the data from Finnish teens contrasted with other secondary sources can give a good indication what could happen to the collective memory of Vyborg in future. We stand now at a turning point: within the next 15 years it is likely there will be no one left who has first hand memories of living in peace time Finnish Vyborg, the collectively remembered 'golden Vyborg' of the 1930s. We will be left then only with postmemories handed down by the Finnish Vyborgers. This section will attempt to assess whether these memories are likely to endure or whether a new meaning for Vyborg could emerge in Finland.

There is no question that the feelings about ceded Karelia and Vyborg which may be handed down as postmemories are strong, powerful ones which play into the fundamental human needs for identity and belonging, defining an 'us' here and a 'them' there. As Böök pointed out in 2004 (:41):

'[the passing of] six [now seven] decades have not always relieved the emotions of bitterness, anger and nostalgia. Some of the evacuated Karelians do not even want to visit [ceded Karelia], prefer[ring] not to face the disheartening reality.

The will to preserve ceded Karelia including Vyborg as a 'perfect' and 'lost' place of the past, to 'forget' it still exists in the present as an alternate, Russian, reality is strong. It seems it will not
change within the evacuees' lifetimes as their feelings will not change and (as argued above) it is they who shape the collective memory of Vyborg.

Nostalgic feelings towards 'lost Karelia' and Vyborg may not be the preserve only of evacuees and their families. Nostalgia for a mythical 'golden era' in popular culture and individual memory is a recurring theme throughout human history and is used to make judgement about perceived decline (see James, 2014: 656-658). There is a need for nostalgic feelings: viewing the ceded territories nostalgically as 'lost' places helps defines the 'us' and 'them' essential to human psychology (Jukarainen, 2002) and to give one a sense of history a 'then' and a 'now.' Viewing Vyborg nostalgically gives the town meaning in Finland, without this nostalgic view Vyborg has little meaning for Finns as my work with Finnish teenagers, who often do not even recognise Vyborg, and do not express nostalgia for Karelia, shows.

As we approach the era when first hand memories of Finnish Vyborg shift to postmemories there is also the argument that the collective memory of Finnish Vyborg will become further distilled, reduced and concentrated and become more of a 'myth' further divorced from the reality of the lived experience of Finnish Vyborg. Memories are at their most collective, argues Kansteiner (2002:189), when they “transcend the time and space of the events' original occurrence. As such they take on a life of their own, 'unencumbered' by actual individual memory.” As collective memory has a “unique capacity … to preserve pasts older than the oldest living individual” (Edy, 1999:72) 'memories' of Finnish Vyborg will survive but they will be frozen as (only) a collective memory. At this point descending voices of those first hand memories which did not fit with the accepted collective memory and so were not subsumed within it will likely vanish forever.

The above are all strong reasons why the established collective memory of Vyborg in Finland is likely to endure. There are also arguments, however, which suggest it will shift and change over time. One such is represented by this thesis' findings from working with Finnish teens. Only a minority, 189 despite having overall fairly good knowledge in terms of identifying cities from their well known buildings or structures, recognise Vyborg castle when shown a picture of it. Further Karjala is, overall, not an important place to them, they do not view in nostalgically. For some of the teens Vyborg (judged from a photograph of its castle) seemed 'Finnish' 190 but for others they guessed it was somewhere foreign. The teens view Vyborg with a neutral, not a nostalgic or rose-tinted, gaze and, if this gazes persists the collective memory of Vyborg may shift from one fraught with emotion and longing to a less emotional conception of the town.

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189 7/87 or 8%.
190 25/87 or 29% thought Vyborg castle was somewhere in Finland.
Despite 13 of the 87 teens (15%) telling the researcher that they had relatives from ceded Karelia these relatives seem not to have been able to directly pass on their memories as postmemories to the teens. Sometimes this is because the teens have not discussed Karelia with these relatives. Only 3 of the seven classes associated Karelia with a 'lost' or ceded area during the class discussions and only 10 of the 113 (or 9% of) answers given in the group work for the topic 'Karelia' referred to ceded Karelia. Thus my research suggests that postmemories of Karelia's 'painful loss' are not commonly present in Finnish teens aged 14-16. My results also suggest that being surrounded by the collective memory of 'lost Karelia' does not always affect the teens' ideas; that they have not always taken in the postmemory of lost Karelia circulating in Finnish culture. This again suggests that the collective memory of Vyborg, and thus what it means and represents in Finland, may change as it may not, in the future, be framed within the context of a nostalgic longing for 'lost Karelia.'

Eras of Vyborg's history have been forgotten in the past. As Fingerroos (2008:21) points out:

Part of the traces of the [1918 Finnish] Civil War in Vyborg has disappeared in the course of time and the rest was covered on purpose [pre World War II] by ideological, political and national practices.

Remembering takes an act of collective, national will, as does forgetting. As Vyborg's history during the Finnish Civil War shows the physical trace of events will disappear naturally over time, those with first hand memories will die out (as has happened to those who lived through the Civil War), and a wider forgetting can be aided by a will to forget. It will be up to the next generation of Finns whether a will to remember or a will to forget emerges in Finland as regards Vyborg's history during World War II.

The 'memory' of Vyborg's built environment portrayed in tabloid media and museum portrayals of the town has already been reduced to a few key, symbolic, structures: its castle, round tower and, to a lesser extent, its Finnish 1930s 'white buildings.' The suburbs of Vyborg which housed more people in 1920 than the town itself (Salmela, 2007:454) are not represented in the collective memory of Finnish Vyborg. The suburbs of Havi and Kelkkala built during the late 1920s - early 1930s (see Salmela, 2007) are not even included in the scale model of Vyborg at

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191 for example in class K9B where 5/12 students had relatives who were evacuees none had spoken to them about Karelia.

192 and there is no way to tell, due to the anonymous nature of the work, if this work came from a group related to Karelian evacuees.

193 The population of these suburbs were largely lower middle class Finnish speakers as well as Russian immigrants (Ståhls-Hindsberg, 2004: 201,205,207).
Lappeenranta whereas a scale model of the older suburb of Papula\textsuperscript{194} is housed in a separate display case, cutting it off from the rest of Vyborg which is defined by the model as being bordered by “the Siikaniemi fortifications to the west and by the Patterimäki ridge to the east” (museum leaflet). In this media and museum portrayals again reflect collective memory: Ståhls-Hindsberg (2004a: 68) found former Swedish speaking Finnish Vyborgers “often mentioned the old town, the school district and the ramparts: mentally their Vyborg seemed to be limited to these areas.” This is an example of what has been forgotten about Vyborg since it was a lived Finnish place; its suburban areas, where most of its Finnish population lived. This forgetting may continue, causing the collective memory of Vyborg to change and reduce further over time.

From the other side of the border Vyborg's Finnish history, previously “passed over in silence” (Isachenko, 2004:53), is still not widely known in Russia and it is seen as an “ancient Russian town” (see Isachenko, 2004). This shows the subjective nature of national history which is shaped to fit with existing ideas of national identity and territoriality (or spatial socialization). If ideas of national identity and territoriality within Finland start to change then so will representations of Finland's history (as they will need to support the new territorial-identity understandings), including representations of Vyborg. This has begun to happen in Russia with a “revival of Finnish memories...brought about not only by Finns but by Russians who have wished to tell the present day inhabitants of Karelia about the forgotten and suppressed details of its more recent past” (Raivo, 2004:61).

The open border may also, over time, have an effect: as Vyborg continues to be an important tourist and shopping destination for Finns it may come to represent these activities (tourism and shopping) rather than representing 'lost Karelia.' One can sense this happening already to some degree. On a coach trip to Vyborg (in which the author participated) comprised of middle aged Finns from North Karelia many seemed to be visiting Vyborg for leisure and to shop, the visit was 'for fun,' they did not seem burdened by the weight of the collective memory of Vyborg and in fact it was the author who seemed to be the most affected by seeing Vyborg for the first time. Most of the participants had visited Vyborg numerous times and the trips were not some reverential pilgrimage to a 'holy' place but merely a fun trip away with the chance to buy cheap goods and alcohol. Vyborg could become over time 'another Tallinn' where the old buildings are an enjoyable but not particularly meaningful backdrop to shopping and leisure activities.

In summary, this thesis has presented both the arguments for the collective memory of

\textsuperscript{194} located to the north of Vyborg beyond the railway.
Vyborg, and its meanings and representation in Finland, being maintained as fixed and unchanging and evidence that it may change. If change does occur however, it should be noted that it will be a slow and uncertain process; as Newman and Paasi stated (1998:199) in their seminal research paper *Fences and neighbours in the postmodern world*:

> two to three generations of changed socialization messages and shared narratives may bring about a change in the way groups relate to notions of exclusive territories and local identities. But then again, they may not.

Further, for “the socialization messages and shared narratives” symbolised by 'memories' of Vyborg, steeped as they are in the wider background themes of 'lost Karelia' World War Two and the fundamental 'us and them' of Finland and Russia, to even begin to change may be difficult as “dominant narratives transform only incrementally and with great struggle” (Reckner, 2002: 108) and the “...cultural boundaries stored in peoples' minds can -and often do – remain unchanged. Cultural boundaries between identity groups are often handed down for centuries.” (Jukarainen, 2000:217). Thus any change to the meaning of Vyborg in Finland is likely to happen only very slowly.

### 7.3 Limitations of the study and further research

The study was limited by the number of participants being quite small (87) and by all of them coming from the same area of Finland. The nature of the study only gives an initial idea of what Finnish teens might think about the complex and many-sided themes of Karelia, the Second World War and Russia and Russians. Further research should take in a much larger sample of teens from different, non-border, metropolitan areas of Finland and work with them for longer in an attempt to 'go deeper' and get more out of them. The ideal would be to work with them just looking at Vyborg but this would have to be 'built up to' by getting them (as in my initial study) to think about the wider themes which frame Vyborg and give it context within Finnish history and culture. Armed with this contextualisation the teens could then think about Vyborg and the following possible questions: what feelings (if any) does it prompt in them knowing it used to be part of Finland? Can they find any family or personal connection to Vyborg and does this change how they feel? Do they agree with / understand how Vyborg is presented in the Finnish media? Should Vyborg be a part of Finland again (if this were possible), Why / why not? And so on. Further research should perhaps through media and museum portrayals created and maintained through the symbiotic relationship between journalists, curators and evacuees' collective memory.

195 the results of work from Finnish teens.
197 working with the students for only a very brief amount of time.
focus on older teens (perhaps 9th and 10th grades) as they may have more insights and be better at articulating their knowledge and thoughts. Further research with Finnish teens is important as, as Jukarainen has pointed out (2000:218): “The significance of [youths'] 'us' – 'them', 'our place' – 'their place' dichotomies has been very much neglected.”

Another thing to consider in future studies using the same methodology would be what photos are used to represent each city in the quiz. I chose photos which I believed showed one of each city's most famous landmarks. I was aided in this by running a Google image search on each city and noting what was the most frequently occurring image. However, this photo selection would be greatly aided by knowledge of what actually is (from the results of scientific experiments and or surveys) the most easily recognisable landmark for each of the ten cities for Finnish teens. One of the school class teachers gave me the feedback that he believed the image for Helsinki (its Lutheran cathedral) was not that recognisable and suggested instead that I should have used an image of the parliament building.

198 e.g. big Ben for London, the Eiffel Tower for Paris etc.
199 for example, of the top ten results for a Google image search for 'London' (as at 12.4.2014) seven of the ten photos featured Big Ben.
200 although the Google image search results – as of 12.4.2014- show the cathedral in 6 of the first 10 results and the parliament building in none of the first ten results.
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APPENDIX 1: Quiz slides and results tables

1. 'Big Ben' clock tower and the Houses of Parliament (Routemaster red double decker bus in foreground, cars driving on the left). Accepted correct answer: London, England / UK / Britain
2. Eiffel Tower. Accepted correct answer: Paris, France
3. Statue of Liberty. Accepted correct answer: New York, North America / America / USA
4. *Tuomio Kirkko* (Cathedral). Accepted correct answer: Helsinki, Finland
5. Tammerkoski Rapids, Finlayson factory and Näsinneula tower. Accepted correct answer: Tampere, Finland
6. Brandenburg Gate. Accepted correct answer: Berlin, Germany
7. St. Basil's Cathedral and Red Square. Accepted correct answer: Moscow, Russia
8. Art Museum. Accepted correct answer: Joensuu, Finland
9. Town Hall, Town Hall Square. Accepted correct answer: Tallinn, Estonia
10. Vyborg Castle (distance shot showing that castle is on an island). Accepted correct answer: Vyborg/Viipuri, Russia.
Quiz results

A blank answer is counted as an incorrect answer. If the city and country are correct or the city is correct but no guess is made for the country these are counted as correct answers (e.g. 'Tampere,......' 'Berlin.....'). However is only the name of the country is given this is counted as incorrect (.....Finland.). The results therefore show how many students named the cities correctly. Correct answers written in Finnish /Swedish and mis-spelling where the intended answers were still clear were also accepted, scored as correct as the students were told they could answer in any language and that correct spelling didn't matter.

The results of the quiz are given below. The first table details the number and percent of students who got each question right and, below that the second table gives the number and percent who got each possible score out of 10 on the quiz and whether they could identify Vyborg or not. I have separated the results by grade. In the first table the first column gives the number of 8th graders who got each question correct (out of a total of 65 students) e.g. how many correctly identified London. The second column gives the number of 9th graders who got each answer correct (out of a total of 22 students). The third column gives the percent of 8th graders who got each question right, the fourth column what percent of 9th graders got each question right e.g. what % of the 22 students correctly identified London. The final two columns give the number and percent of the entire total of students (87) who got each answer correct.

The first column of the second table gives the number of 8th graders (of 65) who got each possible score on the quiz (and whether or not they correctly identified Vyborg or not - e.g. '6/10 (not Vyborg)' means the student correctly identified 6 of the 10 cities but did not correctly identify Vyborg, '6/10 (inc. Vyborg)' means the students correctly identified 6 of the 10 cities including Vyborg. The second column gives the number of 9th graders (of 22) who got each possible score. The third and fourth columns give the % of students who got each possible score in 8th and 9th graders respectively. The final two columns give the number and percent of the entire total of students (87) who got each possible score.

Below these first two tables are more detailed results regarding the number and percent who correctly identified Vyborg as well as the numbers and percentages pertaining to answers left blank.
Number and % who got Vyborg correct (individual class scores in brackets), percents rounded to nearest whole percent:

8th grade (school E): 4/22, 18% (3/11, 27%, 1/11, 9%)

8th grade (school K): 1/14, 7%

8th grade (school N): 0/29, 0% (0/14, 0/15)

9th grade (school K): 2/22, 9% (0/10, 0%, 2/12, 16%)

TOTAL: 7/87, 9% (8th grade total: 5/65, 8%, 9th grade total: 2/22, 9%).

Number and % who did not make a guess for / left blank at least 1 question

8th grade (school E): 18/22, 81% (7/11, 63% 11/11, 100%)

8th grade (school K): 9/14

8th grade (school N): 23/ 29 79% (9/14, 64%, 14/15, 93%)

9th grade (school K): 15/22, 68% ( 8/10, 80%, 7/12, 58%)

Number and % who left blank question 10 (Vyborg)

8th grade (school E): 15/22, 68% (5/11, 45%, 10/11, 90%)

8th grade (school K): 8/14, 57%

8th grade (school N): 16/29, 55% (4/14, 29%, 12/15, 80%)

103
9th grade (school K): 8/22, 36% (5/10, 50%, 3/12, 25%)
TOTAL: 47/87 or 54% (8th grade 39/65 or 60%, 9th grade total: 8/22 or 36%)

Other answers given for picture of Vyborg Castle:

8th grade (65 students):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>No. of times given</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turku, Finland</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helsinki, Finland</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olavinlinna [Savonlinna], Finland</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savonlinna, Finland</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hämeenlinna, Finland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanko, Finland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suomenlinna [Helsinki], Finland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siberia, Russia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total no. of incorrect answers: 22.

9th grade (22 students):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>No. of times given</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turku, Finland</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariehamn, Åland Islands</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockholm, Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladoga</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Petersburg, Russia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total no. of incorrect answers: 11.
APPENDIX 2: Transcript of notes from class discussions and results tables

K9A / School K, Class 9A (10 students)

This class did not do the group work as the class discussion took up my allotted time with them. None of the students had relatives from Karelia. Four of them had spoken with their families about the war, some had done this on Finnish Independence Day (6th December) on which the Finnish wars are remembered. Two of the students had visited Sortavala.

Karelia made them think of “piirakka” (pie) and “paisti” (stew), World War Two of the fact that Finland was allied with Germany. Then Russia came to mind and the fact that “Suomi havisi” (Finland lost) against Russia and had to pay war debts to Russia. I also asked this group what they knew about the Talvisota (Winter War). They answered “Simo, the white death” (the famous Finnish sniper Simo Häyhä), “sukset” (skis), “Molotov cocktail” and using logs against Soviet tanks. The question was also raised (by the class teacher) that could Finland be seen as “in a way winning” in the Winter War as it kept its independence. The fact that the Finns had few weapons and used “motti taktiikkaa” (Motti tactics, a strategy used by Finnish troops in the Winter War to encircle and cut off Soviet forces) and the extreme cold conditions of -40°C were also mentioned.

When asked what they associated with Russia and Russians the following answers were volunteered: Vodka, Putin, Medvedev, corruption, bad roads, big country, Russians don't respect other people, they have lots of minority languages, they pirate music, cheap gas, they are polluting the Baltic Sea.

K8B / School K, Class 8B (14 students)

The majority of the students had relatives who had fought for Finland during the Winter and Continuation Wars. Two of the students had discussed this aspect of their family history with their families. One student had a grandparent who was a Karelian evacuee but they hadn't talked with their family about this.

None of the students said they had discussed the 'Karelian Question' at home with their families. One student however voiced their own opinion that ceded Karelia should not be returned to Finland. When asked why they stated because the “Russians have destroyed it” and gave the condition of Sortavala's old buildings as an example.
Three of the students had visited Russia, one said he went to Svetogorsk (the first destination after crossing into Russia from Finland at Imatra, Svetogorsk is right on the border.). The other two students said they could not remember the names of the places they visited. None of the students said they had discussed Russia or Russian people with their families.

When asked what words they associated with Karelia the students answered “piirakka” (pie) and “paisti” (stew). When asked what words they associated with the Winter War they answered “suomen kone pistooli” (Suomi sub machine gun) “Mannerheimin risti” (Mannerheim Cross – a medal awarded to Finnish troops) and “talvisodan henki” (the 'spirit of the Winter War' – something akin to the British 'blitz spirit', the will to pull together and resist an invasion). When asked what they associated with the words Russia and Russians the students answered “vodka” “neuvostoliito’” (the Soviet Union) and “Lada” (a Russian car manufacturer whose cars are also still driven in Finland).

K9B / School K, Class 9B (12 students)

In this class eleven out of the 12 students had relatives who fought in the Finnish wars and five had relatives from ceded Karelia. Of these none said they had talked to their families about the evacuation of Karelia. One student had visited Sortavala. When asked what came to mind when they heard the word Karelia they answered “piirakka” (pie), “kansalaispuvut” (national dress) and “järvet” (lakes). World War Two made them think of “Hitler,” “Talvisota,” “alikersantanti” (Sergeant), “Molotov,” “Finland versus Stalin.” Russia made them think of “vodka.”

E8B / School E, Class 8B (11 students)

Both this class and class 8A (below) from School E had studied the Winter War, Continuation War and Lapland War in their history lessons this year according to their history teacher.

In this class one student had family from Karelia, eight had family members who fought in World War Two, one had discussed this with their family and two of the students had visited Russia, both visiting St. Petersburg.

Karelia made them think of “beer,” “piirakka,” “Russia,” “ceded areas,” “Viipuri” and “Kekkonen.” World War Two elicited the following responses: “Hitler” (two students said this),
“Lapin sota” (The Lapland War, September 1944-April 1945, when Finland had to drive German troops out of Finnish Lapland), “asema sota” (trench warfare), “Nazis,” “Stalin,” “USSR.” As regards Russia and Russians the students said Russians were “rikas” (rich), “siat” (pigs), that they drove badly when in Finland and caused traffic problems. Other things they associate with Russia and Russians were “vodka,” “4X4s,” “shopping tourism,” and Russian visitors searching for low prices, and cars without brakes.

E8A / School E, Class 8A, 11 students

Of these students five said they had relatives from Karelia, eight knew of relatives of theirs who had fought in the Finnish wars and of these two recalled discussing it with their families. Three students stated they had visited Russia, two had visited St Petersburg, one Sortavala.

About Karjala / Karelia the students mentioned “kalja” (beer), “piirakka,” “this part of Finland,” “paisti,” “lost area.” World War Two made them think of “Hitler,” “Stalin,” “Mussolini,” “taistelu” (fight, struggle), “ydinbombi” (atomic bomb), “aseet” (weapons), “Normandy landings.” Russia and Russians prompted the following replies: “vodka drinkers,” “Sochi,” “rudeness,” “shopping – buying a lot.”

N8B / School N, Class 8B, 15 students

Nine of the 15 students had visited Russia, one had visited Vyborg, another said they had visited “everywhere” in Russian Karelia. The student who had visited Vyborg was asked if they had seen the castle but they said they “didn't remember” (and they didn't recognise it from the photo in the quiz as no-one from this class answered that quiz question correctly). The student who had visited Viipuri had been to Russia “5 or 6 times” and had also visited Sortavala, St. Petersburg and Moscow. One of the 15 students said they had relatives from former Finnish Karelia and six of the students said they had relatives who had fought in WWII. Seven students had spoken with their families about WWII and Karelia at home.

When asked what came to mind when they thought of Karelia two students answered “food”, another “piirakka,” another “Karjalan lehti” (“Karelia newspaper”) and another “mekot” (“the dresses”). When asked what words or phrases they associated with WWII the students answered: “Hitler”, “Russia”, “ryssät” (“Ruskies”) (this provoked laughter), “machine guns”, “bombs”, “Molotov cocktail”, “suomen konepistooli” (“Suomi machine gun”), “Lotta Svärd”
(Finnish female auxiliaries). The topic Russia and Russians prompted the following responses: “Prisma”, “Lidl” (both supermarkets in Joensuu often frequented by Russians, in the case of Prisma there are signs in Russian), “Ukraine”, “Krim” (“Crimea”), “Putin”, “idiots” (this provoked laughter), “poverty” and “ice hockey.”

**N8A / School N, Class 8A, 14 students**

Of these students only one said that they had visited Russia (Sortavala). None of the students said they had relatives from Karelia, five said they had relatives who had fought in WWII and four of the students had talked about WWII with their families.

When asked what they associated with Karelia two students answered “Joensuu” and one “Pohjois Karjala” (“North Karelia”). Other answers given were: “piirakat,” “paisti,” and “suo” (“swamp”). With World War Two the students associated the following: “death,” “Nazis,” “Hitler,” “Russia,” “aseet.”

The students had a lot to say about Russia and Russians in the class discussion. Russia and Russians made them think of: “vodka” (this prompted laughter), “ballet”, “turkis” (“furs”), “Putin”, that Russian is a “weird language”, that Russians are “arrogant people”, that Russians are “stupid people” and “arrogant bullies”, that they have “weird clothes.” Russia and Russians also made them think of: “Matushka [nesting dolls]”, “imported tobacco”, “communism”, “Muumo bändi Eurovisiosta” (the folk group Buranovskiye Babushki, Russia’s entry to the Eurovision Song Contest in 2012), “Pussy Riot” (Russian female punk protest group, three of whose members were imprisoned on the charge of hooliganism after a protest performance in Moscow Cathedral), “Stalin,” “isot toppa takkit” (“big winter jackets”), “skiing tourists,” “reckless driving,” “road rage,” “dash cams,” “corrupt police.”

**Russia and Russians: negative associations made in class discussions**

**Class (no. of negative associations / total associations)**

K9A (5/11):
- Corruption
- Bad roads
- Russians don't respect other people
- They pirate music
- They are polluting the Baltic Sea

E8B (3/8)
Pigs
Drive badly in Finland and cause traffic problems
Cars without brakes

E8A (1/4)
Rudeness

N8B (2/8)
Idiots
Poverty

N8A (8/21)
Weird language
Arrogant people
Stupid people
Arrogant bullies
Weird clothes
Reckless driving
Road rage
Corrupt police

Total negative associations: 19
Total associations: 56
Negatives as % of total: 34%
No negative associations: classes K8B, K9B
APPENDIX 3: Transcript of class group work and results tables.

24 groups:
K8B / School K, Class 8B: 4 groups: 1K8B, 2K8B, 3K8B, 4K8B
K9B / School K Class 9B: 4 groups: 1K9B, 2K9B, 3K9B, 4K9B
E8B / School E Class 8B: 3 groups: 1E8B, 2E8B, 3E8B
E8A / School E Class 8A: 3 groups: 1E8A, 2E8A, 3E8A
N8B / School N Class 8B: 5 groups: 1N8B, 2N8B, 3N8B, 4N8B, 5N8B
N8A / School N Class 8A: 5 groups: 1N8A, 2N8A, 3N8A, 4N8A, 5N8A

K8B / School K, Class 8B

1K8B:

1. Evakko (evacuation)
   Karjalan-kannas (Karelian Isthmus)

2. Hitler
   Mottitaktikka ('Motti tactics' – A Finnish style of warfare used during the Winter War)
   Molotovin cocktail (a Finnish petrol bomb)
   Lotta Svärd (Finnish women's auxiliary organisation)
   Sotaorvot (war orphans)
   Korsut (dug outs)
   Saksa (Germany)
   Neuvostoliitto (USSR)
   Talvisodan henki (Winter War spirit)

3. Stalin
   Lenin

2K8B

1. Karjalan-kannas,
   Karjalan piirakka, -paisti (Karelian pie, stew)

2. Tali-ihantala (A famous Finnish battle during the Winter War),
Mannerheim linja (The Mannerheim Line, Finland's defensive line on the Karelian Isthmus),
Pysty korva (Finnish rifle),
Emma konekivääri (Emma machine gun)
Molotovin Koktail
Mottitaktiikka
Ilomantsi (a town and municipality on the Eastern edge of Finland in North Karelia which saw fighting during the Winter War and Continuation War)
Äänislinna (The name given to Petrozavodsk, Russia whilst it was occupied by Finnish forces from 1941-1944)
Evakot (evacuees)
Mannerheim risti (Mannerheim cross, a Finnish medal)
Simo Häyhä (famous Finnish sniper)
suurhyökkäys (the great attack, offensive by Russia against Finnish troops in summer 1944)
Raatentie (The Raate Road, site of famous battles during the Winter War)
Väinö Linna (Finnish author and war veteran who wrote a famous novel Tuntematon Sotilas – The Unknown Soldier- about the Continuation War).

3. Halpaa bensaa, -viinaa, -tupakkaa ja olutta (Cheap petrol, spirits, cigarettes and beer)
Stalin

3K8B:

1. Karjalan piirakka
Karjalan paisti

2. Red on white
Lotta Swag (Lotta Svärd)

3. Lada
Bad Roads
Siperia
Ladoka Throphy (Ladoga Trophy, a rally-raid competition for 4X4 and other off-road vehicles)
Siperia/cold
Chep gasoline / vodka
4K8B:

*C.G.E. Mannerheim* 2. (leader of the Finnish forces during the Winter and Continuation Wars)

*Siperia* 3.

*Maatuska* 3. (Russian nesting dolls)

*Ortodoksisuus* 3. (Orthodoxy)

*Havisimme talvi – ja jakosodan* 2. (we lost the Winter and Continuation Wars)

*Molotov* 2. (commander of Russian forces during the Winter War)

*Tee* 3. (tea)

*Stalin* 2.

*Koti* 1. (home)

*Pommituukset* 2. (bombings)

*Mainilan laukaukset* 2. (Mainila Shots, the incident which started the Winter War)

*Hitler* 2.

*Mussolini* 2.

*polletun maan taktiikka* 2. (Scorched earth tactics)


K9B / School K, Class 9B


1K9B:

1. *köyhys* (poverty)

*Mustapunainen vaakuna* (black and red coat of arms)

*Karjalanpiirakat ja paisti* (Karelian pies and stew)

*Puhetyyli* (way of speaking)

*Karjalaisten laulu* (the Song of the Karelians)

2. *Hirvee sota* (a terrible war)

*Hitler – Natsit (nakaristi)* (Hitler – Nazis (swastika))

*Saksa* (Germany)

*Stalingrad*

*Pariisin valloitus* (the conquest of Paris)

3. *Tsaari* (the Tsar)

*rikkaita* (rich people)
Vladimir
Sergei
Pietari (St. Petersburg)
Punakone (The Red machine)
huonoja jääkiekossa (bad at ice hockey)
Talvisota (Winter War)
Punasinivalkoinen lippu (red, blue and white flag)
Malkin (Yevgeni Malkin, Russian and American National Hockey League ice hockey player)
Siperia
Iso maa (big country)
Paljon ihmisä (lots of people)
Ylimielisiä (arrogant)
Vodka
Kuulan perhe (Kuula's family, family Kuula)

2K9B:

1. Karjalan Pitäjä
Karjalan paisti
Koti kalja ('home beer', near beer)
Viina (booze)
Kalevala (the Finnish national epic poem)
Järvet (lakes)
Kansallis puvut (national costumes)
hirvi (moose)

2. hitler
Stalin
Mannerheim
Natsit
keskitysleirit (concentration camps)
köyhyyys (poverty)
Hakaristi (Finnish 'swastika' symbol)

3. Lada
Butin (Putin)
Ryysät (Ruskies)
Vodka
Katollisuus (Katolisuus, Catholicism)
Siberia
Tundra
isosuehkees
iso maa
rubla (Rouble)
Huoria by Brno Kelenen

3K9B:

1. Karjalan kieli (Karelian language)
ruoka (food)
lumi (snow)
ryssät
kultuuri (culture)

2. Talvisota
panssarivaunut (tanks)
aseet (weapons)

3. Lada
Putin
Vodka
KHL (Russian ice hockey league)
Venäläinen kulttuuri (Russian culture)
juomatavat (drinking habits)
iso valtio (large state)
Neuvostoliitto
Stalin
Sotshin olympialaiset (Sochi Olympians)
1 = kansallisasut (national clothes)
   sukulaisia (relatives)
   kalja (beer)
   kotikalja
   sauna
   olut (beer)
   Karjalan piirakka ja karjalan paisti

2 = sukulaisia ollu sodassa (relatives were in the war)
   kuolema (death)

3 = vodka
   Rikkaita
   lata (Lada)
   Putin

E8B / School E, 8B, 11 students

1E8B

1. Olut
   Suomen entinen alue (former Finnish area)
   Toinen maailmansota
   Venäjä

2. Hitler vs. Stalin
   asemasota
   pommit (bombs)
   aseet
   Saksa
   lentokoneet (aeroplanes)
   tuhoutuneet kaupungit (destroyed cities)
   Japan vs. USA
   atomipommi (atomic bomb)
Suomen käydät sodat (talvi-, jatko- ja lapinsota) (Finnish wars (Winter War, Continuation War, Lapland War))

3. Ryssä (Ruskie)
autot ilman jarruja (cars without brakes)
huono parkkeeraus (bad parking)
rikkaus (wealth)
koulutustaso hyvä (good education)
Stalin
Putin
Paras armeija (the best armies)

2E8B:

1 KARJALA
Karjalan piirakat
Viipuri
Ensin Suomen, sitten Venäjän (first Finland's then Russia's)
Pitää kuulua Suomelle!!! (should be part of Finland!!)
Asumme osassa Karjalaa (we live in a part of Karelia)

2 II MAAILMANSOTA
Hitler
Nazit
Keskitysleirit
juutalais vainot (persecution of the Jews)
Suomi olis voittanu! (Finland should have won!)
Hitlerin liittoutuminen suomen kanssa (Hitler's alliance with Finland)
Salainen lisäpöytäkirja (secret additional protocol)
Lapinsota
asemasota
Mannerheim
Mannerheim -linjasto (Mannerheim lines)
Pietarin piiritys (siege of Leningrad)
3 VENÄJÄ JA VENÄLÄISET

Ryssät
Kuuluis Venäjälle ei SUOMEEN! (stay in Russia don't come TO FINLAND!)
rekisterit (registers, records)
maasturit (SUVs)
tulee Suomeen aienmus myyteinin (come to Finland to buy things in the sales)
vodka
rekat (trucks)

3E8B:

1. Karjalan piirakka
kalja
suomen entinen alue (previously part of Finland)

2. Hitler
Stalin
Asemasota
evakoinnit (evakuoinnit, evacuations)
natsit
keskitysleirit
juutalaiset (Jews)

3. tiellä liikenteessä (traffic on the road)
Tulee Suomeen ostoksille (come to Finland to shop)
isot autot (the big cars)
rikkaita (rich)
ylimielisiä /huono käytöksiä (arrogance / bad behaviour)
isomaa

E8A/ School E, 8A, 12 students

1E8A:

1. Karjala
Karjalan piirakka
Karjalan paisti
kalja

2. Toinen MS
ydinpommi
Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini
1945 loppui (ended 1945)

3. Venäjä ja Venäläiset
Venäläinen tupakka (Russian tobacco)
turismi (tourism)
vodka
halpa bensa

Group 2 (2E8A)

1. Karjala
menetetty alue (lost area)
Karjalan ruoat (Karelian foods)
kalja
alue Suomesta (area from Finland)
Laatokan karjala (Ladoga Karelia)
Karjalaiset mummot Venäläällä (the Karelian grannies in Russia)

2. MS II
Pearl Harbour
Aset ja taistelut (guns and battles)
Hiroshima
“pelastakaa sotamies Ryan” - elokuva (the film 'Saving Private Ryan')
keskitysleirit, holokausti (concentration camps, the holocaust)

3. Venäjä
paljon sottonopettajia tulee Suomeen Venäjältä (lots of musical instrument teachers come to Finland from Russia)
köyhiä alue (poor area)
riikaat alueet (Pietari) (rich areas (St. Petersburg)
ei kunnollista sananvapautta → vankeuksia venäjällä (no real freedom of speech → prisoners in Russia)
sodat Suomea vastaan (wars against Finland)
kaunis kieli (beautiful language)
ortodoksi uskonto (Orthodox religion)
turkikset (furs)
paljon taiteilijoita (lots of artists)
Tolstoi (Tolstoy)

3F8A:

1. Karjala
menetetty alue
ongelma; Karjalan kunnailla (problem: the condition of Karelia)
olut
perinneruoat: karjalanpiirakka, karjalanpaisti (traditional foods)

2. Toinen maailmansota
aseet
kulleet ihiset (dead people)
vainot (persecutions)
sotapäälliköt (war leaders)
puolan kahtiajako (Polish division)
Epätasarvoisuus (inequality)

3. Venäjä ja Venjäläiset
Venjäläiset käy suomessa ostoksilla (Russians visit Finland to shop)
kylmyys (cold, unfriendly)
olympialaiset (Olympics)
poltetut cd-levyt (pirated CDs)

N8B / School N, 8B, 15 students
1. **Karjala**

piirakat

kansallispuvut (national dress)

kieli

Venäjä varasti (Russia stole it)

karjalan paisti

juoppo (drunk)

sukulaiset (relatives)

2. **Il maailmansota**

Hitler

Saksa

Venäjä

Stalin

Normandian maahtiinossu (Normandy landings)

aseet

Talvisota

ydinaseet (nuclear weapons)

Yhdysvallat (USA)

kommunismit (Communism)

3. **Venäjä ja venäläiset**

Moskova

Kremlin

Maisemat (landscapes)

Siperia

mummot (grannies)

kirkot (churches)

pelottava (frightening)

blinit (blinis)

karkki (candy)

ruuat (foods)

Putin ↔ psykopaatti (psychopath)
aseet
diktatuuri (dictator)
kommunismi
Neuvostoliitto
Sotsi (Sochi)
kieli (väk) (language (yuk))
juoppo (drunk)

2N8B:

1. Karjala
letit (braids or plaits)
karjalan piirakka
kansallispuku
Värtsilä (a town divided by the Finnish-Russia border, the nearest border crossing point to Joensuu)
Sortavala
sota

2. toinen maailmansota
Hitler
säännöstely (rationing)
pommit (bombs)
siirtolapset (migrant children)
muumit & ukit (grannies and granddads)
ruoan puute (lack of food)
kuolonuhrit (the dead victims)

3. Venäjä ja venäläiset
Prisma (Finnish supermarket)
Lidl (supermarket)
halpa bensa
rikkaat ihmiset (rich people)
blinit
1. **karjalanpiirakat**
nice houses (in history)
forest
lost parts of Finland (WW2)
dress

2. **Judish** (Jewish)
Hitler vs. Stalin
natsie (Nazi)
*BOOM PA PA * - violence

3. Ukraine, Krim
Putin is a CRAZY man
lots of poor people
maatuska
Laatokka
Soviet Union

### 4N8B:

1. **KARJALA**
Karjalan piirakka
Sortavala
Viipuri

2. **Toinen maailmansota**
Hitler
Holokausti, Juutalaiset
Kristalliyö (Kristalnacht)
siirtomaat (colonies)
pommit
Lotat (Lottas, Lotta Svärd)

3. venäläiset / venäjä

Putin
Stalin
turkiset
Kráásá (trash)
Ukraina

5N8B:

1. ruoka, vaateet
2. Molotovit, suomi kone pistooli (Suomi machine gun), menetetyt alueet (lost areas)
3. Vova, halpa bensa, suuret elinolosuhde erot (big class differences)

N8A / School N, Class 8A (14 students)

1N8A:

1. Karjala

Karjala laulut :D

Toi heino asu (this great outfit) ->

Karjalan ruuat:
paiisti, piirakat,
puuro, maito (porridge, milk)
Ilkka- ja Ismo Alanko. (famous musicians and singers from Joensuu)
ilosaari rock (music festival in Joensuu)
verkkarihousut (tracksuit trousers)
karjalan vehnä niityt (Karelia wheat fields) Kareljan wench.

2. Maailmansota

Armeejan vihreä (Armeijan vihreä – army green)
sota aseet, kuoleet ihmiset,
kaikilla saman laiset asut (everyone had the same outfits)
lippikset (caps)
suomi
(Afkanistan hiekkä dyynit :D) (Afghan sand dunes)

3. Venäjä ja venäläiset
sikarit (cigars)
toppatakki (winter jacket)
mummot
Rähjäiset vaateet (scruffy clothes)
Hassu kieli (funny language)
isot nenät (big noses)
Värikääät vaateet (colourful clothes)
Vodka
Maatuska
feikki merkki vaateet (fake designer clothes)
Huoria (whores)
Huonot talot (bad houses)
Kissan kakka haisee (the stink of cat poo)
Joko miljööläirejä tai ihan ruts köyhiä (Either millionaires of really poor)
ei sähköjä (no electricity)
Vie suomalaisen vaateet (take, export Finnish clothing)
äkäisiä myyjä (acacia seller or could be äkäisiä myyjä, angry enough to hit the seller)
ei hyvän näköisiä ihmisä (not good looking people)
turwikset
Hassut hattut (funny hats)
ortodoksi
parrat (beards)
ristit (crosses)
tsaari munat (Tsar eggs)
kynttilät (candles)
taka kikkara pliskat (unable to translate)
tunkkanen paksu hajuvesi (thick smell of musty perfume)
mummelit (old ladies)
tumma meikki (dark make-up)
poikatukat naisilla (women with men's haircuts)
Värikkäät paksut huukset (thick, coloured hair)
matkii suomalaisia (mimic the Finns)
tupakalta haisevat vaatteet (clothes which stick of cigarettes)
lanka puhelimet (landline phones)
pakkanen (frozen, cold)

2N8A:

1) Woods, lakes, Karelian pie, Karjalanpaisti
2) sota, killing, bad people, blood, scream, widows, orvot (orphans), hiihto (skiing), russian
3) Ballet,
mariinski teatteri (opera and ballet venue in St. Petersburg), Muumo bändi (Russia's 2012 Eurovision Song Contest entry)
aikaan saamattomia (don't finish what they start)
epä kansala välisiä (only think of themselves)
oudot (weirdos)
lasketteluvaatteet (ski clothes)
syöksy laskulla päälle (ski over you)
drunks
vodka
nuuska (snuff)
tupakka
bad smell
vesimeloni purkka & pastillit (watermelon gum and pastils)
turkistarhaus (fur farm)
weird clothes
elainrääkkäys (cruelty to animals)
money
rich bich (bitch)
big scary dogs
outo meikki (weird make up)
kukkotappelut (cock fights)
koiratappelut (dog fights)
järkyt talot (rickety houses)
likaista (dirty)
maatuska

3N8A:

1. Karjalan piirakat, Karjalan paisti

2. Kamikaze-bombers, MP-40 (gun)
Stalin, Soviet Russia

3. cigarettes and snus (snuff)

Vladimir Putin
Stalin
Soviet-Russia
cheap limonade
rich people
bad driving skills
vodka
fighting
corruption
Chernobyl

4N8A:

1. Karelia

Thight (tight) minded people
lots of forests
poor (in Russian area)
swamps

2. WW2

KV-2 (a Russian tank)
concentration camps
Hitler
Battle of Britain
D-day

3. Russia / Russian

dash cams
reckless driving
funny accent
good at languages
Ukrain crycis (Ukraine crisis)
Crazy leader Putin
Vodka

5N8A:

1. Venäläiset vei osan suomen karjalasta (Russia took part of Karelia from Finland)
Karjalan paisti, karjalan piirakka
metsää (forests)
Joensuu
Laatokka
musiikki (music)

2. Salpalinja (Finnish border defensive line -never used – in North Karelia)
Hitler, Nazi zombies, Nazi, Stalin,
Etelä-Karjala (South Karelia), Tankit (tanks), Ydinaseet, Japani
Hiroshima (written double sized), juutalaiset

Englanti, kuolema

Lada, oversized trucks, kalliit autot (expensive cars), Krimi (Crimea)
Diktaattori Mr. Putin, Isä aurinkoinen (father sunny)
laatokka, iso, Ural-vuoret (Ural mountains). Olypialaiset (Olympics)
Mummelit, parfyymi (perfume), ryssä, Jääkiekko
huonoja hävijöitä (bad losers)
Results tables:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Karjalan piirakka</th>
<th>Karjalan paisti</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>no. of lists in which it features:</strong> 17/24</td>
<td><strong>No. of lists in which it features:</strong> 10/24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st place in:</strong> 9 of the 17 lists</td>
<td><strong>1st place in:</strong> 0 of the 10 lists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd place in:</strong> 3 of the 17 lists</td>
<td><strong>2nd place (after piirakka) in:</strong> 5 of the 10 lists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>comes after piirakka (in a place other than 2nd) in:</strong> 2 of 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shortest 'Karelia' lists answers included pie / stew / beer / food

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Answers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4K8B</td>
<td>1 answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1K8B</td>
<td>2 answers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3K8B</td>
<td>2 answers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5N8B</td>
<td>2 answers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3N8A</td>
<td>2 answers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2K8B</td>
<td>2 answers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3E8B</td>
<td>2 answers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1E8A</td>
<td>2 answers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4N8B</td>
<td>2 answers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1E8B</td>
<td>4 answers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2N8A</td>
<td>4 answers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4N8A</td>
<td>4 answers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'lost Karelia' associations in group work Karelia lists:

- Former Finnish area -1E8B
- First Finland's then Russia's -2E8B
- Should be part of Finland!!! - 2E8B
- Previously part of Finland – 3E8B
- Area from Finland -2E8A
- Lost area – 2E8A
- Lost area – 3E8A
- Russia stole it -1N8B
- Lost parts of Finland (WWII) – 3N8B
- Russia took part of Finnish Karelia – 5N8A

Total: 10 associations in 8/24 lists

Karelia lists: most common answers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>No. of answers /113</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pie/s and stew</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Karelia as geographical place / characteristic 22
Lost area / area taken by Russia 10
National dress 7

WWII Lists most common answers:
Hitler in 14 of 24 lists
Stalin 8/24
Weapons (aseet) 6/24
Nazis 6/24
Concentration camps 5/24
Atomic weapons 4/24
The Finnish wars 4/24

Russia and Russians lists most common answers:
Vodka in 11 of 24 lists
Putin 10/24
rich 7/24
cheap goods 7/24
Stalin 6/24
Lada 5/24
big country 5/24
Siberia 5/24
Ryysä/t 4/24
negative comments about Putin 4/24

Group work (no. of negative associations / total associations) by class
K8B / School K, Class 8B

1K8B (0/2)

2K8B (0/5)

3K8B (1/7)
Bad roads

4K8B 0/4

Class totals:
Total no. of associations: 18
Total no. of negative associations: 1

No negative associations: groups 1K8B, 2K8B, 4K8B

K9B / School K, Class 9B

1K9B (2/16)
Bad at ice hockey
Arrogant

2K9B (1/11)
Ruskies

3K9B (0/10)

4K9B (0/4)

Class totals:
Total no. of associations: 41
Total no. of negative associations: 3
No negative associations: groups 3K9B, 4K9B

E8B / School E Class 8B

1E8B (3/8)
Ruskie
Cars without brakes
Bad parking

2E8B (2/7)
Ruskies
Stay in Russia, don't come to Finland!

3E8B (2/7)
Arrogance
Bad behaviour

Class totals:
Total no. of associations: 22
Total no. of negative associations: 7
No negative associations: 0 groups.

E8A / School E, class 8A

1E8A (0/4)

2E8A (2/10)
Poor area
No freedom of speech → prisoners in Russia

3E8A (1 / 4)
Cold, unfriendly
Class totals:
Total no. of associations: 18
Total no. of negative associations: 3
No negative associations: group 1E8A

N8B / School N Class 8B

1N8B (4/18)
Frightening
Putin ↔ psychopath
Dictator
Language (yuk)

2N8B (0/5)

3N8B (2/7)
Putin is a CRAZY man
Lots of poor people

4N8B (1/5)
Trash

5N8B (0/3)

Class totals:
Total no. of associations: 38
Total no. of negative associations: 7
No negative associations: groups 2N8B, 5N8B

N8A / School N Class 8A

1N8A (6/35)
Scruffy clothes
Bad houses
The stink of cat poo
Not good looking people
Clothes which stink of cigarettes
Frozen, cold

2N8A (10/27)
Don't finish what they start
Only think of themselves
Weirdos
Bad smell
Weird clothes
Cruelty to animals
Big scary dogs
Weird make up
Rickety houses
Dirty

3N8A (3/12)
Bad driving skills
Fighting
Corruption

4N8A (2/7)
Reckless driving
Crazy leader Putin

5N8A (6/18)
Assholes
Arrogance
Bad drivers
Dictator Mr. Putin
Ruskie
Bad losers

Class totals:
Total no. of associations: 99
Total no. of negative associations: 27
No negative associations: 0 groups

Totals for all groups:
Total associations: 236
Total negative associations: 48
negatives as % of total: 20%

Groups with 0 negative associations: 8/24

Russia and Russians: overtly positive associations (NB 'cheap' not included)
Group work

Good education – 1E8B
The best armies – 1E8B
Beautiful language – 2E8A
Good at languages - 4N8A

Total positive associations (total all associations): 4 (236)

No. of answers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>longest 'Russia and Russians' lists:</th>
<th>Karelia lists:</th>
<th>WWII lists:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group: 1N8A</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2N8A</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1N8B</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5N8A</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total answers average no. of answers/list

132
Karelia: 113 5
WWII: 169 7
Russia and Russians: 235 10

Note: averages are not that good a measure as a couple of very long Russia and Russians lists push the average up.
APPENDIX 4. Details from photographs of the round tower and Vyborg castle from Finnish tabloid media.
The round tower 'then' (1941) and 'now' (2011), Ilta-Sanomat p.16.